

# THE HORNS OF HATTIN

Edited by B.Z. Kedar





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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE  
SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF THE CRUSADES  
AND THE LATIN EAST

HEBRON AND HAIFA 2-6 JULY 1987

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YAD IZHAK BEN-ZVI



ISRAEL EXPLORATION SOCIETY

JERUSALEM



VARIORUM • LONDON



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## Preface

On 2-6 July 1987, marking the eighth centennial of the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn, the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (SSCLE) held its second conference in Jerusalem, at the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn, and in Haifa. In Jerusalem, sessions were held at the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum—where an exhibition of crusader sculpture was opened by Mayor Teddy Kollek—as well as at the Van Leer Institute, the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, the Mount Scopus campus of the Hebrew University, and the British School of Archaeology. Participants were received by Chaim Herzog, President of the State of Israel, and went on guided excursions to Frankish sites in the Old City and to recent excavations west of Jerusalem. On 5 July a session was held at the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn, where remains of Saladin's Victory Dome, cleared a few days earlier by a small party of SSCLE and other volunteers, were examined. On the following day, deliberations resumed at Haifa University, with a brief tour of Frankish Acre preceding the concluding session. On behalf of the organizing committee of the second SSCLE conference, I would like to thank once more the many individuals and institutions who were most generous with their help.

Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi of Jerusalem consented to publish a selection of papers read at the conference. The outcome is the present volume. To the twenty one articles based on papers presented in 1987 I have added two short papers that relate to the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn. The first, by C.P. Melville and M.C. Lyons, presents an unknown account of the battle; the second, by Zvi Gal, describes the remains of Saladin's Victory Dome. John Pryor's report on the relationship between the *Eracles* and the chronicle of William of Tyre is based on the work of a group that met at the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University shortly before the SSCLE conference; R.B.C. Huygens presented at the conference a preliminary report on the group's deliberations. The volume concludes with the edited transcript of a 1984 symposium that dealt with Joshua Praver's thesis on the colonial nature of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. A few months before his death, Praver completed the edited version of his reply to the symposiasts.



I would like to thank the Hebrew University's Authority for Research and Development for a substantial grant that made publication possible; Mr. Zvi Zameret, Mrs. Channah Biderman and Professor Yehoshua Ben-Arieh for their energetic support; and Mr. Yossi Gevir, Mr. Yohai Goell and Mr. Hananel Goldberg, all of Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, for their devoted care in producing the book. Though we basically followed the *Speculum* style-sheet, exceptions were made to comply with the wishes of some authors.

B.Z.K.

# Contents

11	PRESIDENT CHAIM HERZOG	<i>Address</i>
13	CHRISTOPHER TYERMAN	Who Went on Crusades to the Holy Land?
27	NORMAN HOUSLEY	Jerusalem and the Development of the Crusade Idea, 1099-1128
41	H.E.J. COWDREY	Canon Law and the First Crusade
49	GRAHAM A. LOUD	Norman Italy and the Holy Land
63	THOMAS W. LYMAN	The Counts of Toulouse, the Reformed Canons and the Holy Sepulcher
81	MOLLY LINDNER	Topography and Iconography in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem
99	NURITH KENAAN-KEDAR	The Cathedral of Sebaste: Its Western Donors and Models
121	HANS EBERHARD MAYER	The Beginnings of King Amalric of Jerusalem
136	BERNARD HAMILTON	Miles of Plancy and the Fief of Beirut
147	DENYS PRINGLE	Aqua Bella: The Interpretation of a Crusader Courtyard Building
168	RONNY ELLENBLUM	Construction Methods in Frankish Rural Settlements
190	BENJAMIN Z. KEDAR	The Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn Revisited
208	C.P. MELVILLE, M.C. LYONS	Saladin's Ḥaṭṭīn Letter
213	ZVI GAL	Saladin's Dome of Victory at the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn
216	ZVI RAZI, ELIOT BRAUN	The Lost Crusader Castle of Tiberias
228	WILLIAM J. HAMBLIN	Saladin and Muslim Military Theory
239	RICHARD B. ROSE	The Native Christians of Jerusalem, 1187-1260
250	JEAN RICHARD	1187: Point de départ pour une nouvelle forme de la croisade



261	MICHAEL MARKOWSKI	Peter of Blois and the Conception of the Third Crusade
270	JOHN H. PRYOR	The <i>Eracles</i> and William of Tyre: An Interim Report
294	JAMES M. POWELL	The Role of Women in the Fifth Crusade
302	JAMES A. BRUNDAGE	Humbert of Romans and the Legitimacy of Crusader Conquests
314	MALCOLM BARBER	Supplying the Crusader States: The Role of the Templars
327	DAVID C. NICOLLE	Arms and Armor Illustrated in the Art of the Latin East
341	SYMPOSIUM	The Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem — The First European Colonial Society?
367	List of Abbreviations	

## Address by the President of Israel, Mr. Chaim Herzog

Professor Prawer, Distinguished Guests,

Here in Jerusalem, once capital of the Crusader Kingdom, this learned conference cannot be seen merely as an academic exercise. Commemorating so precisely the fateful battle that put an end to one of the most extraordinary chapters in the chronicles of humanity, you evoke sharp historic memories and reflections on the unique nature of this land.

The crusades, paradoxically enough, are a living presence in modern Israel. It is with awe and admiration that the vestiges of crusader buildings, churches, fortifications, are viewed and studied. You need only watch their effect on children during their school excursions and, indeed, on all who love and tour the country—and that is a very large proportion of our population.

The scope and splendor of the crusader installations in Acre and Caesarea, the impressive fortresses of Montfort and Belvoir, the vestiges at Aqua Bella and Abū-Ghūsh and Ma'aleh Adumim, and of course the great sites in Jerusalem itself, still being excavated and reconstituted—these are all elements of primary importance in the landscape and nature of the land today. They are studied, preserved, cherished. For true lovers of this land cherish the evidence of all the stages through which it has passed, even when the ideology or conduct associated with any stage is vastly different from, or even hostile to, the concepts of most of us living here today.

Obviously, as far as Jewish history is concerned the crusaders are remembered with horror and anguish. The murder and devastation they wrought in European, particularly German, Jewish communities have never been forgotten; it was a dreadful chapter, not without ghastly



implications in the development of European anti-Semitism. It was paralleled by the savage treatment of Jews and Muslims in the Holy Land itself. Yet the passing of time, though it does not bind up such wounds, lends perspective.

We can now see how important a part the crusades played in shaping Western civilization. And we here in the modern, revived State of Israel can sense in the crusades something of genuine relevance to contemporary problems. The crusaders saw Jerusalem and this land as inspiration and concern to those whose faith was rooted in Scripture—Scripture which emanated from this land and is forever intertwined with it. For the crusaders this country was no ordinary Levantine province. It was set apart by its place in men's spiritual imagination, and far transcended its narrow borders. Morally it had a role of utmost importance to play.

For all the differences, this is still the basic truth underlying Israel's exceptional position.

For us the crusaders are part of an interesting period of history, and a part of the historic mosaic which constitutes the last 2,000 years of striving to reestablish the Jewish commonwealth in the Holy Land. Their period is a fascinating part of the mosaic.

I wish you every success in this most interesting conference which I am sure will be a fascinating one.

# Who Went on Crusades to the Holy Land?

CHRISTOPHER TYERMAN

*Hertford College, Oxford*

However the crusades to the Holy Land are regarded, the question of who undertook the journey to Jerusalem is of central importance. Was such crusading a truly popular movement, embracing all classes and groups of whatever degree or status? If so, why did it fail to produce sufficient recruits for whom settlement in the east was attractive? To what extent were crusades organized, controlled and recruited in ways identical to other contemporary armies? Any conclusions are likely to be tentative, especially as the active crusader can be studied as a fund-raiser, an employee, a member of his surrounding social hierarchy as well as a pilgrim and a soldier.

Crusading was not a spontaneous act. Preparations could be as hasty as Peter the Hermit's or as protracted as Frederick II's or Louis IX's, but they were invariably characterized by raising money, collecting supplies, and gathering followers. The individual vow, a response either to public appeal or personal crisis, may have been a private decision; its implementation could not be. The departure of any crusader came at the end of a process whereby the *crucesignatus* obtained communal approval and, frequently, assistance for his pilgrimage. The consent of parish priest, landlord, and family; the material help of those lay or clerical neighbors through whom the crusader converted assets into cash or pack animals; the religious ceremonies attendant on taking the cross; and, in many cases, the pious bequests and contracts with local monasteries were the familiar prerequisites of the journey to Jerusalem. For prudential reasons crusaders did not travel alone; neither did crusading armies assemble at random or by accident. Whether we are looking at general *passagia* or the innumerable crusade-pilgrimages, conducted by individual great lords or small groups, it is clear that all expeditions to the east were planned and structured.

At the very least crusaders were surrounded by their households, relatives, and friends.<sup>1</sup> Most, if not all armies, medieval or modern, are held together by a varying mixture of loyalty—to cause, leader or comrades—and cash. Specifically, crusading armies were assembled and maintained by the bonds of lordship, kinship, geography and sworn association, these ties being

<sup>1</sup> *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 38:1 (London, 1864), p. 147.



supplemented, confirmed or replaced by pay, in kind or in cash. This is attested by Peter the Hermit's carts of treasure and Bohemund's payment for his vassals and relatives to cross the Adriatic in 1096; the retained troops of Richard I, Richard of Cornwall, Louis IX, Alphonse of Poitiers, and the Lord Edward; and the saddlebags of William Longsword in 1249, stuffed with money.<sup>2</sup>

Implicit here is the assumption that crusades to the Holy Land were essentially military. In the twelfth century, at any rate, this may not have been as self-evident as we see it, since the distinction between a simple pilgrimage and a crusade remained blurred. The pilgrim companions of Saewulf in 1103 proved "ready to die for Christ" in stoutly resisting the attack of a Muslim fleet off Acre. They were clearly prepared for action as were many similar contingents of pilgrims. Conversely the repentant English merchant, Godric of Finchale, although having formally adopted the "banner of the Lord's Cross," as his contemporary biographer put it, behaved like a pilgrim not a crusader during his time in Palestine with no hint of military activity or intent. (His identification with the pirate Godric who arrived at Jaffa in 1102 is speculative and, albeit convenient, unlikely in view of Godric's *Vita*, unless its author, Richard of Coldingham, was over-egging the pudding by insisting on his hero's pacifism, in which case the fact that he saw no contradiction in a peaceful *crucesignatus* is itself significant.)<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the small army led by Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, to the Holy Land in 1172 contained well-equipped and-funded knights but saw no military action in the east and, it has been argued, had little interest in doing so.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, what did distinguish the crusader was that, in addition to being a pilgrim, he bore arms to use on the infidel. Fulcher of Chartres describes the plight of the "common people" with the contingent of Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois in Italy in the autumn of 1096. Left to their own resources they "feared privation in the future, sold their weapons and again took up their

2 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, RHC HOcc. 4:281; *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (London, 1962), p. 8; *Itinerarium*, p. 291; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 51 (London, 1868-71), 3:8; idem (wrongly attributed to Benedict of Peterborough), *Gesta regis Henrici secundi et Ricardi regis*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 49 (London, 1867), 2:112; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, RS 57 (London, 1872-83), 4:71 and 5:131; idem, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. Madden, RS 44 (London, 1866-69), 3:55; S. Lloyd, "The Lord Edward's Crusade 1270-2," in *War and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Gillingham and J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), C. Devic, J. Vaissete and A. Molinier, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (Toulouse, 1872-1904), 8:1221-1222 and 1314-1316.

3 *Relatio de peregrinatione Saewulfi ad Hierosolimam et Terram Sanctam*, ed. A. Rogers, PPTS 4.2 (London, 1896), p. 50; *Libellus de vita et miraculis S. Godrici heremita de Finchale*, ed. J. Stevenson, Surtees Society 20 (London, 1847), pp. 33-34 and 52-57; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. R. Howlett, RS 82 (London, 1884), 1:149; Albert of Aachen, RHC HOcc. 4:595.

4 K. Jordan, *Henry the Lion* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 150-155; in the fullest account, by Arnold of Lübeck, there is no indication that the pacific pilgrimage was anything but intentional, in contrast to a similar expedition of Philip of Flanders in 1177.

pilgrims' staves and returned home as cowards."<sup>5</sup> In the thirteenth century, the contrast between the pilgrim and the crusader became more clearly defined, for example in dissimilar legal protection in English secular courts.<sup>6</sup> In the early twelfth century, the practical distinction lay in the military purpose of the crusader and, hence, as Fulcher implies, in the additional cost of a crusade as opposed to a pilgrimage. The nature, extent and structure of aristocratic and popular involvement were directly related to this additional expense of crusading.

From Urban II onwards crusade planners and preachers wished to recruit effective military forces. This dictated appeals to the leaders of society and to the increasingly distinct and powerful class of knights. The bargain offered by St. Bernard was to "mighty men of valour," "young and vigorous men" and, significantly, if perhaps metaphorically, merchants, all members of a social elite who would bring in tow the necessary footsloggers. Preachers like Bishop Henry of Strasbourg and Gerald of Wales in 1188 or Abbot Martin of Pairis in 1201 wished to recruit "milites egregii" and others familiar with the use of arms.<sup>7</sup>

To encourage such recruits, the content of sermons and other propaganda material, including songs, was carefully directed at the fighting classes. Recently there has been some discussion of the relationship of the preaching by the poverty and apostolic movements of the late eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries to the crusade, but it should be noted that the message of such preachers was, by definition, aimed, like crusade sermons, at those with wealth and position. For example, the passages on poverty in the early thirteenth-century English preaching manual, the *Ordinatio de predicatione S. Crucis*, were clearly designed for a wealthy, martial audience. Equally significant is the language of sermons. The punch lines of the *Ordinatio's exempla* are in French, the language of the English aristocracy. In 1188 Gerald of Wales preached in French and Latin to a Welsh audience many of whom, he admitted, could not understand a word he said.<sup>8</sup> Almost as exclusive as the language of the sermons were the audiences themselves. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

5 Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, trans. F.R. Ryan, ed. H.S. Fink (Knoxville, 1969), pp. 75-76.

6 Henry de Bracton (*sic*), *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae*, ed. T. Twiss, RS 70 (London, 1878-83), 5:156-169; John de Longueville, *Modus tenendi curias (c. 1307)*. *The Court Baron*, eds. F.W. Maitland and W.P. Baildon (London, 1891), p. 82.

7 *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, ed. A. Chroust (1928), MGH Scr. rer. germ., NS 5:12-15; Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe (London, 1978), p. 204; Gunther of Pairis, *Historia Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. Riant (Geneva, 1877), 1:62-64. In general, C. Morris, "Propaganda for War: The Dissemination of the Crusading Ideal in the Twelfth Century," *Studies in Church History* 20 (1983), 79-101.

8 *Ordinatio de predicatione S. Crucis in Anglia*, in *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, ed. R. Röhrich (Geneva, 1879), pp. 1-26; Gerald of Wales, *De rebus a se gestis*, c. 18, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J.S. Brewer, RS 21 (London, 1861-91), 1:76. For the poverty movement and the crusade, see P. Raedts, "The Children's Crusade of 1212," *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977), 279-323 and J.M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213-1221* (Philadelphia, 1986).



the most characteristic settings for crusade sermons were assemblies of one or more princely households, sometimes inside a church or cathedral, sometimes not: the grand gatherings at Vézelay (1146) or Gisors and Mainz (1188) contrasting in size but not in nature with the conference at Reading in 1185 or the meetings of Welsh princelings in 1188. Alternatively, preachers went where—in the words of instructions given by the Archbishop of York to Franciscan crusade preachers in 1291—there was or was believed to be a large congregation, in towns or marketplaces. This dimension of recruitment efforts, obvious and practical as it was, should not be underestimated. Urban II preached at Clermont, Angers, Tours, and Limoges. Peter the Hermit was reported to have concentrated his efforts in “urbes et municipia.” In 1146-7 the renegade Rudolph inflamed many thousands in Cologne, Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Strasbourg, and neighboring cities, towns and villages, and St. Bernard followed his example in Speyer, Mainz, and Regensburg.<sup>9</sup>

Crusading was based, like Western society, upon the extended households and affinities of the military aristocracy and urban elites with their dependants. This is confirmed by charters and other financial, administrative, and legal records. It might be argued that such evidence is biased towards the wealthier sections of the community, those with something to sell, mortgage, protect, donate, or abandon. To a degree this is true, but the amounts of property involved in surviving transactions often amount to no more than a few acres, *sous*, or shillings. Furthermore, the social sample contained in such documentation accurately represents the main constituents of any crusade, men who could raise enough money to subsidize at least partially their journey and pay for necessary armor, food, clothing, etc., for which not all crusaders could depend on the leaders or common funds, at least at the outset of an expedition.<sup>10</sup> Documentary evidence also points to a distinctive rural element beyond the immediate households of the nobility, a group with disposable assets but whose status was clearly non-noble.

Cartularies reveal the organization of crusades around great lords and knights, with substantial or less extensive estates, and other propertied freemen and clerics all of whom converted fixed assets, usually land and rents, into cash. With the money raised they supported their immediate entourages. Alongside the Englishman Hugh de Neville at Acre in 1267 when he was drawing up his will was a small group of companions, including his chaplain and page, who acted as executors. In his will Hugh provided, as unavoidable expenses of any independent crusader, money and goods for another clerk, a servant he was expecting to join him from the West, two farriers, a groom, a draper and a moneychanger. Some of these were almost certainly locals, however to those in

9 *Historical Papers and Letters from Northern Registers*, ed. J. Raine, RS 61 (London, 1873), pp. 93-96; Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, RHC HOcc. 4: 142; Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. C.C. Mierow (New York, 1966), pp. 74-75.

10 Note Frederick Barbarossa's insistence in 1189 on his followers' ability to pay for themselves.

his household Hugh tried to guarantee return fares to the West. Hugh also had with him a number of unnamed soldiers, horses, armor, weapons, jewels and other goods. In general it must be emphasized that servants, traveling with their masters or hired en route, provided a prominent and constant feature of crusade armies.<sup>11</sup>

Those crusaders lower down the social scale, such as *burgenses* and *rustici* referred to in the Saladin Tithe ordinances of 1188, had one thing in common with their social superiors: they had property. One of the crusaders from the Mâconnais in the twelfth century, described by Georges Duby as a peasant, was able to raise 13s. for one of his fields to subsidize his expedition, and this was certainly not the sum of his holdings. One difficulty, of course, with such contracts is that there is no guarantee of—indeed there is a probability against—our having evidence of the crusader's complete financial transactions or of his total assets. Charters are extremely vague about social status, but there are a few suggestive glimpses. In 1202, a Flemish *villicus* raised 140 livres of Hainault from his hereditary holding. A generation earlier a *villicus* of Rosière in the Loire valley pledged his patrimony for 300s. Where descriptions do appear they are no guide to economic status. For instance a French *rusticus*, preparing for his crusade in the 1140s, gave his local abbey rent worth 20s. which the monks had previously paid him each year. Such men could not compete with prosperous knights, but as small farmers their incomes were not negligible, although it is obvious that 20s. would not have got anybody very far.<sup>12</sup>

Not all crusaders had to rely on what they took with them or on what they were given as vassals and servants of the rich. From England, for instance, there is evidence of the involvement in crusading of artisans, wage earners who could just as well ply their skills in crusading camps as elsewhere. On the Pipe Rolls of 1207 and 1208 appear lists of crusaders that include a dyer, a bowman, and a butcher alongside the more expected rural aristocracy of merchants, provosts, squires, chaplains and serjeants. In an 1190s list of Cornish *crucesignati* there are skinners, a blacksmith, a miller, a cobbler, and a tailor, a social cross-section matched by a contemporary Lincolnshire list in which are found a skinner, a potter, a butcher, a blacksmith, a vintner, a ditcher, and a baker. Elsewhere, in the 1220s the Master Carpenter of Chichester Cathedral inconvenienced his employers by seeking permission to go on crusade.<sup>13</sup> This picture is matched by

- 11 G. Constable, "Financing of the Crusades in the Twelfth Century," in *Outremer*, pp. 64-88; M.S. Giuseppi, "On the Testament of Sir Hugh de Neville," *Archaeologia* 56 (1899), 352-354.
- 12 G. Duby, *La Société aux XIe et XIIe siècle dans la région Mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953), p. 378; *Recueil des Pancartes de l'abbaye de la Ferté-au-Crosne, 1113-1178*, ed. G. Duby (Aix-en-Provence, 1953), p. 114, No. 120; *Chartes du Chapitre de Sainte Waudru de Mons*, ed. L. Devillers (Brussels, 1899-1913), 1:84-86, No. 45; *Cartulaire de Chamalières-sur-Loire en Velay*, ed. A. Richard, Archives historiques du Poitou 16 (Poitiers, 1886), pp. 349-350, No. 331.
- 13 *Pipe Rolls 9 John (1207)*, 72-73 and *10 John (1208)*, pp. 150-151; *Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts: Fifth Report* (London, 1872), Appendix, p. 462; idem, *Report on*

continental evidence. The crusaders stuck at Messina in 1250 included barbers and shoemakers, and elsewhere can be discovered butchers, master chefs, masons, carters and fishmongers as well as notaries, physicians, advocates and other significant figures in urban and rural society.<sup>14</sup> It could be argued that these artisans and professionals, whether or not they expected to continue their trades on crusade, were more likely to take the cross than their neighbors as, on the one hand, they had access to cash as wage earners and, on the other, they were less tied to the soil and freer of movement.

Beside the aristocrats, their servants, the rural elites and artisans, were townsmen and clerics about whose heavy involvement the documentary evidence leaves no doubt. To take one example at random, Londoners had a habit of crusading which reached back to before 1130. This culminated in extensive contributions to crusades in 1147, 1189 and 1190, and the foundation of the Order of St. Thomas Becket in Acre during the Third Crusade which, even if not established by a London cleric, as one account had it, nevertheless retained close links with the city. Elsewhere in Europe this feature is equally apparent with urban crusaders not being confined to mercantile seaports.<sup>15</sup> Just as towns were foci for preaching so they were for recruitment. One of the more misleading ideas about the crusades is that the ideals did not attract those engaged in non-noble, urban or commercial activities except in so far as those ideals promised profit and extended markets. Cynical profiteering by urban crusaders fails entirely as an explanation of their consistent and often distinguished service in the cause of the cross.

Clerical crusaders are no less prominent in documentary sources. Although participation by monks excited disapproval in some quarters, for the secular clergy crusading became acceptable and common. These clerics behaved much as any other aspirant crusader in selling property and mortgaging their benefices. All ranks of the hierarchy were involved. For example, the clergy from England on the Third Crusade who actually reached Palestine included an archbishop, a bishop, and an abbot as well as archdeacons, canons, chaplains, parsons, clerks, and the vicar of Dartford. These were fully integrated into the army. They prayed, exhorted and encouraged the crusaders; they wrote and witnessed their charters; they conducted negotiations with the enemy; they

*Various Collections* (London, 1901), 1:235-236; W.H. Blaauw, "Letters of Ralph de Neville," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 3 (1850), p. 75.

14 B.Z. Kedar, "The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250: Towards the History of the Popular Element on the Seventh Crusade," *Studi Medievali* 3:13 (1972), 267-279. See below *passim* and note 18 for other examples of artisans; W.C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade* (Princeton, 1979), p. 69, for a Vermandois butcher; cf. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 209-251.

15 *Pipe Roll 31 Henry 1* (1130), 33; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. C.W. David (New York, 1936), p. 56 and note 2; *Pipe Roll 15 Henry 11* (1169), p. 172 for an 1164 example; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:89-90 and 116-118; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 68 (London, 1876), 2:80-81; A.J. Forey, "The Military Order of St. Thomas of Acre," *English Historical Review* 92 (1977), 481-486; *Registro del Cardinale Ugolino d'Ostia*, ed. G. Levi, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 8 (Rome, 1890), pp. 128-133.



buried the dead; they organized relief for the poor; and, like Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, or Ralph Hautoir, archdeacon of Colchester, they fought.<sup>16</sup> How many ordained priests donned armor to fight the temporal battle against evil is unclear, but these Englishmen were not alone.

Narrative literary sources supply further evidence of the structure of crusading armies. Even the most apparently chaotic of expeditions, the so-called Peasants' Crusades of 1096, possessed some cohesion, leadership and funds. The disintegration of these forces was the result of weak discipline and poor leadership rather than the absence of either or the preponderance of non-fighting men. Even if these armies lacked mounted knights and contained more infantry, and even if some bands resembled more the mass armed pilgrimages of the mid-eleventh century than the centralized military units of later crusades, they were, as Duncalf pointed out sixty years ago, capable of sustained and occasionally effective military action against stubborn opposition.<sup>17</sup> Whatever else he was, Walter Sans Avoir was not Penniless. The implosion of order and discipline was not, it might be added, the prerogative of the Peasants' Crusades. Again and again the armies of the great threatened to fall apart in the face of appalling privations and dangers on the First Crusade, and the armies of Louis VII and Louis IX did in fact disintegrate in 1148 and 1250.

The usual distinctions drawn by chroniclers in descriptions of crusading armies were between the great, the knights, the serjeants—mounted or not—and the infantry, including bowmen. To those fighting could be added the necessary camp followers of any medieval army, including families, household officials, clerics, servants, sailors, prostitutes, laundresses—who, in Ambroise's account of the Third Crusade, doubled as de-lousers—and an array of other supporting personnel. In a crisis all could be useful; the women who ferried water to the troops at Dorylaeum or who helped fill the moat at Acre in 1190; the butchers and women who sold provisions and who raised the alarm at Manṣūrah when the count of Poitiers became surrounded; or the horse-boys and cooks who, according to Robert of Clari, were equipped with quilts, saddle-cloths, copper pots, maces and pestles to guard the crusader camp during the first assault on Constantinople in 1203.<sup>18</sup> The chronicle accounts are rich in

16 Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:142 and 147-150; *Pipe Roll 1 Richard I (1189)*, p. 20; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines*, 2:80-81 and 84; *Curia Regis Rolls 1194-95*, ed. F.W. Maitland (London, 1891), p. 113; *Select Cases for the Ecclesiastical Courts of the Province of Canterbury, c. 1200-1301*, ed. N. Adams and C. Danehue, Selden Society (London, 1891), p. 45; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 66 (London, 1875), p. 54; *Itinerarium* (note 1 above), pp. 91-93, 116 and 192-193; Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, trans. as *The Crusade of Richard the Lion-Heart*, by M.J. Hubert and J.L. La Monte (repr. New York, 1976), lines 1607-1616.

17 F. Duncalf, "The Peasants' Crusade," *American Historical Review* 26 (1921), 440-453; a view shared recently by J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), pp. 49-52.

18 Ambroise, lines 3635-3660, 5695-5698; *Gesta Francorum* (note 2 above), p. 19; Jean de Joinville, *Life of St. Louis*, trans. M.R.B. Shaw, p. 233; Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1924), p. 46.

mention of such useful common people whose presence can hardly be described as random. Even if not attached to the households of the great, they were unlikely to have traveled alone or without the support of employer, lord, family or sworn companion, as the Messina ship's company in 1250 shows. Either at the outset of each expedition or certainly by the time the Holy Land was reached, combatants and non-combatants were linked together in a series of formal, partly casual, or mutually dependent relationships, many of which had emerged from necessity and the quest for the next meal. One description of the distribution of the spoils of Damietta in 1220 allotted different tariffs to knights, priests and turcoples and *clientibus*. Long before Louis IX hired Olivier de Termes to attend the crusade in 1247 with five knights and twenty crossbowmen at the king's expense, clientage of one sort or another had been at the very heart of crusade organization at all levels.<sup>19</sup>

Apart from the magnates, the dominant group, in terms of influence rather than numbers, were the knights. Some *milites* were scarcely distinguishable from magnates while others slid all too easily into the class of serjeants, infantry or even non-combatants. Regularly, knights had to be bailed out—at Antioch in 1098, Adalia 1148, Acre 1191, Venice 1202, Acre 1240, and Cyprus 1248. To avoid such difficulties men banded together, like the *coniurati*, who attacked the Jews in England in Lent 1190, or Jean de Joinville and his cousin, the count of Sarrebruck. But only the resources of great lords or unusually fortunate knights could secure other knights from penury. What was true for the knights was even more true for their social inferiors.<sup>20</sup>

Throughout the emphasis is on wealth. Caffaro talked of the “better sort” (*melioribus*) of Genoese taking the cross in 1096. Many of the crusaders on the Second Crusade came from the economically expanding and prosperous areas of the Rhineland and Flanders as well as the English trading centers of London, Dover, Hastings, Southampton, Bristol, and Ipswich. Roger of Howden argued that the 1188 appeal to take the cross was answered primarily by the well-to-do who had most to gain from avoidance of the Saladin Tithe. During the Fifth Crusade recruitment seems to have been highest in areas of underlying wealth: southern England, the Rhineland, north Italy.<sup>21</sup> Successful crusade leaders were, by definition, rich and few chronicle accounts of any crusade fail in some way to allude to the financial security of the operation.<sup>22</sup>

Pooling resources came naturally. Lordship was complemented by sworn association and common funds. The first crusade common fund appears to have

19 John of Tubia, *De Iohanne Rege Ierusalem* in *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores* (note 8 above), p. 139; *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 8:1221-1222.

20 William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 1:308-324; Joinville, *St. Louis*, p. 191.

21 Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatum Orientis*, RHC HOcc. 5:49; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 54; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:32; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, esp. pp. 67-87.

22 E.g., successive counts of Flanders and Champagne; Richard I of England; Boniface of Montferrat, who received the huge crusade legacy of Theobald of Champagne; and Richard of Cornwall who, thanks to his control of the Cornish tin industry, was in 1240 one of the richest uncrowned laymen in Europe.

been that of Peter the Hermit in central Europe. At the siege of Antioch the expedient was again employed, this time secured by oaths: the first crusade commune perhaps. The polyglot fleets that gathered at Dartmouth in England in 1147 and 1217 formed communes, as did, in all likelihood, that of 1189.<sup>23</sup> To the basic ties of who paid for or supplied food for whom, could be added others such as geography. In the camp at Acre in 1190-91, for instance, the royal clerk Roger of Howden witnessed a charter of a local landowner from the neighborhood of his parish and recorded in his chronicle the names of some local Humberside worthies who had died in that terrible year: minor nobility, local clergy and gentry.<sup>24</sup>

Another feature of crusade recruitment emerges uniquely in the narrative sources. Like any other army, much of the appeal attracted the young. Albert of Aachen singled out the young men in Peter the Hermit's army as causing dissension and indiscipline. The anonymous eyewitness account of the attack on Lisbon in 1147 commented on the heroics of youths from the Ipswich area. In 1190 the Jews in England were attacked, some contemporaries wrote, by young crusaders.<sup>25</sup> The young are supposed to be vigorous, and crusading, if it demanded wealth, also demanded strength. Although chroniclers may speak with respect of the older, hale *crucesignati*, crusade organizers discouraged the aged and proportionately few actually embarked on crusade unless they enjoyed the status where the heat of the day, if not the battle, could be borne by their servants or relatives.

Another group to whom crusading was traditionally attractive were criminals. The most complete legal records of the period, those of the English royal courts, provide numerous examples of men absconding to the Holy Land before they could be arraigned or tried for alleged crimes. In addition, some convicted felons were sentenced to go on crusade with no other option, a process reflected in the story of Becket's murderers ending their days fighting in the Holy Land. This may indeed be a legend, but it represents a regular procedure, although there seems no obvious pattern either of crimes or criminals. The export of undesirable elements to serve in a good cause had a history as old as the movement itself (and, in the imposed penitential pilgrimage, even older). Jacques de Vitry might have deplored the riffraff he found at Acre, but there is every reason for supposing that those engaged in active and violent criminal careers would, militarily—and if suitably repentant, morally—make good fighting crusaders.<sup>26</sup>

23 *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 56-57 and 104-105; *De Itinere Frisonum* in *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores* (note 8 above), pp. 59 and 69; *Gesta Crucigerorum Rhenanorum*, *ibid.*, p. 30; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines*, 2:65.

24 Roger of Howden, *Gesta* (note 2 above), 2:149; D. Stenton, "Roger of Howden and Benedict," *English Historical Review* 68 (1953), 576-577.

25 Albert of Aachen, RHC HOcc. 4:280; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 161; William of Newburgh, *loc. cit.*

26 For English criminals, see my *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (Chicago, 1988),



Crusade narratives also confirm the involvement of merchants. Some like Godric of Finchale, sought escape; others, like the Viels of Rouen and Southampton on the Second Crusade, were eager to prey upon the easy pickings, as they thought, of Mediterranean shipping. The merchant could turn pirate without difficulty. Other merchants used their experience to organize and supply provisions within crusading armies, as noted prominently by Odo of Deuil, Ambroise, and Joinville.<sup>27</sup>

Chroniclers also speak of crowds of "common people." Many of these, described by a variety of blanket terms, *pedites*, *peregrini*, *mediocres*, etc., were clearly the infantry. For example, the *menu peuple* who rioted at Aigues Mortes in 1270 were armed, well capable of sustaining a violent contest.<sup>28</sup> But what of those non-combatants whose presence on the Second Crusade was so lamented by Odo of Deuil?<sup>29</sup> Armed expeditions almost inevitably attracted pilgrims in their wake who had no military ambition. But, as we have seen, many non-combatants, so-called, could and were prepared to perform other useful functions in support of the troops. As many crusaders traveled with their servants, extended households and families, even the most tightly organized campaigns were not free from those who had little directly to contribute to the military effort. The style in which some crusaders embarked was extravagant. Bohemund II of Antioch was not alone in sending east with his soldiers his fowlers and dog-handlers.<sup>30</sup> What is at issue, however, is whether crusades attracted large numbers of unattached pilgrims who did not fight and, in consequence, to what extent crusading was a spontaneous and popular movement as some of the chronicle accounts seem to imply.

Fulcher of Charters has some interesting observations on the composition of the combined host gathered at Nicaea in 1097. There were those with coats of mail and helmets, the knights; other fighting men "accustomed to war," probably footsoldiers in the main; and, finally, those not bearing arms, identified as "clerics, monks, women and children."<sup>31</sup> If we look once more at John of Tubia's list of beneficiaries at the distribution of the spoils of Damietta, a fourth category were wives and children.<sup>32</sup> Not only the great or the knights took their spouses with them. Ambroise wrote of the "dames and wives" on the Third Crusade, one heroic woman killed while helping to fill in the moat of Acre being the wife of one of the humbler crusaders. The presence of women and children on the First Crusade had been one of its qualities especially noted by

chapter 8; for the possibly legendary fate of Becket's murderers, see F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986), pp. 258-259.

27 Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. V.G. Berry (New York, 1948), p. 23; Ambroise, lines 4350-4354, 4498-4512; Joinville, *St. Louis*, pp. 233 and 263; *Libellus de vita S. Godrici*, pp. 33-34 and 52-57; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 100-102.

28 Guillaume de Nangis, *Gesta Ludovici*, RHGF 20:440-442.

29 Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, p. 95.

30 Fulcher of Chartres (note 5 above), p. 298.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

32 *De Iohanne Rege* (note 19 above), p. 139.

Anna Comnena and the tradition continued: both Louis IX and Edward I had children born in the East. It might appear, therefore, that many of the non-combatants were dependant relatives.

So far it has been suggested that crusades possessed structure, that the mass of common people on the expeditions were men of some means, enough for instance to buy a pack animal or pay for transit, often wage-laborers with freedom of maneuver and with skills of potential use, as well as domestic servants, officials and clerics. Crusaders of all sorts were grouped around rich patrons or survived in communal parties united by geographical origins and oaths. That such crusaders existed is incontrovertible. After all, the burgesses in the Latin principalities in the East came from somewhere, even if there were never very many who wished to settle in proportion to the numbers traveling east. Perhaps not all of these humbler were *crucesignati*. This may especially have been the case with hired soldiers and household servants. Certainly, from Cardinal Ugolino's register of north Italian recruits for the Fifth Crusade it emerges that not all of them had or were expected to have taken the cross.<sup>33</sup> This in itself suggests a certain exclusivity in becoming, let alone being a *crucesignatus*.

Mention of the burgesses in the crusader states points to another quality of the crusader. We have already seen how he needed money; he also had to have a measure of freedom. The privileges granted to crusaders assumed his right to plead in public courts and his ownership of property on which he could raise his travel expenses. The burgesses in the east were automatically free, less because of any theory or practice of racial superiority but more, perhaps, because those humbler crusaders who settled, if not in the train of a magnate, were free to start with. The servile had no claim to the protection of free courts and, increasingly in some parts of Europe as the twelfth century progressed, he had no claim on any property. In that sense he could hardly even take the cross voluntarily because, in doing so, he was alienating his lord's property. Without permission, too, he could not leave his lord's land. Just as under canon law serfs were excluded from Holy Orders, so they were from taking the cross. The serf could be a footslogger in his master's crusader army, but he could not technically be a *crucesignatus* unless he had been granted his freedom of action, choice and status, also a prior condition to being ordained. For someone of servile status to become a *crucesignatus* implied manumission. Thus in early thirteenth-century England Hugh Travers, a bondman of William of Staunton, was manumitted when about to go on crusade as his lord's proxy. On his return Hugh's lands were released from servile tenure.<sup>34</sup>

Some corroboration of the free status of crusaders is found in those chronicles and sermons which dwell on the crusaders' sacrifice of homes, families, and

33 *Registro del Cardinale Ugolino*, pp. 128-133.

34 F.M. Stenton, "Early Manumission at Staunton," *English Historical Review*, 26 (1911), 95-96; P.R. Hyams, *Kings, Lords and Peasants* (Oxford, 1980), p. 32 and note 37.

possessions in order to serve Christ; the piquancy of such accounts depends on the crusader having something of his own to relinquish as well as his freedom to travel. Of course, just as the incidence of freedom and servility varied across Europe so would the barriers to becoming a *crucesignatus*. Also it must be said that freedom was often more a question of domestic, economic, or geographical freedom than of legal constraints or theorems. There was an obvious exception to this in the German unfree *ministeriales* who occupied a conspicuous place in Frederick Barbarossa's army in 1189—but then the German *ministeriales* were a very unusual class of unfree men.<sup>35</sup>

It does seem to have been the case that, at least where serfdom was a practical, enforceable legal category, as in England, serfs did not become crusaders. In his list of participants on the Fifth Crusade, Professor Powell describes an English crusader as a serf. In fact, although he was accused of being a villein by a litigant before royal justices at Gloucester in 1221, it was held that he possessed his land freely as a freeman.<sup>36</sup> Such exclusivity, in the twelfth century at least, should occasion no surprise because it reflected contemporary practice in raising armies. Henry II's Assize of Arms (1181), for instance, contemplated arming only freemen and it might be noted that this Assize was applicable not only in Henry's English and continental possessions but was copied by the king of France and the count of Flanders. Obligation was extended in the following century to include the unfree, but servile peasants did not become regular features of levied armies until the wars of Edward I and Philip the Fair.<sup>37</sup> Given the financial outlay, even from the humblest, and the legal disincentives, it is small wonder if, as Matthew Paris alleged, Louis IX was left bemoaning the lack of agricultural workers to settle his hoped-for conquests in Egypt.<sup>38</sup>

Active crusading was the preserve of some, not all, sections of society. Only in the thirteenth century with the construction of a system of vow redemptions, purchase of privileges, and efficient collection and disbursement of donations did crusading embrace the widest possible audience with the friars' preaching aimed, so critics cynically but not entirely inaccurately remarked, more at raising money than men. But the majority of their audience were, and were intended to be, passive.

What of the *plebs*, the masses of poor whose appearance lends such color to crusade narratives? What of the tradition in modern historiography that lays especial emphasis on the poor and their emotions and can suggest, with Michel Mollat, that "the crusade was originally, and in its very essence, an affair of the

35 *Historia de expeditione Friderici*, pp. 22 and 97; cf. p. 112 for *ministerialis* crusades, 1195.

36 Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 246; *Rolls of Justices in Eyre, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire, 1221, 1222*, ed. D.M. Stenton, Selden Society (London, 1940), pp. 59-60, no. 156.

37 The Assize of Arms is translated in *English Historical Documents*, 2: 1042-1189, ed. D.C. Douglas (London, 1953), pp. 416-417; for foreign imitations, Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 1:269-70; H.S. Bennett, *Life on the English Manor, 1150-1400* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 118-125.

38 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 5:107 and 6:163.



poor?"<sup>39</sup> It would be impossible to deny that there were a number of pilgrims on many crusades, especially perhaps the First, who relied less on their own resources than on charity. But such pilgrims had little or no chance of reaching their destination without the active and systematic material assistance of the richer elements within the crusade itself. It is no coincidence that the so-called Children's Crusade of 1212 and the Shepherds' Crusades of 1251 and 1320 failed, on their own resources, to get beyond the northern shores of the Mediterranean, although each of these expeditions was the result also of social, emotional, and local pressures as well as enthusiasm which had little or nothing to do with crusading.

Aside from these expeditions there is a constant tradition in crusade narratives and sermons which emphasizes the participation and the special spiritual qualities of the *pauperes*. But what is meant by poor? Does it mean indigent or merely the unrich? Is it applied as a term to describe material circumstances or spiritual grace? To what extent was talk of the poor a literary device? Frequently, when chroniclers talk of the poor on crusade they mean the recently impoverished. The notorious king of the Tafurs on the First Crusade was a Norman knight fallen on hard times.<sup>40</sup> Certainly, few who embarked without funds of their own or employment by others could have reached Syria. On the Second Crusade, a similar pattern can be detected from Odo of Deuil who appears to include in the crowd of the poor "rich merchants... and moneychangers." The poor at Adalia were swelled by the recently impoverished, "the poor since yesterday" in Odo's phrase, but those they joined on foot were not themselves helpless. They included "seasoned youths" adept with the bow, and Odo described the poor abandoned by their leaders to march overland to Antioch as an *exercitus*, an army of infantry not a rabble. Interestingly, *exercitus* was one of the words applied by Albert of Aachen to Peter the Hermit's force.<sup>41</sup>

Elsewhere, "the poor" is a term used relatively. Robert of Clari has a list of poor crusaders who performed noble deeds on the Fourth Crusade. On investigation, these turn out to be, in the main, knights of some local prominence in Picardy, Artois, and Flanders, definitely members of the aristocracy with close links to local barons and the count of Flanders. Later, on hearing that the Venetians were, after all, going to transport the army, the "poor," so Robert claimed, celebrated by fixing torches to the ends of their lances. Here, at least, the poor were fighters with equipment, however rudimentary, just as on the First Crusade the *plebs* had weapons, even if by the time Antioch was reached these had become rusty.<sup>42</sup>

39 M. Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages* (New Haven and London, 1986), p. 72.

40 Guibert of Noget, RHC HOcc. 4:242; Albert of Aachen, *ibid.*, p. 427.

41 Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 23, 122-123, 137-141; Albert of Aachen, RHC HOcc. 4:279.

42 Robert of Clari, *La Conquête* (note 18 above), pp. 3-4 and 11-12; J. Longnon, *Les compagnons de Ville-hardouin* (Geneva, 1978), pp. 156-157, 163, 179-180, 199 and 205; *Gesta Francorum* (note 2 above), p. 51.

Commentators had an equally selective view of what they meant by poor. The English historian Henry of Huntingdon celebrated the capture of Lisbon in 1147 as a triumph of the poor, which is a distinctly misleading description of the likes of Hervey de Glanville and his fellow crusade leaders.<sup>43</sup> But Henry of Huntingdon used the term deliberately to heighten a dramatic and moral contrast with the failure of the crusade campaigns led by Louis VII and Conrad III. Clerical observers and preachers were less concerned with economic or legal status than with spiritual standing. Although superficially inconvenient in an expanding society held together by the dominance of the rich and powerful, in church no less than state, Christ's teaching on poverty could be used by contemporaries as a vehicle for moral rather than social reform. Poverty was next to Godliness, but this was not necessarily the poverty of St. Francis or the Lincolnshire crusaders of the 1190s designated as *pauperrimus*.<sup>44</sup> Material poverty was not the issue. In a crusade sermon to be used on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, 14 September, a day especially sacred to crusaders, Alan of Lille emphasized that it was the poor who received Christ's favor, by whom he meant the spiritually humble, not the economically destitute. He made this clear by citing in support of his argument Matthew 5.3, the Sermon on the Mount, *beati pauperes spiritu*.<sup>45</sup> As argued above, crusade preachers urged poverty of spirit on prosperous audiences, the poverty movements being aimed at moral regeneration not social reform or the redistribution of wealth.

The poor therefore were not necessarily the indigent, but the spiritually humble or the materially unrich. That is not to say that all crusaders were comfortably off, rather that, to be crusaders, they had to have adequate funding, their own or another's. In real life the poor do not inherit the earth; nor did the destitute go on crusade. The idea of hordes of peasants leaving their fields in sporadic outbreaks of mass hysteria to travel to the far ends of the known world relying on nothing but God and charity is a myth.

The conclusion that suggests itself is hardly profound or surprising. The complexion of crusading armies reflected contemporary society, dominated by princely households, emergent knightly classes, towns growing in wealth and self-confidence, and an increasingly variegated work force in which skilled workers, be they clerics or craftsmen, possessed greater mobility and had the potential to achieve greater prosperity as the increasing population bred an increase in demand for specialized labor. More generally it could be argued that it was only when such social and economic structures had become established that the circumstances for crusading existed. Only an expanding, rich and economically and socially diverse, yet ordered, Europe could have sustained a movement that depended so crucially on organization and money.

43 Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. T. Arnold, RS 74 (London, 1879), p. 281.

44 *H.M.C. Report on Various Collections* (note 13 above), 1:235-236.

45 Alan of Lille, *Sermo de cruce domini*, in *Textes inédits*, ed. M.T. d'Alverny, *Etudes de philosophie médiévale* 52 (Paris, 1965), pp. 281-282.

# Jerusalem and the Development of the Crusade Idea, 1099-1128

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One of the biggest problems currently faced by historians of the crusades is to define the exact role played by the city of Jerusalem, and the Holy Land generally, in the evolution of the crusading movement. This has long been the case in treatment of the origins of the First Crusade, most notably in the work of Carl Erdmann, H.E.J. Cowdrey, and H.E. Mayer;<sup>1</sup> and more recently it has also become a key question for historians of the later expeditions.<sup>2</sup> In what follows I will attempt to link these two problem areas by posing the question: how important was the city of Jerusalem in the development of the crusade idea during the generation after the successes of the First Crusade? An answer to this query will not of course directly elucidate the aims of Urban II in 1095; it is questionable whether anything now can. But it should give an extra perspective to an enquiry which has, hitherto, been based on a rather narrow range of evidence. Similarly, an examination of how those who fashioned the ideology and instruments of the early crusades viewed their own work should help either to validate or disprove the charge that others went on to "divert" the movement from its proper course.

Whatever else it had achieved, or was intended to achieve, the First Crusade's crowning victory was the storming of Jerusalem. No passage gives a better impression of the feeling of exultation experienced by the crusaders at this event than Raymond of Aguilers' joyful outburst:

- \* This paper, a preliminary study for a projected monograph on the Latin Church and the crusades, 1100-1216, was given at the 1987 Summer Symposium of the Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies at Reading University, in addition to the SSCLE Conference. I am grateful for criticisms and suggestions made on both occasions.
- 1 C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M.W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, 1977), esp. pp. 306-371; H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade," *History* 55 (1970), 177-188; H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham (Oxford, 1972), pp. 9-40, 290-291.
  - 2 N. Housley, *The Italian Crusades. The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254-1343* (Oxford, 1982); idem, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305-1378* (Oxford, 1986); C.J. Tyerman, "The Holy Land and the Crusades of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *CS*, pp. 105-112.



How they clapped their hands, rejoicing and singing a new song to the Lord. Indeed, their minds offered to God, the victorious and triumphant, prayers of praise which could not be expressed in words. A new day, a new joy, a new and perpetual gladness, the fulfillment of our labor and devotion, called from everybody new words and new songs... This is the day which the Lord has made, let us rejoice and be glad in it... For on this day the Apostles were thrown out of Jerusalem and scattered throughout the world. And on the same day the children of the Apostles rewon their city and fatherland for God and their ancestors. This day, the ides of July, will be celebrated to the praise and glory of God's name, who answered the prayers of his Church with the city and fatherland which he promised to the fathers, returning it to the sons in faith and benediction.<sup>3</sup>

Scarcely less excitement was felt in the West when news of the fall of Jerusalem arrived late in 1099. In a letter to Bishop Lambert of Arras, written in November or December, Archbishop Manasses of Reims passed on the news in ecstatic phrases which, like those of Raymond, celebrated the liberation of the common *urbs* and *patria* of all Christians:

Most dear brother, we are passing on to you true and joyful tidings which have just reached us, the result we believe of divine majesty rather than human might. This is that Jerusalem resides on high in gladness and delight, a glorious gift which its God has bestowed upon it in our lifetime. Jerusalem, the city of our redemption and glory, rejoices with unlooked-for gladness, because it has been delivered from the most cruel bondage of the pagans by the labor and incomparable power of God's children.<sup>4</sup>

It is not surprising, therefore, that for Orderic Vitalis the veterans of the crusade were "the Jerusalemites" (*Ierosolimitae*).<sup>5</sup>

The emphasis thus placed on the capture of Jerusalem had an inevitable impact both on the way the First Crusade was described in the following decade, and on the preaching of the "follow-up" expeditions launched in this period. In his recent study of the First Crusade, Jonathan Riley-Smith devoted a chapter to the reworking of the expedition's ideas by Guibert of Nogent, Baldric of Bourgeuil, and Robert of Reims, in about 1107-8.<sup>6</sup> This was primarily, he has made clear, a process of theological refinement, in which the "crude and inchoate ideas" expressed in the course of the crusade were interpreted more in accordance with contemporary monastic learning. But the reverse was also true, especially in relation to the city of Jerusalem. The dominant patristic approach to Jerusalem, rooted in Jesus' prophecy of the destruction of the Temple, St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, and the writings of such early Church fathers as Eusebius, Jerome, and Athanasius, tended to view the city's importance in terms of its symbolic representation of the Christian Church (allegory), and its prefiguring of the Heavenly Jerusalem (anagogy). Both now yielded ground to a more literal approach, based on popular veneration of the earthly city because of

3 *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. J.H. and L.L. Hill (Paris, 1969), p. 151.

4 *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901), pp. 175-176.

5 *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-80), 6:158, 162.

6 J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), ch. 6.

its place in the life of Christ and its subsequent sanctity.<sup>7</sup> This meant, for example, that scriptural prophecies relating to Jerusalem, which had formerly been interpreted allegorically or anagogically, were seen as literally fulfilled by the crusade; grotesquely, Guibert of Nogent could reconstruct Urban II's Clermont sermon in terms of a reference to the need to provide a Christian presence in Palestine for Antichrist to wage war against.<sup>8</sup> In effect Christian theology had been vulgarized, even the most learned Benedictine monks proving susceptible to the dominant trend in popular religious thinking once it received the sanction of the crusade's staggering success. It was a step which Urban II had avoided: in his letters relating to the crusade "Jerusalem" still meant the patriarchate, the "mother church" of all Christians.<sup>9</sup> A similar process of popularization may of course have been the fate of the Clermont indulgence.<sup>10</sup>

As learned theologians writing after the event and far from the heat of battle, Baldric, Guibert, and Robert resisted the temptation to follow the new, popular theology to its limits, but it is surprising how far they did go. In a speech supposedly delivered before the final assault on Jerusalem, Baldric gave the traditional anagogical interpretation of the Earthly Jerusalem, "the Jerusalem which you see, to which you have come, and in whose presence you stand, prefigures (*praefigurat*) and represents (*praetendit*) the heavenly city;" but he went on to make a suggestion more in keeping with the new approach: "it is certainly to be feared that the heavenly city will be closed to us, and taken away from us, if our house is seized by malignant strangers as a result of our slothfulness."<sup>11</sup> Under this kind of pressure, the original aims of the crusade received a substantial reworking at the hands of these authors. While the goal of bringing fraternal aid to the eastern Christians was still cited—indeed, it received its richest treatment from Baldric—there can be no doubt that the liberation of the *city* (rather than the patriarchate) of Jerusalem was placed uppermost in the hopes of Urban II and those who responded to his appeal.<sup>12</sup> This was how people now viewed the First Crusade.

7 J. Prawer, "Jerusalem in the Christian and Jewish Perspectives of the Early Middle Ages," *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, 26. *Gli Ebrei nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1980), pp. 739-795; S. Mähl, "Jerusalem in mittelalterlicher Sicht," in *Die Welt als Geschichte* 22 (1962), pp. 11-26; A.H. Bredero, "Jérusalem dans l'occident médiéval," in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet* (Poitiers, 1966), pp. 259-271. On the exegetical background, see H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1959-63); *The Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume Two: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe (Cambridge, 1969), ch. 6.

8 Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, pp. 142-143.

9 *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 136-138; *Papsturkunden in Florenz*, ed. W. Wiederhold in *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse* (Göttingen, 1901), pp. 313-314; *Papsturkunden in Spanien. I: Katalanien*, ed. P. Kehr (Berlin, 1926), pp. 287-288.

10 Mayer, *Crusades*, pp. 32-34; J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?* (London, 1977), p. 59. But cf. the new interpretation by Riley-Smith in *First Crusade*, pp. 27-29.

11 *Historia Jerosolimitana*, RHC HOcc. 4:101.

12 Robert of Reims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, RHC HOcc. 3:727-730; Guibert of Nogent, *Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos*, RHC HOcc. 4:137-140; Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, pp. 12-16.

Naturally a premium was placed on the defense of the regained *patria* and the extension of Christian holdings in Palestine. Jerusalem dominated the preaching of both the 1101 crusade and the expedition assembled by Bohemund of Antioch in 1106. In the case of the former this arose from the nature of the enterprise as a means of reinforcing the dwindling ranks of crusaders and of compelling deserters to return to the East. Pleas for additional troops, and in particular for severe action to be taken against those who had failed to discharge their original vows, came from the leaders of the crusade,<sup>13</sup> and Paschal II and Manasses of Reims, writing late in 1099, both referred to the deployment of ecclesiastical sanctions against those who refused to fulfil their vows.<sup>14</sup> Given the nature of Frankish military holdings in Palestine, this entailed another armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The pope thus wrote of the urgent need "efficaciously to assist our brothers, who have remained in those regions formerly called Palestine and Canaan."<sup>15</sup> Professor Riley-Smith has noted that the resulting expedition was characterized by an added emphasis on "the pilgrimizing element," one consequence being the appearance of the earliest evidence of formal ceremonies for taking the cross, which were modelled on pilgrimage rites.<sup>16</sup>

Much the same can be said of Bohemund's crusade of 1106-7. The expedition itself began and ended with the ill-fated siege of Byzantine Durazzo, but it was almost certainly suggested to Paschal II as another armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was preached as such by Bohemund and Bruno of Segni during their tour of France in 1106. French sources are unanimous on this point:

In the same year Bohemund, the Duke of Antioch, a man of great reputation and fame, came to the villages and towns of these parts of Europe and, with papal permission, urged all to make haste to go to Jerusalem, to liberate those who were held in captivity and assist those who were being harassed by the multitudinous Turkish army and the daily assaults of the enemy.<sup>17</sup>

Two sources specify the Holy Sepulcher as the crusade's goal: "also present on this occasion was the legate of the apostolic see of Rome, Lord Bruno, the Bishop of Segni, who had been sent by the Lord Pope Paschal as a companion to Lord Bohemund, to preach the road to the Holy Sepulcher;"<sup>18</sup> "Duke Bohemund, accompanied by Bruno, the legate of the holy Roman church, held a council and preached the road to the Holy Sepulcher."<sup>19</sup> It is notable that Orderic Vitalis, who furnished full details of Bohemund's anti-Byzantine agitation in France, still referred to the crusade as "the third departure of westerners to Jerusalem."<sup>20</sup> And in the letter which he wrote to the pope during the crusade, probably in 1108, Bohemund referred to the expedition as the *iter*

13 *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 141-142, 146-149, 160, 176-177.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 174-176.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 175.

16 Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, pp. 126-127.

17 *Recueil d'annales angevines et vendômoises* (Paris, 1903), pp. 68-69.

18 Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, ed. H. Waquet (Paris, 1929), p. 48.

19 'Chronicon malleacense,' *RHGF* 12:405.

20 *Ecclesiastical History* (note 5 above), 3:182.



*Ierosolimitanum*, presumably meaning that it would pursue its course to Jerusalem once the quarrel with Alexius was settled.<sup>21</sup> Two years later, when Sigurd of Norway arrived at Jaffa with a fleet and took part in the siege of Sidon, Fulcher of Chartres described him as undertaking a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.<sup>22</sup> Even the crusade of 1122-24, which was launched as a response to military disaster in northern Syria, was preached as an expedition to Jerusalem.<sup>23</sup> The association of pilgrimage and crusade was now so strong, even the terminology being identical (*peregrinatio, iter ad Hierusalem, via sancti sepulchri*), that for most of the twelfth century it is often difficult to tell if visitors to Palestine had come as pilgrims or crusaders.<sup>24</sup>

But this close association between the crusade and the defense of the newly acquired holy places of Palestine, rooted in the success of the First Crusade and the popular obsession with Jerusalem, was not the only trend in the development of the crusade idea at this time. Several considerations militated strongly against the emerging ideology receiving such a narrow definition. They were of a theological, juristic, and practical nature. There was, in the first place, continuing reluctance on the part of many churchmen fully to embrace the "literal theology" relating to Jerusalem; instead, they continued to view the goal of military activity in Palestine as the defense of the patriarchate, or the Eastern Church generally. Thus Paschal II, at the end of 1099, wrote of the liberation of the "Asian church," and of the need to aid "our mother church of the east."<sup>25</sup> The logical consequence was that if another patriarchate, province, or diocese was in peril, it too should receive military support as an integral part of the Church which Jerusalem symbolized. Secondly, besides being a form of pilgrimage the crusade was also a holy war, fought at God's command and at the behest of His earthly agent, the pope. This juristic authority meant that the pope exercised some control over the new movement from the beginning; it is important to stress this since there is currently a tendency to exaggerate the "popular" aspect of early crusading.<sup>26</sup> And thirdly, there were powerful forces acting on the papacy to persuade it to employ its juristic authority in such a way as to extend the crusade to areas geographically distinct from Jerusalem. The questions which now arise are: what forms of extension occurred, and how were

21 W. Holtzmann, "Zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites, 2. Bohemund von Antiochien und Alexios I," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 50 (1935), 280. Generally on Bohemund's expedition, see J.G. Rowe, "Paschal II, Bohemund of Antioch and the Byzantine Empire," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 49 (1966), 165-202.

22 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 543-548.

23 J.S.C. Riley-Smith, "The Venetian Crusade of 1122-1124," in *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airaldi and B.Z. Kedar, Collana storica di fonti e studi diretta da Geo Pistarino, 48 (Genoa, 1986), pp. 340-343. I am grateful to Prof. Riley-Smith for allowing me to read this paper in page proof.

24 For example, *ibid.*, p. 343.

25 *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 175.

26 Cf. M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London, 1984), ch. 3, *passim*.



they affected by the simultaneous and powerful trend to associate the crusade with the *iter ad Hierusalem*?

The area where local conditions exerted the strongest pressure on the Curia to extend the crusade was Christian Spain. Urban II's attitude towards the Almoravid threat, as expressed in his letters relating to the rebuilding of the strategically important and archiepiscopal city of Tarragona, had been straightforward. In a letter dated 1089, in which the pope urged the Catalans to work for the restoration of Tarragona rather than go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, promising them the same indulgence for so doing, Urban showed both that he equated pious activity in Spain (not necessarily involving fighting) with the arduous Jerusalem pilgrimage, and also that he claimed the authority to "direct" the piety of the faithful.<sup>27</sup> At some point during the First Crusade Urban wrote to a group of Catalan counts and knights informing them that the struggle to restore and defend Tarragona carried the reward of the full crusade indulgence and urging even those who had vowed to go to Jerusalem to fight in Spain instead.<sup>28</sup> This general policy was specifically applied in the case of Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, who appeared in Rome en route to Syria in 1099 and was told to return home.<sup>29</sup>

Although these letters are well known, their full importance has even now not been registered by historians of the crusade.<sup>30</sup> They make it crystal clear that Urban II's conception of the crusade was a broad one, comprising the defense of Christians wherever they were being attacked: "For it is no service to liberate Christians from the Saracens in one place and to deliver them in another to Saracen tyranny and oppression."<sup>31</sup> Similarly, in a letter of May 1098 to Bishop Peter of Huesca the pope wrote of the victories granted by God to the Christian armies in the East and in Spain: "indeed, in our lifetime He has used the strength of the Christians to weaken the Turks in Asia and the Moors in Europe, restoring once-famous cities to the cult of His religion through His favorable grace."<sup>32</sup> Professor Mayer has cited this letter as proof that the pope even at this point considered Jerusalem to be so unimportant that he did not mention it.<sup>33</sup>

27 Erdmann, *Origin*, pp. 315-316; Mayer, *Crusades*, pp. 29-32; J. Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España* (Vitoria, 1958), pp. 56-57. On the theme of *restauratio*, see also L.J. McCrank, "The Foundation of the Confraternity of Tarragona by Archbishop Oleguer Bonestruga, 1126-1129," *Viator* 9 (1978), 158-159.

28 *Papsturkunden*, ed. Kehr, pp. 287-288. Cf. Erdmann, *Origin*, pp. 317-318; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia*, pp. 60-61.

29 Erdmann, *Origin*, p. 318.

30 An exception is Goñi Gaztambide, who wrote that "No podía quedar duda alguna sobre la posición de España ante la cruzada palestinense y su misión en la Cristiandad... Para Urbano II la Reconquista perseguía idénticos fines que la cruzada oriental: la recuperación de tierras antiguamente cristianas, la liberación de los cristianos oprimidos por los paganos y el rescate de iglesias célebres": *Historia*, p. 61. Cf. note 43 below.

31 *Papsturkunden*, ed. Kehr, p. 288: "Neque enim virtutis est alibi a Saracenis christianos eruere, alibi christianos Saracenorum tyrannidi oppressionique exponere."

32 Urban II, *Epistolae et privilegia*, PL 151:504, No. 237.

33 Mayer, *Crusades*, p. 291.

This argument is invalid insofar as Urban was discussing *recent* military achievements in the two "sectors," rather than hoped-for goals, but in a broader sense Mayer's point is correct: no analysis of Urban's approach to the crusade which fails to take into account his equation of the two fronts is accurate. And since that equation is incompatible with a definition of the crusade as an *iter ad Hierusalem*, it follows that Urban did not accept that definition. Apart from other considerations, Spain alone would have prevented him following that path.

It was necessary to set out this background because Urban's immediate successors adopted his policy on Spain *in toto*: participation in the *Reconquista* was placed on the same level as the crusade in Palestine; identical indulgences were issued for it; and most importantly, persistent attempts were made to prevent Spaniards from deserting the "home front" for the East.<sup>34</sup> Thus in October 1100 Paschal II promised that he would forbid Castilian clerics from going east, "lured by the vision of Jerusalem," just as he had already forbidden the knights, and to combat the temptation to go to Palestine he granted King Alfonso VI of Castile "forgiveness of sins to those who come to fight in your kingdoms and counties."<sup>35</sup> In March 1101 Paschal wrote again of having to turn back Castilians heading for Jerusalem (presumably with the crusade of 1101), and asked their compatriots not to deride them for failing to fulfill their vows.

For we order all of you with renewed command that you persevere in using all your strength to fight the Moabites and Moors in your parts [of the world]. It is there that, through God's largesse, you can carry out your penance, there that you can receive the remission and grace of the holy apostles Peter and Paul and of their apostolic church.<sup>36</sup>

The appeal of Jerusalem to Spaniards was as strong as to other Latin Christians,<sup>37</sup> but after 1101 there was much less immediate danger of their taking the cross to go to the East. After the failure of the crusade of 1101 crusading activity was in fact much richer in Spain than in the East, with bulls being issued for fighting in Portugal, for the Balearics expedition of 1114-16, and for an Arago-Catalan campaign in 1116.<sup>38</sup> As Goñi Gaztambide and Jonathan Riley-Smith have pointed out, it was in Spain that many of the institutional advances in crusading took place during the first decades of the twelfth century, such as the formal promulgation of crusade bulls to inaugurate recruitment.<sup>39</sup> A series of important measures relating to the indulgence, including the stipulation of a year's service as the norm for its granting, the practice of substitution, and the establishment of a specified "table" of partial indulgences, seem to have first

34 For what follows see also Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia*, pp. 63-80.

35 Paschal II, *Epistolae et privilegia*, PL 163:45, Nos. 25-26.

36 Ibid., cols. 64-65, No. 44.

37 See, for example, Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia*, pp. 60-61, 64-67.

38 Ibid., pp. 67-70.

39 Ibid., p. 70; L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (London, 1981), pp. 17, 73-74.

occurred in the context of the remarkable confraternity of Belchite, in the early 1120s.<sup>40</sup>

It was in the first decades of the century too that the appeal of the Spanish crusade to Frenchmen first became apparent, many coming across the Pyrenees to take part in the campaigns of King Alfonso I "the Battler," of Aragon, and Count Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona, who aimed at liberating the entire length of the Ebro Valley.<sup>41</sup> The culmination of their campaigns was the capture of Saragossa, which was facilitated by a significant indulgence granted by Gelasius II in December 1118. It included one of the earliest grants of a partial indulgence in connection with a crusade:

Those who are laboring, or labor in future, in this, the Lord's service, and those who are giving, or later donate, anything to the church in the said town, which was destroyed by the Saracens and Moabites, so that it can be repaired, or to the clerics serving God there, so that they can be supported, will obtain a remission of their penances and an indulgence; these will be in accordance with the amount of their labors and the benefits which accrue to the church, at the judgment of the bishops, in whose parishes they reside.<sup>42</sup>

Under Calixtus II the same policy was pursued.<sup>43</sup> In an important encyclical probably written in 1123,<sup>44</sup> the pope granted fighters in Spain "the same remission of sins which we have granted to the defenders of the Eastern Church," adding that those who had taken the cross would be excommunicated until they fulfilled their vows.<sup>45</sup> And at the First Lateran Council a canon was adopted which threatened severe sanctions against "those... who are known to have placed crosses on their clothing either for the journey to Jerusalem or for that to Spain (*vel pro Hierosolymitano vel pro Hispanico itinere*), and afterwards discarded them."<sup>46</sup> The equality of the two fronts was thus confirmed in the

40 P. Rassow, "La Cofradia de Belchite o milicia de Zaragoza," *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 3 (1926), 224-225; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia*, pp. 73-76; E. Lourie, "The Confraternity of Belchite, the Ribât, and the Temple," *Viator* 13 (1982), 159-176.

41 D.W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London, 1978), pp. 82-86; L.J. McCrank, "Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest: Robert Burdet and the Principality of Tarragona, 1129-55," *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981), 67-82.

42 Gelasius II, *Epistolae et privilegia*, PL 163:508, No. 25; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia*, pp. 71-73.

43 In view of what I have said in the preceding four paragraphs, it is clear that I disagree with R.A. Fletcher's comment (*Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmirez of Santiago de Compostela* [Oxford, 1984], pp. 297-298), that "[while] certain pronouncements of Urban II and Paschal II show that the popes were slowly coming to see the wars against the Muslims of Spain as sharing in the distinctiveness of those waged against the Muslims of Palestine and Syria..., it was not until 1123 that pope Calixtus II made it unambiguously plain that he regarded the wars in Spain as crusades." For Calixtus' rich family connections with both Spain and the crusade in Palestine, see C.B. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198* (Ithaca and London, 1987), pp. 155, 273-275.

44 It is undated, but see L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 73-74; Riley-Smith, "The Venetian Crusade of 1122-1124," pp. 345-346.

45 *Bullaire*, ed. U. Robert, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891), 2:266-267, No. 454.

46 *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo et al., 3rd ed. (Bologna, 1973), p. 192

authoritative context of a great church council.<sup>47</sup>

Much research needs to be undertaken on the crusades in Spain, especially on the means used to recruit locals and outsiders, but it is apparent that the approach consistently pursued by the papacy from Urban II to Calixtus II was in step with the popularity of crusading in Spain amongst the nobility of the French principalities. What is rather less clear is the feelings of the Spaniards themselves.<sup>48</sup> At least some of the measures outlined above were introduced as a result of Spanish pressure, exerted especially by "frontier prelates" like the archbishops of Tarragona. The remarkable Oleguer Bonestruga, for instance, played a leading role in promoting crusade activity in 1123, 1126-27, and 1130, following up an interest in the Catalan Reconquest which had manifested itself even before he was appointed to his Spanish sees. Many, if not most developments in the crusading movement during this period originated with local initiatives from men like Oleguer or Diego Gelmirez of Santiago; as one would expect, they operated through personal contacts, so that Oleguer had the advantage that Pope Gelasius II had lived at the abbey of Saint Rufus of Avignon during Oleguer's abbacy there.<sup>49</sup> But were such men typical? Quite apart from the steady trickle of Spaniards to the East, which the papal Curia was not able to curtail, there is other evidence for the sheer pull of Jerusalem for Spaniards. Of particular interest is the extraordinary idea, first put forward at this time by Alfonso the Battler and Diego Gelmirez of Compostela, that those who fought in Spain would go on to defend the Holy Sepulcher. As Diego put it:

Just as the knights of Christ and the faithful sons of holy church opened up the road to Jerusalem with great effort and the shedding of much blood, so let us become knights of Christ, and once we have defeated His worst enemies, the Saracens, let us, helped by the Lord's grace, open up the road to His Sepulcher which [goes] through the regions of Spain, and is shorter and much less laborious.<sup>50</sup>

The idea that the Spanish crusades could be geographically linked in this fashion with expeditions to Palestine became a persistent feature of the crusading movement; for instance, it was expounded in a very elaborate form by James II's

and cf. p. 191. The Councils of Clermont (1130) and Reims (1131), and the Second Lateran Council (1139), offered convicted incendiaries the choice of the two fronts to perform penitential service in the field: Ibid., p. 201; Mansi, *Concilia* 21:440, 461-462.

47 Cf. Goñi Gaztambide's comment (*Historia*, p. 77): "La equiparación entre la Reconquista y la cruzada oriental es perfecta."

48 R.A. Fletcher has suggested that "the 'crusade-idea' was an alien importation which took root in Spain only in the second quarter of the twelfth century" (*Saint James's Catapult*, p. 298). This suggestion is elaborated in his stimulating paper, "Reconquest and Crusade in Spain, c. 1050-1150," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5.37 (1987), pp. 31-47. I am grateful to Mr. Fletcher for allowing me to read this paper before its publication.

49 McCrank, "Foundation" (note 27 above), p. 162 ff.

50 *Historia compostellana in España sagrada*, ed. E. Flórez, M. Risco *et al.*, 51 vols. (Madrid, 1747-1879), 20:428. Cf. one of the goals of the Belchite confraternity, as stated in 1136: "...deo annuente iter Jherusalemitanum ab hac parte aperietur." Rassow, "La cofradia," p. 225.



envoys to the Council of Vienne nearly two centuries later.<sup>51</sup> By contrast, Goñi Gaztambide made the important point that while the tomb of Saint James had acquired enough prestige for Diego Gelmirez to persuade the Curia to elevate his see to metropolitan status, Diego made no attempt to use the saint's growing cult for crusading purposes: "In his judgement, [Santiago] could not be compared in this respect to the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem."<sup>52</sup> But however strong the rival claims of Jerusalem to the crusading enthusiasm of the Spaniards, the fact remains that the gravity of the Almoravid threat, coupled with the longstanding tradition of treating the *Reconquista* as a holy war, made it natural for the church to create a crusading front in Spain, with the almost immediate transfer to it of the evolving apparatus of vow, preaching, cross-taking, and indulgence.

Other areas where developments occurred were more problematic. Within Christendom, the enforcement of the Peace of God and the struggle for Church Reform had been associated with sacred violence since at least the mid-eleventh century, with a significant acceleration of activity in Gregory VII's reign. By 1095 churchmen had begun to issue absolutions to those who fought for Peace or Reform, and to employ the potent concept of a *Christi militia*.<sup>53</sup> But crusading against Christians was much slower to develop than crusading against the Spanish Moors: it was not until 1127-35 that clear instances occurred of the grant of plenary indulgences for military action against Christians. And it is significant that several examples of a more general remission of sins being given as the reward for fighting, in the years immediately following the First Crusade, tried to effect a link with the expedition by referring to Jerusalem: not the earthly Jerusalem, but the Heavenly City, the Christian's entry to which would be facilitated by serving the Church. For example, when Pope Paschal II wrote to Robert of Flanders in 1103 to try to secure his intervention on the side of Church Reform at Liège, he referred to the Count's recent return from "Jerusalem in Syria" and went on to remark that service to God within Christendom would gain him entry to "the Heavenly Jerusalem."<sup>54</sup>

In one sense this juxtaposition of the two Jerusalems showed that churchmen were adhering to traditional priorities; that what mattered most was not the city in Palestine but the Heavenly Jerusalem which it anagogically prefigured. In another sense, however, it was a rather unsubtle attempt to exploit the brilliant aura surrounding the First Crusade and the regained Jerusalem to the profit of the Church's internal problems. By 1128 this was no longer possible, as the aura was fading, nor was it necessary, as the Church was gaining enough confidence in the juristic validity of its internal holy wars to dispense with the camouflage. By about 1135 Orderic Vitalis could make Count Helias of Maine brazenly

51 See Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, pp. 53-54.

52 Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia*, p. 80.

53 N. Housley, "Crusades against Christians: their Origins and Early Development, c. 1000-1216," in *CS*, pp. 17-21.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

assert his right to wage a form of "crusade at home" against William Rufus instead of fulfilling his vow to go on the First Crusade:

I wanted to fight the heathens in the Lord's name, but behold, now I discover a battle nearer at hand against Christ's enemies. For everybody who resists truth and justice reveals himself as an enemy of God, who is true truth and the sun of righteousness... I shall not discard our saviour's cross, which I was signed with in the pilgrim's manner; instead I shall inscribe it on my shield and helmet and on all my arms, and I shall fasten the sign of the holy cross to my saddle and bridle. Protected by this sign, I shall proceed against the enemies of peace and justice, defending the interior of Christendom (*Christianorum regiones*) by fighting. For my horse and arms will be marked with the holy sign, and all my adversaries who rise up against me will be fighting against a knight of Christ.<sup>55</sup>

This remarkable passage reflects not so much the thinking of an astute (but also, according to Orderic Vitalis, notably pious) French prince in 1096, as the ideas held in advanced quarters of the Church at the time it was written: its argument is very similar to a statement on the same topic by Peter the Venerable, about a decade later.<sup>56</sup>

Even more problematic as an area where crusading ideas might be transplanted was the German frontier with the pagan Slavs. Both in Spain and within the interior of Christendom, the justification for the transplant lay in the liberation or defense of the Church. Such a justification was normally lacking in the case of German expansion across the Elbe; this was a missionary war, and it would be nearly half a century before the papacy yielded to popular pressure, and the arguments of St. Bernard, and included the German front in the preaching of the Second Crusade.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, one important document, written in 1108, shows that even protagonists in this area were not immune to the temptation to extend the crusade idea. In this document, an appeal for a crusade against the Wends written by a Flemish clerk in the circle of the archbishop of Magdeburg, Jerusalem again played a prominent role. The dilemma faced by the author of the *Aufruf* was the same as that confronted somewhat later by Diego Gelmirez of Santiago; as Helmut Beumann put it, "The author was aware that here in eastern Europe a pilgrimage goal as attractive as the earthly Jerusalem was lacking. Nonetheless, he did not want to dispense with the idea altogether."<sup>58</sup> The way he handled the problem provides an interesting comparison with Diego Gelmirez and Paschal II.

55 *Ecclesiastical History* (note 5 above), 5:230.

56 Housley, "Crusades against Christians," pp. 23-24.

57 V.G. Berry, "The Second Crusade," in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, 1:479ff.; Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?*, pp. 24-25; M. Bünding-Naujoks, "Das Imperium christianum und die deutschen Ostkriege vom zehnten bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert," in *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters*, ed. H. Beumann (Darmstadt, 1973), pp. 94-110 (Bünding-Naujoks' article was originally published in 1940. Ed.)

58 See H. Beumann, "Kreuzzugsgedanke und Ostpolitik im hohen Mittelalter," in his *Heidenmission*, p. 131, and pp. 129-137 generally for discussion of the *Aufruf* (Beumann's article was originally published in 1953. Ed.); Bünding-Naujoks, "Imperium christianum," pp. 87-94.

Diego was to attempt to forge a link between the *Reconquista* and Jerusalem in terms of geography and strategy, while Paschal II had written of the earthly/heavenly Jerusalem dichotomy and the implied concept of priority. The anonymous author adopted a third approach, firmly rooted in the allegorical interpretation of Jerusalem's significance, but less convincing than the other two. It consisted of a rather muddled and inapposite comparison between the liberation of Jerusalem by the First Crusade, and the need to free "our Jerusalem" from the vicious attacks, and cruel religious practices, of the pagan Slavs: "Rise up and come, all lovers of Christ and the Church, and make preparations just as did the men of Gaul for the liberation of Jerusalem. Our Jerusalem, free from her origin, has been made a slave-girl by the cruelty of the Gentiles. Her walls have fallen because of our sins, but these ruins are in your hands: let all the precious stones of her wall, and the towers of our Jerusalem, be built with jewels."<sup>59</sup> The central juridical problem posed by German expansion was thus sidestepped, and the *Aufruf* was spiced up with atrocity stories (similar to those inserted into Urban II's Clermont sermon by some chroniclers), padded out with biblical quotations, and given weight by a frank appeal to conquer and colonize potentially rich agricultural lands.<sup>60</sup> The *Aufruf* was not acted upon, and it remains an isolated, but remarkably early, attempt to sanctify military endeavor in this region.

To the crusading fronts, which were all, by 1128, starting to take shape in one form or another, should be added one other highly significant development which was bound to exercise an impact on the role played by Jerusalem within the movement's evolution: the military Orders. In 1128 the Templar Rule received the official sanction of the Church after it had been debated at the Council of Troyes.<sup>61</sup> This of course was a major advance in Catholic thinking about sacred violence, but the ground for it had been well prepared during the preceding decades, less by the Templars, whose numbers were still tiny even at the time of the Council, than by such bodies of men as the Belchite confraternity (1122) and other confraternities formed in Christian Spain in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.<sup>62</sup> By beginning to link holy war with monasticism instead of pilgrimage, such groups inevitably had the long-term effect of detaching the crusade from one city or region, and of reinforcing the contrary trend to associate it with the defense of the Faith, thus promoting geographical expansion. The tremendous prestige which the Templars and Hospitalers accumulated in the middle years of the century, and which led to the creation of Spanish and later German Orders, thus ironically worked to the detriment of a concentration of Christian resources on Palestine, favored by the two great Orders.

59 W. Wattenbach, "Handschriftliches," *Neues Archiv* 7 (1882), 625-626.

60 Ibid.

61 M. Barber, "The Origins of the Order of the Temple," *Studia monastica* 12 (1970), 219-240.

62 Lourie, "Confraternity" (note 40 above), *passim*; McCrank, "Foundation," *passim*.

The situation in 1128 was therefore somewhat complicated. Were it not for the *Reconquista*, and the precocious development of the Spanish crusades, it is possible that Jerusalem, the *sanctissima civitas*, would have retained its dominant position within the development of the crusading movement. The still comparatively recent success of the First Crusade, the boost which this gave to the new interpretation of Jerusalem's role within Christian thought, the need to reinforce a Christian kingdom whose very *raison d'être* was the guardianship of the holy places, and above all the influence of the pilgrimage tradition on the youthful institutions of crusading, together account for the power of its appeal. This naturally made the crusade in the eastern Mediterranean an inflexible form of military operation, and Professor Grabois has recently laid extra emphasis on the detrimental consequences of this inflexibility in the case of the Second Crusade.<sup>63</sup> In terms of the crusading movement generally, it might also have entailed a narrow channelling of sacred violence, had the exigencies of the situation in Spain and, to a lesser extent, conflicts in progress within Christendom, not promoted the alternative, broader definition of the crusade as a means of defending the Christian church against attack. Within Christendom, this broader definition included a renewed anagogical treatment of Jerusalem, which to some extent counterbalanced the increasingly literal interpretation of the city's role within the crusading movement in the East.

By the end of the century's third decade further factors were coming into play, reinforcing the *Reconquista*. One was the advances made in the formulation of a juridical analysis of the Church's role in sponsoring warfare. Another was the breakthrough in thinking about sacred violence represented by the recognition of the Order of the Knights Templar in 1128. Is it possible that Diego Gelmirez's resort to Jerusalem-based propaganda in 1125 shows the broader interpretation to have been under stress, and rescued by these two developments? In view of the series of measures which lay behind it, and the recent affirmation of the equality of the two fronts at the Lateran Council, the answer is probably no; but one has the impression that there was a certain tension, a conflict of territorial and spiritual interests, in the peninsula, and that the opening-up of the crusade was greatly facilitated by the new factors.

What contribution does this nuanced interpretation make to the two fields of enquiry mentioned at the start? The papal curia under Paschal II and Calixtus II was continuing the policies of Urban II, in giving immediate sanction to crusading in Spain, taking steps in that direction elsewhere, and viewing the crusade generally as a means of defending the church. This is clear both from its own comments and from a comparison between papal pronouncements and actions before and after 1099. H.E.J. Cowdrey has produced strong arguments that Urban was thinking primarily of the recovery of Jerusalem when he spoke at Clermont in November 1095; but I would suggest that in the overall context of the curia's thinking about sacred violence, it makes more sense to interpret the

63 A. Grabois, "The Crusade of King Louis VII: A Reconsideration," in *CS*, pp. 94-104.



Pope's references to Jerusalem as meaning the patriarchate rather than simply the city and its shrines.<sup>64</sup>

As for the question of a later "diversion" of the crusading idea, it is increasingly clear that every major crusading front which later developed was present in embryonic form virtually from the beginning. The full appearance of each, in the institutional sense of the preaching of the cross, the promulgation of indulgences, etc., was dictated by a wide range of political, ecclesiastical, and social factors.<sup>65</sup> In these decades the crusade to Palestine was pre-eminent in popularity, even many Spaniards preferring it to action on the "home front." But Spain too soon developed its own popularity for foreigners, and popularity, which waxed and waned throughout the history of the crusading movement, cannot be taken as symptomatic of a gulf between a "hierarchical" and a "popular" view of the meaning and scope of crusading. This last point of course needs to be investigated more fully; but it is surely the case that the breadth of vision which was characteristic of the Church's approach to crusading from the very start could not have continued had it not been consonant with the thinking of the laity.

64 Cf. Erdmann, *Origin*, pp. 367-368. I would certainly not relegate Jerusalem to the status of a "recruiting device," as Erdmann effectively does.

65 G. Constable, "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries," *Traditio* 9 (1953), 213-279 is a classic study of one important phase in this process.

# Canon Law and the First Crusade

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At the Cardiff Conference in 1983, Professor John Gilchrist presented a paper on "The Erdmann Thesis and the Canon Law, 1083-1141," which was then, and has since been, regarded as of the utmost importance for the study of the canonical preparation for the First Crusade.<sup>1</sup> It is far from my purpose to challenge this paper, for with most of it I am in basic agreement. I would like simply to suggest some questions that, in the light of it, call for further investigation and discussion.

The first, and perhaps the most pressing, is how far and in what form St. Augustine of Hippo's teachings about the just war were current and influential during the eleventh century. Here, one might wish to query a very few of Gilchrist's statements, as when, in speaking of the canonical tradition from Burchard of Worms to Anselm of Lucca and beyond, he postulates that "these collections... maintained a traditional Augustinian concept of the just/holy war directed mainly at the internal enemies of the church," and, again, when he asserts that, after Anselm's canonical collection was compiled, "the traditional Augustinian, Burchardian ethos lived on."<sup>2</sup> But how well formed or traditional was the Augustinian concept in the eleventh century? Augustine himself dealt with the subject of war occasionally and incidentally in writings primarily devoted to other topics.<sup>3</sup> By no means all of these writings remained generally known and read; even with those that did, it cannot be assumed that passages relating to war were often noticed. As F.H. Russell has pointed out, from the fifth century onwards, what were taken to be Augustine's ideas sometimes came from spurious works, and, in general, "the genuine Augustinian opinions in all their complexity were neglected, and even his formula for the just war disappeared from view."<sup>4</sup> In the eleventh century, references to Augustine were, on the whole, relatively few. For example, in all his letters, whether registered or

\* This paper was written and delivered before the appearance of J. Gilchrist's further important paper "The Papacy and War against the 'Saracens', 795-1216," *The International History Review* 10 (1988), 174-197.

1 CS, pp. 37-45.

2 Ibid., pp. 38, 41.

3 F.H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 16-26.

4 Ibid., pp. 26-27.

not, Pope Gregory VII, whom scholars rightly consider especially important in changing ideas about warfare, cited Augustine but once, in a context having nothing to do with war.<sup>5</sup> Again, in the *Libelli de lite*, some authors—Manegold of Lautenbach, the *Liber canonum contra Heinricum IV*, and Guy of Ferrara are the main early examples—cited Augustine frequently, but others, like Cardinal Humbert and Bonizo of Sutri, did so very seldom.<sup>6</sup> One would not deny the generally Augustinian character of the Christianity that the eleventh century inherited. But, so far as direct familiarity with and use of Augustine's writings were concerned, some authors and circles were assiduously studying and referring to them so far they were available; others were not. It was a time of rediscovery. There was no single tradition; each author and his circle must be looked at as a separate case.

How was it with the major canonists? Burchard of Worms is a good example of a figure who seems to have been little acquainted with Augustine or schooled in his writings. True, he held Augustine in the highest regard as one of the Latin doctors, and he dropped his name quite often. But he usually made the imprecise ascription *ex dictis Augustini*; many of his citations are apocryphal. As for Burchard's chapters on war,<sup>7</sup> they contain no direct reference to, or citation of, Augustine, genuine or spurious, save a single *dictum Augustini*.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, Burchard's most detailed rulings about homicide in warfare come within his *Corrector*, or penitential;<sup>9</sup> this treatment stands wholly within the tradition of ninth-century penitentials which shows little directly Augustinian influence.<sup>10</sup> With Anselm of Lucca, matters are very different, both in his canonical collection and in his *Liber contra Wibertum* which has much material in common with it.<sup>11</sup> In general, he cited Augustine often, and almost always directly and accurately.<sup>12</sup> With regard to coercion and warfare, in Books XII, *De excommunicatione*, and XIII, *De vindicta et persecutione iusta*, he expounded the church's powers with the Wibertine schism as his background. According to A.M. Stickler's analysis,<sup>13</sup> these books contain forty *capitula* of especial

5 *Reg.* 8.21, ed. E. Caspar, MGH Epp. Sel. 2:556, cf. p. 552.

6 See the Index auctoritatum to MGH *Libelli de lite* 1:656-658.

7 Listed by Gilchrist, "The Erdmann Thesis," p. 44, n. 66, from the text of Burchard's *Decretum* in PL 140:537-1058.

8 6.43 in PL 140:776A.

9 19.5 in PL 140:952.

10 Russell, *Just War*, pp. 30-32.

11 Anselm's collection, up to 11.15, was edited by F. Thaner, *Anselmi episcopi Lucensis Collectio canonum* (Innsbruck, 1906-15). The *capitula* of the whole collection are in PL 149:485-534. The *Liber contra Wibertum* was edited by E. Bernheim in MGH *Libelli de lite* 1:517-528. For comment, see esp. A.M. Stickler, "Il potere coattivo materiale della Chiesa nella Riforma Gregoriana secondo Anselmo di Lucca," *Studi Gregoriani* 2 (1947), 235-285.

12 For example, in Thaner's edition the forty-nine *capitula* of Book IX, *De sacramentis*, are supported by twenty-three identifiable and one non-identifiable Augustinian citations; the forty-four *capitula* of Book X, *De coniugiis*, are supported by eleven identifiable and no non-identifiable citations.

13 "Il potere coattivo," table facing p. 248.

relevance, all save seven of which passed into Gratian's *Decretum*. In nineteen of them, all but one of which Gratian preserved, Anselm cited identifiable passages of Augustine, together with a single non-identifiable passage. With regard to war as to other matters, Anselm's citation of Augustine seems to have been unusually full and direct. Augustine's handling of the use of force against the Donatists provided him with a quarry of material that he exploited with hitherto unexampled thoroughness in order to serve his principal political purpose—to promote the just and holy war of Catholic Christians against Wibertine schismatics and simoniac heretics. If Anselm thus made a pioneering use of Augustine in order to develop the power of the church to wield the material sword itself and to direct the lay power in so doing, the possibility remains open that there may be truth in Erdmann's and Stickler's view of his work as representing a turning point.<sup>14</sup>

My second question is, to some extent, complementary to my first. We need to elucidate just what it was about the committing of homicide even in legitimate warfare that, until the age of Gregory VII and the First Crusade, made Christians reluctant to accord it complete moral acceptability. A common answer has been that such homicides almost inevitably involved human passions that were themselves sinful and deserving of penance—anger, avarice, currying the favor of temporal lords, and the like.<sup>15</sup> But this is not the whole answer, and for contrary reasons. On the one hand, the awarding of penance for homicide in war became a common feature of penitentials of the mid-ninth century and later that expressed clerical disapproval of lay violence of every kind. Although churchmen never quite made a general attack upon all warfare, all killing in the course of it was treated as a sub-division of homicide which, in every manifestation, was evil in itself.<sup>16</sup> Like Burchard of Worms's *Corrector* later on, such ninth-century penitentials as the *Poenitentiale pseudo-Theodori* and the *Poenitentiale Arundel* betrayed little direct acquaintance with Augustine and regarded homicide in war as in itself gravely sinful.<sup>17</sup> Even in the mid-eleventh century, the penitential ordinance that followed the Battle of Hastings seems to reflect a similar view.<sup>18</sup> It is significant that when Anselm of Lucca discussed penances, in a sub-section *De omni genere homicidiorum et de poenitentia eorum*<sup>19</sup> he avoided reference to homicide in war; the omission indicates that the notion of such homicide as being in itself sinful was at last being set aside.

14 C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M.W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, 1977), pp. 241-248; Stickler, "Il potere coattivo," pp. 274, 282-284.

15 E.g., Hrabanus Maurus, *Liber poenitentium*, cap. 15 in PL 112:1411-1413; *Penitential Articles issued after the Battle of Hastings*, in *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church*, pt. 1: A.D. 871-1204, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C.N.L. Brooke, pt. 2: 1066-1204 (Oxford, 1981), pp. 581-584, No. 88, esp. caps. 2, 5.

16 Russell, *Just War*, pp. 30-33.

17 *Poenitentiale pseudo-Theodori* 1.4, *Poenitentiale Arundel* 11, in H.J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche*, 2 vols. (Mainz and Düsseldorf, 1883-98), 1:441, 528.

18 E.g., in its insistence upon number: caps 1, 7.

19 *Collectio canonum* 11.34-55 in PL 149:526.



On the other hand, at the beginning of his book *De vindicta et persecutione iusta*, Anselm was at pains to assert the freedom from sin of those who engaged in warfare that was, within his framework, just. One needs only cite his first five *capitula*:

1. That Moses committed no cruelty when, at the Lord's order, he slew certain men.
2. That punishment (*vindicta*) should be performed from love, not hatred.
3. That wars are waged with good will.
4. That those who fight may also be righteous (*iusti*); and that an enemy should be resisted of necessity, not by choice.
5. That we should pray for one about to fight.<sup>20</sup>

Anselm of Lucca gives the impression of seeking to free at least some warfare from an inherent stigma of sinfulness and of wrong motivation. However, particularly in liturgical and devotional sources, Anselm was anticipated by much material that exhibited warfare in a positive and morally acceptable light. It is not difficult to compile a list of examples of the sanctification of armies before battle by penance, prayer, preaching, and communion.<sup>21</sup> The Romano-Germanic Pontifical contains an *Oratio pro exercitu* which included an intercession for a *proeliandi recta voluntas*—a right will in fighting.<sup>22</sup> A prayer of self-preparation by a warrior before battle that was current in Anglo-Saxon England addressed God as him by whose hand every victory was secured and every battle waged; God was besought to strengthen the warrior's courage so that he might fight well and manfully in God's strength.<sup>23</sup> In face of such a devotional tradition, one wonders why the notion of the inherent sinfulness of warfare persisted for so long. The Norman penitential ordinance after Hastings provokes the suggestion that the doing of penance by warriors for homicides and woundings may have been of value in appeasing feuds and vengeance, and so in promoting peace and order when battle was over.<sup>24</sup> Whatever the considerations

20 13.1-5 in PL 149:533; for all of these *capitula* Anselm cited true or apocryphal Augustinian authorities: Stickler, "Il potere coattivo," table facing p. 248. By *vindicta* and *persecutio*, Anselm meant material coercion; with the former term, the emphasis is upon vindictive punishment including death, and with the latter upon the use of force, including armed force, to restrain evil and to compel virtue: *ibid.*, p. 239.

21 E.g., the pious preparation for the battle of Hastings by the Norman host according to William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum* 3.242, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 90 (London, 1887-89), 2:302; also such preparations as are recorded by historians of the First Crusade like the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (London, 1962), pp. 67-68, 90, 95.

22 *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, sect. 245, cf. 242-244, ed. C. Vogel and R. Elze, 3 vols., Studi e testi, 226-227, 269 (Città del Vaticano, 1963-72), 2:378-80.

23 See the prayer *Domine Deus omnipotens, rex regum* in London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero A.II, fols. 11v-12v, and Cotton Galba A.XIV, fols. 3r-6r, where the Latin text is followed by an Old English translation: *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer Book*, ed. B.J. Muir, Henry Bradshaw Society, 103 (Woodbridge, 1988), nos. 6. 11-12, pp. 21, 29-30.

24 As note 15 above. In this connection it is noteworthy that William I's provisions for the security of his Norman followers in England distinguished between those who crossed the Channel with him in 1066 and those who had settled in England in the days of King Edward the Confessor: *Statutes of William the Conqueror*, caps. 3, 4, in *Select Charters*

that guided the moral appraisal of warfare up to the end of the eleventh century, one is left with the impression that they were various, mixed, and inconsistent. But the time was now ripe for the recognition of a general *proeliandi recta voluntas*, at least as a possibility.

Given this picture, my third question is, how and why were the inhibitions of the church's penitential discipline against wounding and homicide in warfare so far overcome as to permit of an enterprise like the crusade? The revival of Augustine's ideas by such a canonist as Anselm of Lucca is likely to provide only part of the answer. For Anselm's use of Augustine was, as we have seen, in his day exceptional, and it was directed against those in internal schism within Latin Christendom. Perhaps at least as much of the answer may be sought more widely, in changes in secular as well as canon law which affected the whole range of society, both clerical and lay. I cannot now attempt to set out fully the details and the synchronization of these changes. But the points that need to be considered are primarily suggested by that most stimulating of legal monographs, Julius Goebel's *Felony and Misdemeanor*, first published in 1937.<sup>25</sup> In the background is the long and fundamental process whereby acts of violence producing homicides and woundings ceased to be matters for settlement by financial composition between individuals and their kindreds, and became the concern of feudal or public authorities punishing often by financial penalties but increasingly by afflictive ones—by mutilation and capital punishment. One might single out the following points:

- (a) The decay of financial emendation as a means of settling feuds, and also as a legal remedy in the courts for settling cases of violence.<sup>26</sup>
- (b) The consequent development of a feudal justice that, in the interests of seignorial power, nevertheless began by combining concentration upon profits with procedural exclusiveness. Goebel emphasized the resulting "drive on the direction of penalty." "Until this concept," he wrote, "is completely embedded in the law and the court's interest in dealing with wrongdoers thereby made paramount, the shift from tort to crime cannot take place."<sup>27</sup>
- (c) As it did take place, and as the concept of felony emerged, there was an increasing use of afflictive penalties involving life and limb.<sup>28</sup> This may have

*and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, ed. W. Stubbs, 9th ed. rev. by H.W.C. Davis (Oxford, 1913), p. 98.

25 J. Goebel, *Felony and Misdemeanor. A Study in the History of Criminal Law*, 1, repr. with Introduction by E. Peters (Philadelphia, 1976). (No further volumes were published.)

26 Ibid., pp. 195-199.

27 Ibid., pp. 222-224.

28 Thus, at least as a straw in the wind, in England King William I (1066-87) forbade capital punishment for any offense but prescribed exoculation or castration: *Statutes*, cap. 10, p. 99; his son Henry I (1100-35) imposed all three penalties: Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex chronicis*, a. 1108, ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols., English Historical Society (London, 1848-49), 2.57.

been of particular importance for our subject: a society whose rulers increasingly inflicted judicial penalties of mutilation and death without incurring for themselves and their agents the canonical reproach of homicide could scarcely continue to countenance any such reproach in those who maimed or killed in legitimate warfare.<sup>29</sup>

- (d) This shift in lay jurisdiction and sanctions must be studied in the light of the wider development of the eleventh century whereby lay rulers, such as the Norman dukes and kings and the Salian king of Germany, were successful, if in differing ways and degrees, in transmuting the peace of God into the peace of the secular prince. They thus built a system of law enforcement firmly lodged in princely hands.<sup>30</sup> This represented a further enhancement of the role of the lay power—first feudal lord and ultimately sovereign ruler—in determining both the legal form and the moral evaluation of measures to combat crime and of the sanctions by which to avenge it.
- (e) Finally, Goebel draws attention to the long-term concern of the canon-law tradition in face of these developments to promote the collaboration of clergy and princes and the complementarity of spiritual and temporal sanctions, with the latter reinforcing the former.<sup>31</sup> The critical text for the canon lawyers was a forged canon, drawn up at some time after the synod of Tribur (895) to ensure that a man who fell under the *bannus episcopalis* should also be subject to the discipline of the king. Burchard of Worms cited it under the heading *De homicidiis, et calumniis episcoporum et reliquorum ordinum*,<sup>32</sup> and in due course Ivo of Chartres included it in his *Decretum*.<sup>33</sup> Such material seems to have been influential, for example providing the background for William the Conqueror's judicial measures in both England and Normandy.<sup>34</sup>

When Urban II preached the crusade in 1095, momentous and long-standing changes were taking place in secular as in canon law, and the two developments were interacting. The themes of crusade preaching, that princes and knights should uphold the peace that church and lay rulers were promoting within Latin Christendom, and that they should avenge the crimes of the Muslims against the churches and the Christians of the East, invite consideration against the background of both kinds of law, not just of one.

29 Goebel, *Felony and Misdemeanor*, pp. 236-238, 409-413.

30 Ibid., pp. 280-335; for Germany, see esp. MGH Const. 1:125-126, 605-617, Nos. 74, 425-432, and comment by J. Gernhuber, *Die Landfriedensbewegung in Deutschland bis zum Mainzer Reichslandfrieden von 1235* (Bonn, 1952).

31 Goebel, *Felony and Misdemeanor*, pp. 309-320.

32 *Decretum* 6.6 in PL 140:767-768.

33 *Decretum* 10.135 in PL 161:732-733.

34 *Ordinance of William I on Church Courts*, in *Councils and Synods* (note 15 above), pp. 620-624, No. 94; Canons of the Council of Lillebonne, in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* 5.5, ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-80), 3:26.

My fourth and final question is one that has been put by Gilchrist, and also by many others; but it is a cardinal question. Why—to borrow Gilchrist's imagery—was there a "great silence," and a "gulf," between the crusade and the canonical tradition, so that not until the thirteenth century did the canonists even begin seriously to take account of the crusade?<sup>35</sup> The answer may lie partly in the canonical tradition itself, and partly outside it. Inside it, we have to reckon with (as J.A. Brundage has put it) "a transition from the consideration of war as primarily a moral and theological problem to a conception of war as fundamentally a problem of law. Likewise, as the Church's enforcement power increased, theological moralizing tended to be replaced by a more rigorous categorization of hostile actions."<sup>36</sup> The early stages of this development took place in a context of the restraint and correction of heresy and schism within the boundaries of Latin Christendom. It was in this context that Anselm of Lucca somewhat belatedly revived the direct study of Augustine's doctrine of the just war. In this sense, Erdmann and Stickler were correct to see in Anselm a turning-point in the Western appraisal of warfare. But, as Gilchrist has rightly argued, Anselm's direct legacy was not to the crusade tradition; like him, the canon lawyers, especially Gratian, who developed the canon law of war, did so above all with an eye to the destruction of heresy within Latin Christendom.<sup>37</sup> The thinking of canon lawyers was for long simply not directed towards the kind of warfare that we call the crusade.

In so far as the answer to my question lies outside the canonical tradition, it is germane to recall that Pope Urban II in 1095 made a direct address to the princes and knights of Latin Christendom. They were experiencing changes in secular law that were leading to wrongdoing being envisaged as crime that deserved afflictive punishment, and they saw no wrongfulness in the deeds of those who avenged it. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, crusaders for the most part set out as individuals or groups who were engaged upon a particular purpose, that of fighting the external foes of Christendom, and their activities had their own momentum. Only with the great crusading measures of Pope Innocent III, like his bull *Quia maior* (1213) and his decree *Ad liberandam* (1215),<sup>38</sup> did the crusade become a function of the whole of Christian society. At the same time, crusades were increasingly directed towards heretics and schismatics within Christendom. The stage was at last set for the canonical tradition as it had been established by Gratian and his successors to take direct account of the crusades and of the problems to which they gave rise.

35 CS, p. 39; for the general problem of canon law and the crusades, see esp. J.A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, 1969), and "Holy War and the Medieval Lawyers," in *The Holy War*, ed. T.P. Murphy (Columbus, 1976), pp. 99-140.

36 "Holy War and the Medieval Lawyers," p. 100; cf. pp. 105-106, 123-124.

37 Gratian, *Decretum*, C.23, in *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2 vols., ed. E. Friedberg (Leipzig, 1897), 1:889-950; see Brundage, "Holy War," pp. 107-109.

38 *Quia maior*: G. Tangl, *Studien zum Register Innocenz' III.* (Weimar, 1929), pp. 88-97; *Ad liberandam*: *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo et al., 3rd ed. (Bologna, 1973), pp. 267-271.



It has been the purpose of these remarks to pose questions, not to draw conclusions. But it may in summary be noticed that there seems to be no reason to challenge Gilchrist's main argument, that the canonical tradition remained, into the twelfth century, within the conservative lines regarding warfare that Burchard of Worms had laid down. What is not so certain is that those lines were strongly Augustinian, in the sense of being the result of hard contemporary thought about Augustine's own writings. Such thought had largely to await Anselm of Lucca, and by it he, too, made a major contribution to Gratian. But, since Anselm's concern was schism and heresy within Latin Christendom, he may not have made a major direct contribution to the idea of the crusade. However, since he stood so near to Gregory VII, he is likely to have contributed to it indirectly and considerably. Finally, if in Anselm of Lucca canon law may have made an indirect contribution to the crusade, we should take into account the indirect but powerful contribution of secular law, as well.

# Norman Italy and the Holy Land

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"The nobles of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, hearing therefore that Bohemund had undertaken the cross of the way of the Holy Sepulcher, all flocked to him, lowly and powerful, old as well as young, servants and masters, and promised [to undertake] the way of the Holy Sepulcher. Indeed the Duke of Apulia, seeing and hearing this, vehemently lamented, since he feared to remain alone in his duchy with the women and little children." So Robert of Reims, writing only a very few years after the events in question, described the genesis of the First Crusade in southern Italy.<sup>1</sup>

There is of course an element of exaggeration in this eulogistic reference. But, as is well known from the list of prominent members of the south Italian contingent given by the *Gesta Francorum*, we can see not only Bohemund and his nephews, representatives of the most powerful dynasty of Norman Italy, but also members of no less than six comital families, those of the counts of Canne, Montescaglioso, Buonalbergo, the Principato, Caiazzo, and Molise. (The number might indeed be seven if we include the mysterious and otherwise unattested Count of Russignolo.) From Calabria came the scion of one of its, and indeed the Duchy of Normandy's, most important families, William de Grandmesnil, and his brothers. From Sicily there was Roger de Barneville, who in the previous decade had been a stalwart of the entourage of Roger I the "Great Count."<sup>2</sup> To the lay nobility must be added two bishops: the unnamed Bishop of Ariano to whom reference is made by the *Historia belli sacri* (presumably the Sarolus attested in this see in the early 1090s), and Arnulf of Martirano who was so prominent in the crusade leadership in the summer of

1 *Historia Iherosolomitana* 2.5, RHC HOcc. 3:742.

2 *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (London, 1962), pp. 7-8. *Historia belli sacri* (Tudebodus imitatus et continuatus), RHC HOcc. 3:176-177. E.M. Jamison, "Some Notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, with Special Reference to the Norman Contingent from South Italy and Sicily on the First Crusade," in *Studies in French Language and Literature presented to Professor Mildred K. Pope* (Manchester, 1939), pp. 183-208, especially pp. 196-208; L.R. Ménager, "Inventaire des familles normandes et franques émigrées en Italie meridionale et en Sicile (XIe-XIIe siècles)," in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo Tempo. Relazioni e comunicazioni nelle prime giornate normanno-sveve* (Bari, maggio 1973) (Rome, 1975), pp. 316-318, 353-354.

1099, but who fell into Muslim hands soon after the capture of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup>

The south Italian contribution to the First Crusade was therefore substantial. Although only one of the nobles identified by the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia belli sacri*—Richard son of Count Rainulf (of Caiazzo)—came from the Principality of Capua, and two from Sicily, those listed came not merely from many of the most important families from Norman Italy, but from a wide geographical area; from the Abruzzi in the north, Molise, Samnium, coastal Apulia, the Principality of Salerno in the west, the Basilicata, and Calabria. Clearly too they were not alone. Their retinues were doubtless considerable, but they were accompanied by many others as well. We can hardly take as accurate the “thirty thousand Lombards and Italians” whom Orderic described Bohemund as leading at the battle of June 1098 outside Antioch (notice by the way that he does not cite “Normans” in this contingent), but clearly the author thought of the force as a very substantial one.<sup>4</sup> The contemporary south Italian annalists were also impressed by the enthusiastic response to the call to the Holy Sepulcher. A monk of Holy Trinity, Cava, described “a great crowd of Normans and Italians” departing in 1096. A Bari annalist, well placed to know since his city was one of the chief departure points, said, not unrealistically, that Bohemund left with more than five hundred knights, while the author of the short Bari Chronicle recorded that his fellow citizens “took ship in all the towns of our coastal province, important men and lesser folk, in many and great vessels.”<sup>5</sup> The leaders of the south Italian contingent on the crusade may have been, as Evelyn Jamison wrote, mainly from the family circle of Robert Guiscard, but enthusiasm for the expedition was not confined to them alone.<sup>6</sup>

However, the fact that the First Crusade did find such a ready response in Norman Italy poses a problem. The contribution of southern Italy to the crusading movement in the twelfth century was thereafter to be minimal. Indeed it seems that the flames of south Italian interest in the Holy Land, so incandescent in 1096, died down to such an extent that by the mid-twelfth century only a few embers remained faintly glowing; and the light that they cast for posterity is so poor that the relationship between the two areas remains for the most part dark and obscure. Here we come to the crux of the present paper, and that crux is a problem. Why did southern Italy and Sicily contribute so little to the Holy Land in the twelfth century?

3 *Gesta Francorum*, p. 93; Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Iherosolymitana*, RHC HOcc. 3:301-302. Jamison, “Some notes,” p. 206.

4 *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1969-81), 5:110. Here Orderic is probably copying the terminology of his source, Baudri of Bourgueil, although this particular passage is not directly copied.

5 *Annales Cavenses*, MGH SS 3:190; Lupus Protospatharius, *Annales*, MGH SS 5:62; *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, RIS 5:154.

6 Jamison, “Some notes,” p. 208. [On the southern Italian participation in the First Crusade see now also B. Figliuolo, “Ancora sui Normanni d'Italia alla Prima Crociata,” *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 104 (1986), 1-16. The paper was delivered at the Second SSCLE Conference. Ed.].

Studied superficially, at the level of high politics, the answer might seem so obvious as hardly to merit comment. The marriage of Countess Adelaide of Sicily to Baldwin I of Jerusalem ended disastrously with her repudiation. The insult to her son Roger II was unforgivable. In the words of William of Tyre, "he conceived a mortal hatred against the kingdom and its people... he and his heirs have never become reconciled to us to the extent of a single friendly word."<sup>7</sup> In addition, by virtue of the marriage agreement of 1112 Roger had a claim, or at least the pretext for a claim, to the throne of Jerusalem; and after 1130 and the death of Bohemund II, also to Antioch.<sup>8</sup> However impracticable these might have been to realize, they made the king of Sicily (as he had become in December 1130) a rival and an irritant to the rulers of the Holy Land rather than a potential source of aid.

Furthermore the titanic struggle which was needed before King Roger was securely master of the mainland parts of his kingdom, and the continued hostility of both Eastern and Western emperors to the parvenu monarch, inevitably served to concentrate Sicilian attention close to home. What energies that could be spared were devoted to Sicily's fledgling north African empire and the energetic efforts to extend it in the last decade of King Roger's life. His successor spent most of his reign combatting internal dissent, and relations with the Western Empire remained a problem, given Frederick Barbarossa's Italian ambitions, until the peace of Venice of 1177. Hence, even had the desire been there to help the Holy Land, the Kingdom of Sicily was hardly in a position to do so. As it was, the chief Sicilian involvement in the crusade was, by attacking Byzantium in 1147, to contribute materially to the failure of the Second Crusade. It was not until 1174, perhaps after William of Tyre wrote the passage previously cited, that Sicilian military assistance was forthcoming for the Holy Land, and then the death of King Amalric prevented the chance of a successful combined attack on Alexandria.<sup>9</sup> The subsequent fiasco can have done little to encourage Sicilian interest in the Levant, and in the 1180s King William II's forces turned once again to the more congenial task of attacking Byzantium. It was only with the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin that the attention of the south Italian kingdom turned once again to the Holy Land.

All this is true, and also well known. But it is hardly the whole truth. The Kingdom of Sicily was after all only effectively unified after the defeat of King Roger's enemies, domestic and external, in 1139. Up to 1128 Apulia and Capua were independent entities, whose rulers had no axe to grind with those of the Holy Land. Admittedly their rule was weak, and they were in no position to take much interest in the Holy Land themselves. But this hardly prevented their subjects from doing so. And indeed there were good and persuasive reasons why their subjects might do so. First of all, in the early years of the century there were the obvious links of blood, family, and sentiment with the Principality of

7 WT 11.29, p. 542.

8 WT 11.21, 13.21, pp. 526, 613.

9 WT 21.3, p. 963.



Antioch, whose rulers and much of whose nobility were themselves south Italian Normans. Bohemund of Antioch retained his lands in the heel of Italy after the acquisition of his new principality, launched his attack on Byzantium from there in 1107, and died there four years later. His son was brought up there, and only left for the East in 1126. Cahen concluded that most of the early nobility of Antioch stemmed from southern Italy, on the basis of the Norman origin of their surnames.<sup>10</sup> Only a few of these families can definitely be traced in southern Italy, but there were certainly some who still had relatives there in the twelfth century. Roger de Barneville, the hero of the siege of Antioch, left a son and daughter who grew up and remained on the island of Sicily. A member of the Sourdeval family was at Roger II's court in 1128. A branch of the Fraissnells were landholders in the Avellino region in the mid-twelfth century.<sup>11</sup> Similarly Hugh du Puiset, the Count of Jaffa who fell foul of King Fulk of Jerusalem, grew up in southern Italy, and according to William of Tyre was born there.<sup>12</sup>

Secondly, there were the economic links between southern Italy and the Holy Land. There had of course been Amalfitans in Jerusalem even before the First Crusade. Thereafter, albeit slowly, trade developed with the West as the coastal cities of Syria fell one by one into Christian hands and Italian merchants expanded their area of operations. The ports of Apulia, and above all, Messina were staging points for the trade of the north Italians and the Holy Land; and the fertile slopes of Etna and the rich agricultural plain of northern Apulia were the obvious sources of foodstuffs if there was scarcity in Syria. It was therefore hardly surprising that nearly all the Palestinian religious houses which had property in southern Italy had a dependency in Messina and others on the Apulian coast, especially at Barletta.<sup>13</sup> Privileges were sought providing exemption from customs and port duties, as for example that allowing the monks of St. Mary Josaphat to exploit free of duty furs, tunny fish, cheese, wool and linen cloths for the brothers' use, acacia wood, and other commodities up to the value of 120 tari a year from Messina, granted allegedly by Roger II and renewed by William II in 1185. A similar privilege of William II and his mother Queen Margaret to St. Mary of the Latins in 1168 specified the maximum amounts of the commodities allowable free of duty, namely 200 sides of bacon, 100 barrels of tunny fish, 100 lamb skin cloaks, 4,000 rabbit skins, 30 oxhides and 200 ells each of linen and woollen cloth.<sup>14</sup> Such concessions were for the

10 C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades* (Paris, 1940), p. 535.

11 Ménager, "Inventaire," pp. 346, 353-354. *Catalogus Baronum. Commentario*, ed. E. Cuozzo, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* (Rome, 1984), p. 191, art. 703.

12 WT 14.15, p. 651.

13 D.S.H. Abulafia, *The Two Italies. Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 64, 92, 108, 229-230. G. Bresc-Bautier, "Les possessions des églises de Terre-Sainte en Italie du sud (Pouille, Calabre, Sicile)," in *Roberto il Guiscardo* (note 2 above), pp. 18-19. Messina itself was a source of wine, fruit and bacon; cf. D. Abulafia, "The Merchants of Messina: Levant Trade and Domestic Economy," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 54 (1986), 198.

14 C.A. Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna di Sicilia*, Documenti per servire alla

export of commodities for the use of the monasteries themselves, not to give them a commercial advantage. But they attest the importance of the economic links between the Kingdom of Sicily and the Holy Land, although very little trade was actually in the hands of subjects of the *regno*.

A third and more significant aspect still was that of pilgrimage. This again antedates the events of 1095-99. Indeed the earliest account of the arrival of the Normans in Italy, that of Amatus of Montecassino, concerned a group of Norman pilgrims at Salerno who were returning from Jerusalem in the 990s; and even if legendary, an opinion now largely discounted, it was still written down at least a decade before the start of the First Crusade.<sup>15</sup> However the ports of the Adriatic coast played a more important role than those of the Tyrrhenian Sea. A substantial part of the First Crusade used the Apulian ports to cross to Macedonia. The chronicler Fulcher of Chartres, for example, sailed from Bari and worshipped at the church of St. Nicholas there before departure. Others used Brindisi and Otranto.<sup>16</sup> Saewulf, who departed five years later with Jerusalem already in Christian hands, named as the pilgrim ports Bari, Barletta, Siponto, Trani "and some even at Otranto, at the most southerly part of Apulia. We however went on board ship at Monopoli, a day's journey from Bari." His ship subsequently stopped for repairs at Brindisi before sailing for the Gulf of Patras, and there transshipping at Negropont for Jaffa. Half a century later the Icelander Abbot Nicholas named Bari and Brindisi as the two main pilgrim ports.<sup>17</sup> The stimulus of the Christian capture of Jerusalem not unnaturally attracted pilgrims to travel through southern Italy. Orderic Vitalis told of a somewhat disreputable pilgrim from Normandy who died in Apulia on his way to Jerusalem in the first years of the new century.<sup>18</sup> At about the same time a nobleman from near Troia in inland Apulia called Defensor of Vaccarizia went to the Holy Land, though his pilgrimage had a semi-comic rather than a tragic finale. Before his departure from Italy he left his lands in the hands of Count William of Monte S. Angelo, with the obvious condition that if he returned alive (yet another testimony to the dangers of the Holy Land in its earliest years) then they would be returned to him. However, when he did indeed come back safely he discovered that during his absence the count had donated his family monastery to the great local religious house of St. Sophia, Benevento. Not

storia di Sicilia, 1.18 (Palermo, 1899), No. 82, pp. 200-202; W. Holtzmann, "Papst-, Kaiser- und Normannenurkunden aus Uniteritalien, 1: S. Filippo-S. Maria Latina in Agira," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 35 (1955), No. 7, pp. 70-71; Abulafia, *Two Italies*, p. 222.

15 *Storia de' Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*, 1.17, ed. V. de Bartholomeis, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* (Rome, 1935), pp. 21-22.

16 Fulcher, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 1.7, ed. H. Hagenmayer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 166-167; *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 5-6.

17 Saewulf in PPTS 4.2 (London, 1896), pp. 1-2, 31; J. Hill, "From Rome to Jerusalem: An Icelandic Itinerary of the Mid-Twelfth Century," *Harvard Theological Review* 76 (1983), 178.

18 Orderic (note 4 above), 3:166.

surprisingly, Defensor's immediate reaction was forcibly to repossess his property, but perhaps inevitably the monks of St. Sophia worked on his conscience until he handed the abbey back to them.<sup>19</sup>

As the pilgrim route through southern Italy developed, so hospitals to aid travelers grew up along it. Already by 1113 the Order of St. John had houses at Bari, Otranto, Taranto, and Messina.<sup>20</sup> A hospital had been built on the road between Troia and Foggia by 1125, and in 1147 Count Robert of Apurium gave a charter to the Holy Savior, Mount Tabor, which included as one of its provisions that the church should have a bridge for pilgrims built over the River Tronto and establish a dependency near it (presumably as a staging post).<sup>21</sup>

However, the issue of pilgrimage raises the most striking and difficult problem with regard to the relationship between Norman Italy and the Holy Land. Hundreds, in some years probably thousands, of pilgrims travelled through southern Italy to the Apulian ports, there to take ship for the pilgrim shrines of Palestine. But it would seem that very few south Italians themselves swelled these pious ranks. From perusal of several thousand published ecclesiastical documents from twelfth-century southern Italy and a substantial number of *inediti* I can find only the merest handful which refer to pilgrims. Defensor of Vaccarizia was very much the exception which proves the rule. Apart from him, two pilgrims from the Avellino region on the west coast in the 1130s and a knight from Caiazzo in the Principality of Capua at the end of the century make a thin haul indeed.<sup>22</sup> There are thus to the best of my knowledge *four* charters drawn up directly for pilgrims from southern Italy going to the Holy Land during the twelfth century; though to them perhaps we should add some documents from Cefalù in Sicily in the last part of the century referring to what would happen to burgess tenements if their owners should go on pilgrimage and remain absent.<sup>23</sup>

It might be objected that silence in this case cannot be taken as proof of anything since the ravages of time, neglect, and the unquiet history of southern Italy in more recent periods (culminating in the destruction of the Naples State Archive in 1943) have inevitably taken their toll of our sources. But while of

19 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. 13491, Doc. 10. These events occurred after the First Crusade itself, since William only became Count of Monte S. Angelo in 1101/3, for which see T. Leccisotti, *Le colonie cassinesi in Capitanata, 2: Il Gargano*, Miscellanea Cassinese 15 (Montecassino, 1938), No. 8, pp. 44-46.

20 Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 30.

21 Delaville, *Cartulaire*, 2:903 (No. 10); *Codice diplomatico pugliese*, 21: *Les Chartes de Troia (1024-1266)*, ed. J.M. Martin (Bari, 1976), No. 48, pp. 178-179. However, the pilgrim hospital founded in 1098 by Count Henry of Monte S. Angelo was undoubtedly for pilgrims to the shrine of St. Michael on Monte Gargano rather than Jerusalem: Leccisotti, *Gargano*, No. 1, pp. 29-32.

22 *Codice diplomatico verginiano*, ed. P.M. Tropea (Montevirgine, 1977-85), vol. 3, Nos. 206 (1133), 255 (1139), pp. 18-23, 231-234. Napoli, Archivio di Stato, Pergamene di Caiazzo, No. 35 (1198).

23 Garufi, *Documenti inediti* (note 14 above), Nos. 100 (1191), 102 (1192), pp. 240-242, 244-246.

course the documentation available is only a part of what there once was, it is probably quite a substantial part. The records of the most important monastic establishments of the twelfth-century *regno* have largely survived, running to hundreds, and in the case of Cava thousands, of documents. Further investigation into material as yet unpublished might turn up other instances of pilgrimage, and an obvious place to start would be the archives of Cava and St. Sophia, Benevento, still largely unexploited, as well as the great chartulary of the Abruzzi abbey of St. Clement, Casauria (now Paris BN lat. 5411), of which Muratori published only about a tenth.<sup>24</sup> But even so, it is in the highest degree unlikely that our picture would be greatly altered as a result. My own forays into the Cava and Benevento documents have revealed but one pilgrim from several hundred charters.<sup>25</sup> Strikingly, of the quite extensive evidence surviving from St. Nicholas, Bari, often seen as the pilgrim church *par excellence*, where Fulcher of Chartres and his companions prayed before departure on the crusade, there is but one donation from someone (or in this case a group) about to set out for the Holy Land. And this, dated April 1189, is not from a group of pilgrims pure and simple, but from a group of men about to depart for the Third Crusade—the charter refers to the Holy Sepulcher now being “for our sins ruled by pagan peoples”—and the crusaders in question were in fact Germans, headed by a Count Berthold.<sup>26</sup>

Unless we are therefore to assume that south Italian pilgrims habitually failed either to make provision for their souls before departure, or did not need local churches as a source of finance for their journey (and enough such evidence has survived from France to make such a hypothesis unlikely), the conclusion is inescapable. Pilgrimage to the Holy Land was relatively unimportant to southern Italians, however many pilgrims passed through their land on the way to the coastal ports. This may help to explain why the *regno* contributed so little to the crusading movement in the years before 1187.

One other, and perhaps more fruitful, line of approach is available. It has been suggested that while men from Norman Italy did not go on pilgrimage themselves, a substitute was found in the endowment of Palestine-based churches. “No part of Europe,” we are told, “received such a plantation” from these establishments as southern Italy.<sup>27</sup> Certainly several Holy Land churches did acquire extensive properties in southern Italy, mainly, as said, in coastal Apulia and eastern Sicily. It is however worth pointing out that the Holy Sepulcher itself in the first generation after its recovery by the Franks had

24 RIS 2:925-1018. See C. Manaresi, “Il *Liber Instrumentorum seu Chronicon Monasterii Casauriensis* della Nazionale di Parigi,” *Rendiconti del Istituto Lombardo. Classe di lettere, scienze morali e storiche* 80 (1947), 29-62.

25 Note 19 above. This group of documents passed to the Vatican Library from the Aldobrandini family in 1929.

26 *Codice diplomatico barese, 5:Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari, periodo normanno (1075-1194)*, ed. F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1902), No. 154, pp. 262-263.

27 Bresc-Bautier, “Possessions” (note 13 above), pp. 13, 20.



property in Languedoc and Spain (both Aragon/Catalonia and Castile/León) much more extensive than the two churches at Brindisi and one at Benevento acquired before 1128, which was all that at that stage it had in southern Italy.<sup>28</sup> Its first property on the island of Sicily, a church at Piazza Armerina, was given to it only in 1148, although by this time it had also gained other churches at Barletta, Bari, Venosa, and Troia.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand the abbey of St. Mary Josaphat possessed by 1140 some thirty churches in the Kingdom of Sicily, spread from Taranto through Calabria to western Sicily.<sup>30</sup> In the ports, particularly Barletta and Messina, the presence of Holy Land churches was striking. At Barletta, for example, by 1158 there were dependencies of the Holy Sepulcher, Nazareth Cathedral and the Premonstratensian abbey of St. Samuel of Montjoie, as well as a priory of the knights of St. John (who were joined c. 1200 by the Templars and Teutonic Knights).<sup>31</sup>

This might suggest that one must revise any thoughts of Norman Italy being indifferent to the Holy Land, whatever the lack of enthusiasm among south Italians for the dangerous and time-consuming occupation of pilgrimage. But here too reservations and qualifications must be made. For example, half a century ago Professor L.T. White commented with regard to the abbey of Josaphat that "after 1140 we have not a single indication of the acquisition of new properties in the island" (of Sicily), and about the Holy Sepulcher, "the evidence for its holdings in Sicily is, however, strangely scanty."<sup>32</sup> There were definite limitations to the expansion of Holy Land religious congregations in the *regno*, and these will become apparent when we study the chronology of the donations, and not just what was given but who gave it. However, first of all a word of caution is needed. Any picture given here is necessarily impressionistic, above all that concerning the endowments of the two Holy Land monasteries

- 28 *Le cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint Sépulcre*, ed. G. Bresc-Bautier (Paris, 1984), No. 6, pp. 39-44 (1128), names the two Brindisi churches and the French and Spanish property. However, Innocent II's bull of April 1139, *ibid.*, No. 9, pp. 45-51, states that the church of St. Theodore in the suburb of Benevento had been given to the Holy Sepulcher by Calixtus II (i.e., before 1124).
- 29 C.A. Garufi, "Gli Aleramici ed i Normanni in Sicilia e Puglia," *centenario della nascita di Michele Amari* (Palermo, 1910), No. 8, pp. 80-81; *Cartulaire du Saint Sepulcre*, Nos. 9, 12, pp. 45-51, 54-58.
- 30 *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'abbaye de Notre-dame de Josaphat*, ed. H.F. Delaborde (Paris, 1880), No. 21, pp. 50-54. This is the only one of five bulls of Innocent II for this abbey dated 18 May 1140 to be genuine.
- 31 The first references to these are respectively: *Cartulaire du Saint Sépulcre*, No. 7 (1138), pp. 44-46; for St. Samuel, Bresc-Bautier, "Possessions," pp. 16-17; for St. Mary, Nazareth, *Codice diplomatico barese*, 8: *Le pergamene di Barletta*. *Archivio capitolare*, 897-1285, ed. F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1914), No. 85 (1158), pp. 123-124. This refers to the church of St. Quiriacus outside Barletta. A church within the city subject to Nazareth was built in 1169, *ibid.*, No. 110, pp. 155-156. For the Hospitallers, *Codice diplomatico barese*, 9: *Documenti storici di Corato* (Bari, 1927), No. 53 (1158), pp. 61-62; for the Teutonic Knights, *Cod. dipl. bar.*, 10: *Pergamene di Barletta del R. Archivio di Napoli (1075-1309)*, ed. R. Filangieri di Candida (Bari, 1927), No. 37 (1197), pp. 57-58; and for the Templars, *Cod. dipl. bar.*, 8: No. 185 (1202), pp. 239-240.
- 32 L.T. White, *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, MA, 1938), pp. 209, 229.

which were most successful in the *regno*, St. Mary Josaphat and St. Mary of the Latins. Study of the former is complicated by the enthusiasm with which the thirteenth-century monks of that abbey supplemented their existing privileges by forgery, and in doing so created a tangle still not wholly unraveled today. The evidence from the latter house's chief Sicilian dependency, St. Philip of Agira, is still mainly unpublished, and I have not as yet had opportunity to examine it. The printed calendar is rightly notorious for its unreliability.<sup>33</sup> But with these *caveats* in mind it is still possible to draw some conclusions about the monastic houses of the Holy Land and the Kingdom of Sicily.

Neither before nor after his assumption of the royal crown was King Roger himself notably generous to Palestinian religious houses, although he was not as unremittingly hostile as might be inferred from William of Tyre's comments on the aftermath of Queen Adelaide's repudiation. The evidence we have for the actual donation of property is slight. A reference preserved in a later papal bull mentions him and his mother as having given the canons of Mount Zion a church near Caltanissetta in western Sicily—a reference which is difficult to reconcile with an inscription in that church recording its dedication only in 1153 on the request of Count Godfrey of Montescaglioso. In addition a charter of 1183 refers to a donation to a dependency of St. Mary of the Latins at Agira.<sup>34</sup> Otherwise his charters in favor of Palestinian monasteries were confirmations of the gifts of others, or general protections. His confirmation of a minor donation of villeins in the Rossano region of Calabria to St. Mary Josaphat in May 1112 occurred while the marriage negotiations between his mother and Baldwin I were under way.<sup>35</sup> He did vindicate the possession by St. Mary of the Latins of the monastery of St. Philip of Agira, in 1126 and again in a legal case of 1137, but the original donation of this church had been by Bishop Angerius of Catania, and the rival claims over it of the see of Lipari were to a considerable extent his fault!<sup>36</sup> He granted royal protection to the Hospital in 1136, and rights of pasturage, woodcutting, and exemption from market dues, but made no concrete donation, and it is not clear how far such a privilege was worth anything at this stage, in that the Hospital probably as yet had very little property in the *regno*.<sup>37</sup> His later confirmations to St. Mary Josaphat and St. Mary

33 See P. Sinopoli, "Tabulario di S. Maria Latina di Agira," *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale* 22 (1926), 135-190. A projected edition in the 1930s seems to have come to nothing.

34 *Le più antiche carte dell'archivio capitolare di Agrigento (1092-1282)*, ed. P. Collura, Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, 1.25 (Palermo 1961), No. 33, pp. 80-83; White, *Latin Monasticism*, p. 232; Bresc-Bautier, "Possessions," pp. 23-24; Holtzmann, "Urkunden" (note 14 above), No. 6, pp. 67-69.

35 Garufi, *Documenti inediti* (note 14 above), No. 19, pp. 45-49 (a further confirmation of 1144).

36 Holtzmann, "Urkunden," No. 5, pp. 65-66; White, *Latin Monasticism*, pp. 216-218; and No. 13, p. 254.

37 Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 124. C. Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei König Rogers II von Sizilien* (Cologne, 1978), pp. 139-141, shows that this charter is genuine, *contra* White, *Latin Monasticism*, pp. 236-7 and others, but that it must be dated to 1136 and not 1137 as

of the Latins were hardly acts of great generosity, the one part of his general inquest into privileges of 1144, and the other, in 1153, necessitated by a fire at St. Philip, Agira, which had destroyed its muniments, and granted only after a rigorous inquiry into the boundaries of the monastery's property.<sup>38</sup>

Evidence for an interest in the Holy Land shrines by the dukes of Apulia is even scantier. Later claims that Robert Guiscard made donations to St. Mary of the Latins and Mount Zion must be treated with healthy scepticism (particularly the latter). For Dukes Roger and William all we have are two or three later references to confirmations, not themselves surviving, and to a donation by Duke Roger of some unknown property in Calabria.<sup>39</sup> But if ducal and royal patronage was limited, where the Holy Land churches did find benefactions was from those who had close personal or family connections with the Holy Land and the crusade. William I's undated confirmation of the property of St. Mary Josaphat refers to a series of donations in and around Taranto by Bohemund I and his wife Constance of France. The same document mentions the gift of a church outside Taranto by Roger I's daughter Emma, in memory of her husband Count Ralph Maccabeus of Montescaglioso.<sup>40</sup> He was the brother of the Geoffrey of Montescaglioso who was killed on the First Crusade at Dorylaeum in July 1097, and it was not perhaps surprising that his relations had an affection for the churches of the Holy Land. Emma was also an early benefactor of the Hospitallers. Her daughter Adelicia was later, c. 1160, to grant a church near Aderno in Sicily to the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>41</sup>

But, despite the disastrous ending of her marriage to Baldwin I, the most striking benefactors of Holy Land churches in the *regno* were the relatives and connections of Queen Adelaide. She herself vowed on her return journey from Jerusalem that if she reached home safely she would build two churches, and after her death, and apparently on her instructions, one of her knights, Eleazar son of William Mallevrer, gave one of them to St. Mary of Josaphat.<sup>42</sup> Her brother, Count Henry of Paterno, soon after her second marriage, either gave

the (late) manuscript has, since the chancellor Guarin who authenticated the document died on 21 January 1137. Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 119, dated October 1136, is a forgery, for which see Brühl, *Urkunden*, pp. 137-139.

38 Garufi, *Documenti inediti*, No. 19, pp. 45-49; K.A. Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sizilischen Könige* (Innsbruck, 1902), pp. 430-433.

39 For Mount Zion see note 35 above. Holtzmann, "Urkunden," No. 8 (1168), pp. 71-72, which White, *Latin Monasticism*, p. 217 thinks "somewhat suspect." *Chartes de Josaphat*, ed. Delaborde (note 30 above), No. 21, pp. 50-54, and see Roger II's 1144 confirmation, as in note 39.

40 Garufi, *Documenti inediti*, No. 29, pp. 67-72.

41 Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 49 (1119); White, *Latin Monasticism*, No. 21, pp. 262-263. For Geoffrey see Jamison, "Some notes," p. 200, and for Adelicia see C.A. Garufi, "Per la storia del secolo XI e XII. Miscellanea diplomatica," *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale* 9 (1912), 341-347.

42 *Chartes de Josaphat*, ed. Delaborde (note 30 above), No. 13, pp. 38-40. Eleazar is also recorded making a donation to the Greek abbey of St. Philip of Fragala in 1116; S. Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia* (Palermo, 1860), No. 15, pp. 411-412. This church was a particular favorite of Adelaide and received at least five charters from her.

the church of the Virgin at Paterno to Josaphat or encouraged Bishop Angerius of Catania to do so, and thereafter he continued to make benefactions to the Palestinian abbey and to request privileges for it from Angerius and his successor Maurice. Unfortunately the authenticity of most of the documents concerned with these transactions is very much open to question, and while certainly a genuine tradition is preserved the exact details have been successfully obscured by the forgers of the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>43</sup> The family connection with the Holy Land, however, did not stop with Count Henry. His son, Simon, Count of Butera, was a benefactor both of the Hospitallers and of the Holy Sepulcher, to which he gave the church of St. Andrew outside Piazza Armerina and a dependent chapel in 1148. In the former charter Count Simon particularly mentioned benefiting the soul of his aunt, Queen Adelaide, as one of the purposes of his donation.<sup>44</sup> It must however be noted that this family were not themselves "Norman" but of the north Italian line of the Margraves of Savona. Even in the 1160s a contemporary referred to Butera and Piazza Armerina as *Lombardorum oppida* ("towns of the north Italians").<sup>45</sup>

Donations were not confined to this group of those with direct Holy Land connections—all of whom were also related to the Hauteville dynasty. It may be that in the imperfect state of the evidence any attempt to isolate a pattern is in vain. But if we look particularly at the property of St. Mary of Josaphat, the Holy Land church which in the twelfth century had the most extensive possessions in the *regno*, something of a pattern does emerge. The six documents cited in Roger II's confirmation charter of October 1144 (assuming that this is itself genuine) were all early in date, ranging between 1110 and 1115. Between them they conceded a very substantial amount of the endowment which the monastery later possessed in Calabria—and it was the only Holy Land abbey to possess property in that province. The donors named were men of real importance, as Hugh of Chiaromonte, Humphrey de Bohun, and Richard the Seneschal, Roger II's first cousin, who was also a benefactor of Mount Tabor, in 1115. The woman whom he married as his second wife, Alberada of Policoro, gave Josaphat the church of St. Basil there, for the soul of her first husband, Roger de Pomaria.<sup>46</sup> Alberada is last attested as living in 1122, and the donation

43 See C.A. Garufi, "Le donazioni del conte Enrico di Paterno al monastero di S. Maria di Valle Giosofat," *ROL* 9 (1902), Nos. 1-8, pp. 219-229. Garufi considered that Nos. 1 (Count Henry) and 5 (Bishop Maurice) were genuine, but Bresc-Bautier, "Possessions," pp. 17 and 22 has suggested that while No. 1 is forged, No. 2 (Bishop Angerius) is genuine, and that No. 3, which Garufi thought forged, is also genuine. According to Innocent II's 1140 bull (genuine text) this church was given by Bishop Angerius, which would support Bresc-Bautier's opinion, but diplomatically No. 1 seems superior to No. 2.

44 Garufi, "Aleramici" (note 29 above), Nos. 7-8, pp. 79-81. The former is also printed by Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 172.

45 *La Historia o Liber de Regno Siciliae di Ugo Falcando*, ed. G.B. Siragusa, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* (Rome, 1897), p. 70.

46 Garufi, *Documenti inediti*, No. 19, pp. 45-49 (which should be compared with *Chartes de Josaphat*, ed. Delaborde, No. 21, pp. 50-54 of Innocent II). Delaville, *Cartulaire*, 2:899-901 (No. 5). For Alberada's donation see Garufi, *Documenti inediti*, No. 29, pp. 67-72. For discussion of the 1144 charter see Mayer, *Bistümer* pp. 280-281.



may well date before her remarriage c. 1113. Remembering that the abbey's Sicilian property round Paterno was acquired between 1113 and at the latest 1124, one can see therefore that almost all the possessions of Josaphat in the *Regno* were acquired in the quarter of a century after the capture of Jerusalem, and much of it before 1115 (very soon after Josaphat's conversion into a monastic establishment). After the first flood of enthusiasm had died down, very little more was given to the monastery.

The endowment of the Hospitallers in the *regno* followed a different but equally significant pattern. Though the Hospital came early to southern Italy, with four houses in port cities by 1113, there appears to have been a long period when it received little further. Only in the second half of the century did a network of Hospitaller houses spread beyond these early beginnings, with references to dependencies at Barletta in 1158, Foggia by 1177 at the latest, Capua in 1177, Salerno c. 1179, Naples in 1186, and Ascoli in 1192.<sup>47</sup> For the Temple the evidence is, as one might expect, even scantier. There was a chief official of the Order on the island of Sicily by 1151, but White concludes that its development there was largely a thirteenth-century matter. There was a Templar house at Minervino in southern Apulia by 1169, and one at S. Germano in the Principality of Capua by 1180, but the first evidence we have for one at Barletta comes only from the early thirteenth century, though by this stage the Templar houses in Apulia had been organized into a province under a Master.<sup>48</sup> This suggests that the Military Orders were relatively slow to establish themselves in the Kingdom of Sicily, after the initial enthusiasm for the Hospital in the days when it was still a purely charitable organization (a very limited enthusiasm which seems to have been confined to the pilgrim ports).

One might therefore posit a pattern rather as follows. In the years immediately after the First Crusade, to which southern Italy made such a substantial contribution, there was some enthusiasm for the Holy Land in southern Italy, as shown by the quite extensive donations in particular to the monastery of St. Mary of Josaphat and the foundation of Hospitals of St. John in some of the pilgrim ports. However this first burst of enthusiasm very rapidly cooled—a process no doubt abetted by the repudiation of Queen Adelaide by Baldwin I. Between about 1117 and the middle of the century there was very little further endowment of Holy Land churches, except for a handful of mainland churches conceded to the Holy Sepulcher. South Italians themselves seem not to have

47 *Cod. dipl. bar.*, 9, No. 53, pp. 61-62; Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 381. *Le più antiche carte di S. Modesto di Benevento (secoli VIII-XIII)*, ed. F. Bartoloni (Rome, 1950), No. 16, pp. 43-45; *Italia Pontificia*, 8: *Regnum Normannorum-Campania*, ed. P.F. Kehr (Berlin, 1935), No. 50, p. 360; Delaville, *Cartulaire*, 1:cxxxi; *Cod. dipl. verginiensis*, 9, No. 984, pp. 314-316.

48 *Codice diplomatico pugliese*, 20: *Le pergamene di Conversano (901-1265)*, ed. G. Coniglio (Bari, 1975), No. 121, pp. 254-255; E. Gattula, *Historia abbatiae Casinensis* (Venice, 1733), p. 495. *Cod. dipl. bar.*, 8, No. 185, pp. 239-240; 10, No. 46, pp. 67-68; D.R. Clementi, "A Calendar of the Diplomas of the Hohenstaufen Emperor Henry VI concerning the Kingdom of Sicily," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 35 (1955), No. 83, p. 170.

been very active as pilgrims. In the second half of the century some religious institutions from Palestine did achieve a further footing in the south; though, compared with the Military Orders, the other Palestinian monastic establishments made comparatively little impression. St. Mary Josaphat received no more property after 1140, and indeed very little after 1115, and while St. Mary of the Latins, or rather its dependency at Agira, did continue to receive donations through the century, its influence was entirely confined to Sicily itself.<sup>49</sup> In one or two episcopal sees something of an interest in the Holy Land may have continued, notably at Catania where under the influence of Count Henry of Paterno Bishops Angerius and Maurice were notably generous to Josaphat and St. Mary of the Latins, and the latter also received a charter from Bishop Robert in 1170.<sup>50</sup> The Bishops of Troia too showed a certain favor for the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>51</sup> But for the most part southern Italy was not notably wedded to the cause of the Holy Land. The failure of the *regno* to contribute significantly to the crusade was paralleled by a relatively restrained attitude to the great shrines of Palestine, except in the very early years and among those who had particular connections with the Holy Land.

Under King William II the situation did slowly change. Though hardly very generous the king showed a greater degree of interest in the Holy Land churches, and with the despatch of fleets to Alexandria in 1174 and Tripoli in 1188 made a significant if sporadic contribution to the Christian cause, although hardly sufficient to justify the claims made for him as a champion of the Faith at the Venice peace conference of 1177.<sup>52</sup> That the government of Jerusalem was by this time making some effort to cultivate south Italian opinion is suggested by the privilege which Baldwin IV gave to the monastery of Cava in 1181. By now, too, the influence of some Holy Land churches was spreading into new areas, thus Mount Tabor was given a church at Bari in 1183 by the archbishop.<sup>53</sup> The fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 must have been here as elsewhere in the West a severe psychological blow, and in Sicily made more so by refugees from the Holy Land. After 1188 the monks of St. Mary of the Latins made their main base at Agira. Monks from Belmont in the County of Tripoli took refuge in the diocese of Agrigento and were given the church of St. Mary of Refesio by Bishop Bartholomew; while the nuns of St. Mary Magdelene in Tripoli itself, who had also fled, were given a church at Prizzi to found a new house.<sup>54</sup> J.M. Powell has

49 See the maps in Bresc-Bautier, "Possessions," between pp. 16-17.

50 Garufi, *Documenti inediti*, No. 52, pp. 120-122.

51 *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre* (note 28 above), Nos. 9, 154-155 (1171), 167 (1182), pp. 45-51, 303-305, 319-320.

52 Romuald of Salerno, *Chronicon sive Annales*, ed. C.A. Garufi (RIS 2nd. ed., Città di Castello, 1935), p. 290. For William II see H. Wieruszowski, "The Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Crusades," in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, 2:32-40.

53 P. Guillaume, *Essai historique sur l'Abbaye de Cava* (Cava dei Tirreni, 1877), p. xxxix, Appendix N.; *Codice diplomatico barese*, 1: *Le pergamene del duomo di Bari*, ed. G.B. Nitto di Rossi and F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1897), No. 59, pp. 114-115.

54 White, *Latin Monasticism*, pp. 172-177, 223-224, 294-295 (No. 49); *Carte di Agrigento* (note 34 above), Nos. 38-39, pp. 87-90.

gone so far as to suggest that by the early Staufen period there was genuine enthusiasm for the crusade and the Holy Land in the Kingdom of Sicily, even if subordinated to and controlled by monarchical ambition.<sup>55</sup> But this marked a change from the twelfth century, even if there may have been the beginnings of that change under William II.

This paper has perhaps made little fundamental alteration to our perception of the relations between Norman Italy and the Holy Land. It has at least added nuances, and asked us once again to examine our assumptions about the ecclesiastical links between the two. It probably raises more problems than it solves, not least for its author. There are questions which have not been touched on here, and which cannot at the moment be answered. How was it, for example, that the school of manuscript illumination of the Holy Sepulcher could influence the art of Palermo in the 1150s when the Holy Sepulcher had no property at all in western Sicily, and very little on the island as a whole (indeed at that period only one church in eastern Sicily)?<sup>56</sup> How far did the need not to alienate the substantial Muslim population on the island make its rulers cautious about encouraging crusading fanaticism, especially in the first half of the century when the non-Christian population was still in the majority?

We may conclude with Francesco Giunta and Helene Wieruszowski that "the crusade had no part in the Sicilian tradition."<sup>57</sup> But given the contribution from southern Italy to the successful First Crusade, and the role which the ports of Apulia and Messina played as conduits for both foreign pilgrims and trade, we are entitled to wonder why. However imperfect the attempt, the effort of making it is, I hope, worthwhile.

55 J.M. Powell, "Crusading by Royal Command: Monarchy and Crusade in the Kingdom of Sicily (1187-1230)," in *Potere, società e popolo tra età normanna ed età sveva (1189-1210). Atti delle quinte giornate normanno-sveve, Bari-Conversano, 26-28 ottobre 1981* (Bari, 1983), pp. 131-146.

56 A point not really considered by H. Buchthal, "The Beginnings of Manuscript Illumination in Norman Sicily," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 24 (1956), 78-85.

57 Wieruszowski, "Norman Kingdom" (note 52 above), p. 6.

# The Counts of Toulouse, the Reformed Canons, and the Holy Sepulcher

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Among the many churches built or rebuilt by the crusaders before Saladin recaptured Jerusalem in 1187, exceptional in every respect was the one erected on the location where once a courtyard separated Constantine's basilica and Golgotha from the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Plate 1, A). Whereas the plan of most differed hardly at all from their pre-Islamic antecedents, the crusaders' church at the Holy Sepulcher alone borrowed its principal features from pilgrimage churches in the West. Those features paid fitting homage to the place where Christian pilgrimages began with St. Helena's discovery of the True Cross. Oscar Wilde's quip that God made man in His image and man repaid the compliment is worth paraphrasing here: after 800 years during which Western churches were inspired in one way or another by the Holy Sepulcher, the crusaders returned the compliment by transporting features with origins west of the Alps back to the source of inspiration beyond the eastern rim of *Mare Nostrum*. However, like Wilde's less-than-perfect-man and like copies of the Holy Sepulcher in the West, the crusaders' new church has always seemed a distorted shadow of its source of inspiration, the so-called 'pilgrimage road type' whose definitive form was being realized in Toulouse as the First Crusade got underway.

Two years before, reformed canons supported by the count of Toulouse, Guilhem IV, had already completed the parts of a church that incorporated the features in question as a new setting for the tomb of St. Saturninus—a cruciform church with twin doorways opening into a continuous ambulatory surmounted by a vast tribune gallery (Plate 1, B). By then Raymond de Saint-Gilles, the elder statesman of the First Crusade, had inherited the title of count from Guilhem, his older brother, who abandoned his possessions reportedly to end his days in the Holy Land.<sup>1</sup> Within months, Raymond would confer with Urban II about plans to deliver the Holy Sepulcher from Muslim control. Having thus prepared the crusade announced in Clermont—on the eve of the

1 On the political circumstances surrounding the construction of the church of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse, see my article, "The Programme of the Porte des Comtes at Saint-Sernin in Toulouse," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971), 35-39 (appendix).



feast of St. Saturninus—he would soon assist at the pope's consecration of the new church and of an altar offered by the confraternity of Saint-Sernin, before embarking in his turn, accompanied by throngs of pilgrims and an army, for the Holy Land.

Saturninus—he would soon assist at the pope's consecration of the new church and of an altar offered by the confraternity of Saint-Sernin, before embarking in his turn, accompanied by throngs of pilgrims and an army, for the Holy Land.

How is it then that Saint-Sernin in Toulouse is compared so rarely, and only incidentally, to the crusaders' church, much less credited with being its source of inspiration? The plausible link between these two great pilgrimage churches has been gravely impaired both by presuppositions and perceptions: presuppositions about what factors influenced the development of medieval architecture on the one hand and piecemeal perceptions of the archeological evidence on the other. Both penchants persist even in the most recent authoritative study of the subject by the late T.S.R. Boase.<sup>2</sup>

First, Boase presupposed a generalized Cluniac influence: "the obvious prototype [for the crusaders' church] would be a Cluniac pilgrimage church of southern France." Cluny's limited interest in the Holy Land aside, the influence of that abbey on pilgrimage architecture in southern France has been seriously overstated. Cluny's desire to control pilgrimage centers was in fact thwarted at every turn, especially by reformed canons. Guilhem's vow to protect the chapter at Saint-Sernin in 1083 was due to a papal reprimand for having acquiesced in the Cluniac invasion of the shrine by monks from Moissac. Even Benedictines at Conques successfully resisted Cluny. Only Saint-Martial in Limoges submitted; but the church built there—on the road from Vézelay to Moissac (neither of which adopted the pilgrimage plan)—incorporated partially the features that were fully combined only in the pilgrimage churches built in Toulouse, Compostela, and Tours—as well as Jerusalem. All of the latter were inhabited by independent regular canons protected by the Holy See.<sup>3</sup>

As for perceptions of the archeological evidence, Boase introduces his analysis by endorsing Camille Enlart's typological approach to the crusader monuments.

France": *Les églises de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1860), p. 174. A recently published comment on the church intended to inform the archeological world about the results of the restoration compares the crusaders' church to Saint-Martin de Tours and Saint-Martial in Limoges: J. Wilkinson, "Church of the Holy Sepulchre," *Archeology* 31. 4 (July-August, 1978), 11-13.

- 2 T.S.R. Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria, Part A: Architecture and Sculpture," in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, 4:69-116, esp. p. 77. Cf. also Enlart, *Monuments*. Melchior de Vogüé, in the first art historical approach to the Holy Sepulcher, had already generalized by saying that its plan "est celui de toutes les grandes églises de
- 3 Cluniac influence was questioned in a symposium entitled "Current studies on Cluny" sponsored by the International Center of Medieval Art at Kalamazoo, May 8-11, 1986; see in particular, my essay ("The Pilgrimage Roads Revisited, II. Resistance to Cluny after 1087, the Politics of Selective Eclecticism in Architecture"), O.K. Werckmeister ("Cluny III and the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela), and J. Williams ("Cluny and Spain"), all published in *Gesta* 27 (1988).

The objectivity implicit in Enlart's isolation—notably in volume 1 of his *Les Monuments des croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem*—of particular elements which are then compared to European counterparts, specifically where possible but generally as a rule, is held up as a paradigm of art historical procedure. According to Enlart's seemingly exhaustive catalogue, however, the crusaders' church owes something to every corner of France from Normandy to Provence except Toulouse. The plan, he said, derives from "the great churches of Burgundy and those of central and southern France," the tribunes resemble a dozen examples mostly in Normandy along with Santiago and Conques, the twin doors deemed rare in France find analogues in Italy, and general influences in Palestine are traced on the whole to Burgundy and Provence.<sup>4</sup>

Enlart's approach had been followed by almost everyone who has written about influences on the crusaders' church. The alternative approach, provided already in 1914 by Fathers F.-M. Abel and H. Vincent, was rooted less in typology than in texts and topology.<sup>5</sup> After treating generalities, their study examines the site, part by part, in light of the texts and in the order described by a German pilgrim, Theoderic, who offers the most complete account we have of the site when the crusaders' church was nearing completion.<sup>6</sup> These two approaches, one springing from modern art historical premises based on style, the other anchored in the bedrock of contextuality, have remained the guarantors of objectivity when treating a monument that fits with difficulty into a clearcut historical sequence of events, whether morphological or political.

Documents as well as style have protracted the building history over the entire period of the Latin occupation or permitted contracting it to a matter of decades and even of a few years. That history centers on the consecration that took place on 15 July 1149, fifty years to the day after the taking of Jerusalem. But an occasion that was ceremonial in character no more assures us that the new church was completed than a reference to building activity in 1130 proves construction was underway then—or that the canons' reform in 1114 marked its beginning. A rapid construction can be postulated sometime between the burial of Fulk of Anjou in 1143 near the pre-existing Adam chapel alongside the early Kings of Jerusalem and subsequent royal burials aligned with the canons' choir south of the new crossing beginning in 1163. Al-Idrisi's mention of a bell tower

4 Cf. Enlart, *Monuments* 2:31-32, 50, 61, 82. It should be noted that when Enlart turns from his typological overview in vol. 1 to monographic essays in vol. 2, and to the Holy Sepulcher in particular, Saint-Sernin is cited along with Cluny III as a source for the ambulatory scheme; the double doors evoke Santiago as well as Saint-Sernin (and, unaccountably, also Saint-Martial in Limoges). But his conclusions continue to embrace the idea of a Cluniac origin: "les sanctuaires de saint-Martial de Limoges, Paray-le-Monial, Conques, Compostelle, Sant 'Antimo en Toscane forment, avec ceux de Cluny, Toulouse, et Jérusalem une même famille de création ou d'inspiration cluniste". *Monuments* 2:137 note 3.

5 L.H. Vincent and F.M. Abel, *Jérusalem: recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 2: *Jérusalem nouvelle* (Paris, 1914-1926), chap. 4.

6 Theodericus, ed. Bulst, cc. 5-12, pp. 12-21; see also Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, 2:287-290.

before January 1154, if taken to refer to the tower added to the south facade, suggests an even shorter building period.<sup>7</sup> Stylistic evidence has been hardly more persuasive. Art historians have been inclined to expand rather than to contract the history of construction because of perceived formal differences, along the lines suggested by Enlart whose chronology extended from shortly after the crusaders' arrival to that of Saladin.<sup>8</sup>

On the whole, a stylistic approach to the monument has proved not only disappointing but also misleading. Melchior de Vogüé, in the first thoroughgoing stylistic study of the monument, ultimately stressed documents over style in dating the edifice between 1140 and 1180. But he introduced the issue of style as follows: "aujourd'hui que la science a étudié les monuments publics, un certain nombre de vérités sont incontestables. Il n'est pas un voyageur, même des moins archéologique, qui ne soit pas frappé de l'aspect gothique de toute la portion orientale de l'église du Saint-Sepulchre et qui n'hésite à en attribuer la construction aux rois latins de Jerusalem..."<sup>9</sup> Yet after noting that every arch is pointed and every upper vault employs the ogival system, he concluded that "le plan appartient exclusivement à l'école romane perfectionnée pendant le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle" and then went on to say the same about "l'agencement général des arcs, des voûtes, des galeries entièrement copiées d'après les églises romanes du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle." He explains the irony of his remarks by observing that details of style do not constitute the essence of a monument, a view many would endorse today and that I would like to argue here. De Vogüé's singleminded interpretation of style was consonant with his equally laudable desire to strip away accretions and irrelevancies to discover that essence. The search for the essential unity of the building's conception may smack of the rationalism of his contemporary, Viollet-le-Duc, but it is also consonant with the perception of a very involved twelfth-century witness to the building's construction, William, archbishop of Tyre. For William, the new church effectively drew together and unified the holy places the crusaders found scattered in the vicinity of Golgotha and Christ's tomb in 1099.<sup>10</sup>

7 The consecration is mentioned by John of Würzburg, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae in Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII. IX. XII. et XV*, ed. T. Tobler (Leipzig, 1874), pp. 145-146. For dating based on documents, see de Vogüé, *Eglises*, pp. 213-221.

8 Enlart postulated a completed choir by 1105, a cloister in place when the canons adopted the Augustinian rule, and the tower placed against the south facade between 1072 and 1187: *Monuments* 2:139-151. A. Borg also argues on historical as well as stylistic grounds that "the Crusaders' church was conceived soon after the conquest of the city: 'The Lost Apse Mosaic of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem,'" in *The Vanishing Past. Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology presented to Christopher Hohler*, ed. A. Borg and A. Martindale (Oxford, 1981), p. 10. Historians have been inclined, however, to date the building to the last forty or fifty years of the occupation.

9 M. de Vogüé, *Eglises*, p. 175.

10 "*Sed postquam nostri opitulante divina clementia urbem obtinuerunt in manu forti, visum est eis predictum nimis angustum edificium et ampliata ex opere solidissimo et sublimi admodum ecclesia priore, infra novum edificium, veteri continuo et inserto, mirabiliter loca comprehenderunt predicta*": WT8,3, p. 386.

The archbishop of Tyre's admiration for the unity of the crusaders' church notwithstanding, the seeming heterogeneity of the archeological evidence has made it difficult for modern historians to share the unitary perception de Vogüé was inclined to impose on all phases of the Holy Sepulcher's history. Joshua Prawer, in his pioneering study of the crusades perceived as Europe's first colonial venture, interpreted the mixture of European elements as fulfilling the crusaders' need for a sense of belonging which they achieved by recreating aspects of their home environment, however inappropriate, rather than producing a hybrid based on the example of those they had conquered.<sup>11</sup> This hypothesis had already been confirmed, it would seem, by de Vogüé's own reaction upon seeing the Holy Sepulcher of the first time: "j'ai trouvé avec bonheur au terme désiré du pèlerinage ces formes connues qui me rappelèrent la patrie..."<sup>12</sup> Despite what Prawer termed "the daring plan of a master architect," he would characterize the new church as a "potpourri... ill-destined to preserve any sort of artistic unity throughout the stages of planning and execution."<sup>13</sup> In support of this perception, Prawer quoted the conclusions of a German art historian, Karl Schmaltz, who postulated a sort of rotating responsibility for the building on the part of artists from various parts of France: "The masters of the Toulouse school of building drew the new plan of the Latin church over the tomb of Christ, but Normandy... was responsible for its execution. Toulouse gave the ground plan and the galleries of the aisles, but northern France contributed the alternation of piers, the vaulting and the formation of the upper parts of the choir. Then, due to the patriarch Fulcher, the influence of Aquitaine replaced that of northern France. To him we owe the facade and dome. Finally, northern France regained her influence, adding a northern French belfry at the side of the Aquitaine facade. It seems that no northern masons took part in the work, and while the school of Toulouse is evident in the capitals and cornices, the facade seems to point exclusively to Provençal hands."<sup>14</sup>

The conclusion to Schmaltz's 1918 study of the Holy Sepulcher, while cited by Prawer because of its evident oversimplification, is particularly relevant to my thesis about the origins of the crusaders' church because it depends in part on an earlier chapter in *Mater Ecclesiarum* entitled "Saint-Sernin." In it, Schmaltz considers what Raymond de Saint-Gilles would have seen back home in Saint-Gilles du Gard as well as at Saint-Sernin when he was discussing a bellicose crusade to the Holy Land with Urban II in 1095. Hence his remark that "the masters of the Toulouse school of building drew the new plan of the Latin church..." Although he goes on to credit others with its execution, he had seen

11 Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 429.

12 M. De Vogüé, *Eglises*, p. 174.

13 Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 425-427.

14 K. Schmaltz, *Mater ecclesiarum: Die Grabeskirche in Jerusalem. Studien zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Baukunst und Ikonographie in Antike und Mittelalter* (Strassburg, 1918), p. 238; also quoted in Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 429.



the obvious fact that Saint-Sernin, and not Conques or some Norman church, was the plausible source not only for the plan but for the full tribune over a twin doorway and the continuous aisle that would be incorporated in the scheme of the crusaders' church.<sup>15</sup>

My objective here is to suggest a more convincing historical argument than the hypothetical 'masters of a Toulouse school' to account for the gap between the church consecrated in Toulouse before the crusade and the other one consecrated in Jerusalem over a half-century later. An obvious point of departure is the new evidence that has come to light during recent excavations and the massive restoration which is now virtually finished.<sup>16</sup> Questions of patronage and intentionality have also been addressed with greater insistence in recent years. Only last year, Nurith Kenaan-Kedar took a significant step in that direction by observing that the plan of the new church was laid out with considerable respect for the old one and with a symbolic end in mind, that is, "the idea of a new royal church" given expression by using half the diameter of the Rotunda's dome as a basis for establishing the dome over the "Compass" believed to mark the center of the earth—and along the axis dictated by the Holy Sepulcher in its original Constantinian setting.<sup>17</sup> Although the excavations have shown that the Constantinian scheme was far less regular than had been imagined, the conclusions drawn by the two authors who have addressed the implications of those excavations have tended to agree with William of Tyre that the crusaders skillfully accommodated the structures that stood there when they arrived.<sup>18</sup>

To understand better how a new church could have been conceived in the image of the only church with its pilgrimage features standing when the crusaders took Jerusalem—namely, Saint-Sernin in Toulouse—requires putting ourselves in the place of those who saw its construction as a sacred mission rather than as a technical or decorative challenge. To do this requires looking beyond those features recognized as lending formal unity to the

15 See Schmaltz, *Mater ecclesiarum*, pp. 198-206.

16 See Fr. Charles Couâsnon, O.P., *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1972 (London, 1974); also, Virgilio Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme: Aspetti archeologici dalle origini al periodo crociato*, 3 vols., (Jerusalem, 1982); cf. review by R. Ousterhout, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 43 (1984), 266-267.

17 Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, "Symbolic Meaning in Crusader Architecture. The Twelfth-Century Dome of the Holy Sepulcher Church in Jerusalem," *Cahiers archéologiques* 34 (1986), 109-117, esp. 115.

18 Couâsnon's remarks about the crusaders' church were confined to a short chapter in which he sought signs of conscious unification particularly in the elevation and in the use of ornament (*The Church*, pp. 58-61); Corbo concluded that "the old and new elements, wisely linked together, gave way to a very unitary complex" (*Santo Sepolcro*, p. 234). They were doing no more than agreeing with previous authors including Enlart who, in spite of the apparent heterogeneity of the design, sought to praise it at some general level. Enlart allowed as how "le maître d'oeuvres des Croisés ne pouvait donc faire mieux..." given the obstacles such as the rock of Calvary and the adjacent grotto that prevented the creation of a more ample church to replace the Constantinian basilica: *Monuments* 2:145.

ensemble in order to ask what motives are implicit in the way the new church set up adjacent to the Holy Sepulcher was adapted to the site.

The recent excavations have not entirely settled two questions bearing on what the crusaders found in 1099: (1) the state of the site before and after the wanton destruction by al-Hākim in 1009 and (2) its state in the wake of the restoration completed by 1048 under Constantine Monomachus.<sup>19</sup> But they have demonstrated beyond doubt that parts of the original eastern wall leading into the fourth-century rotunda were consolidated in the eleventh-century restoration to form a facade flanking an oriented apse.<sup>20</sup> That wall served to determine the axis of the new plan the extent of which was defined, moreover, by the configuration of the trapezoidal courtyard (fig. 1). These old boundaries determined the extent of the new plan as well as aspects of its elevation.

The crusaders' plan (fig. 2) required demolishing the eleventh-century apse, but had to take into account the shrines that lay within and along the perimeter of the courtyard, sometimes called the Holy Garden. Reports by two pilgrims shortly after 1100 suggest the configuration of the shrines that lay adjacent to one another in the vicinity of Golgotha.<sup>21</sup> Several structures described by the Russian abbot Daniel enclosing Golgotha and the "compass" behind the apse were also destroyed, and the shrines he tells us were under a single roof had to be rearranged to fit into radiating chapels. However, the north portico of the *triporticus* enclosing the courtyard and the wall lying parallel to it were incorporated within the crusaders' church, a conscious act of conservation requiring considerable ingenuity and clearly meant to attest the restoration of Constantine Monomachus if not the original Constantinian courtyard.<sup>22</sup> The

19 Cf. Corbo, *Santo Sepolcro*, conclusions, pp. 229-231; Couäsnon, *Church*, pp. 54-57, pls. IX, XXV; cf. testimony of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*, trans. G. Le Strange, in PPTS 4.1 (London, 1893), pp. 59-61; and see most recently Robert Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48 (1989), 66-78.

20 Cf. V. Corbo, "Gli edifici della Santa Anastasis a Gerusalemme," *Liber Annuus* 12 (1962), 221-316.

21 Saewulf, who arrived in Jerusalem in 1102, that is, within three years of the conquest, recounts the history of the Sepulcher first, then names the shrines to the east of the Holy Garden. Within five years, the Russian abbot Daniel offers a topographical account of sites to be visited and indicates distances between them. Most important for our purposes, he mentions an enclosure around Golgotha with mosaic representations "larger than life" and observes that the shrines were all covered under a single roof: for Saewulf, see *Relatio de peregrinatione Saweulfi ad Hierosolymam et Terram sanctam*, ed. A. Rogers, PPTS 4.2 (London, 1896), pp. 38-40 and de Vogüé, *Eglises*, pp. 166-167; for Daniel, cf. B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1889), pp. 12-17, reprinted in Corbo, *Santo Sepolcro*, pp. 141-143; English trans. by C.W. Wilson in PPTS 4.3 (London, 1895), pp. 15-16.

22 The so-called "arches of the Virgin" that stand beyond the piers defining the northern extremity of the north transept arm consist not of a colonnade but of an alternating sequence of square piers and columns that would have formed two tripartite bays followed by a biforal bay leading to the chapel referred to as Christ's prison. It was apparently restored in this form using seventh-century capitals and earlier spoils perhaps from the Constantinian portico by Monomachus between 1032 and 1048. Borg's analysis of the ornamental sculpture has caused him to conclude that the retention of the arcade

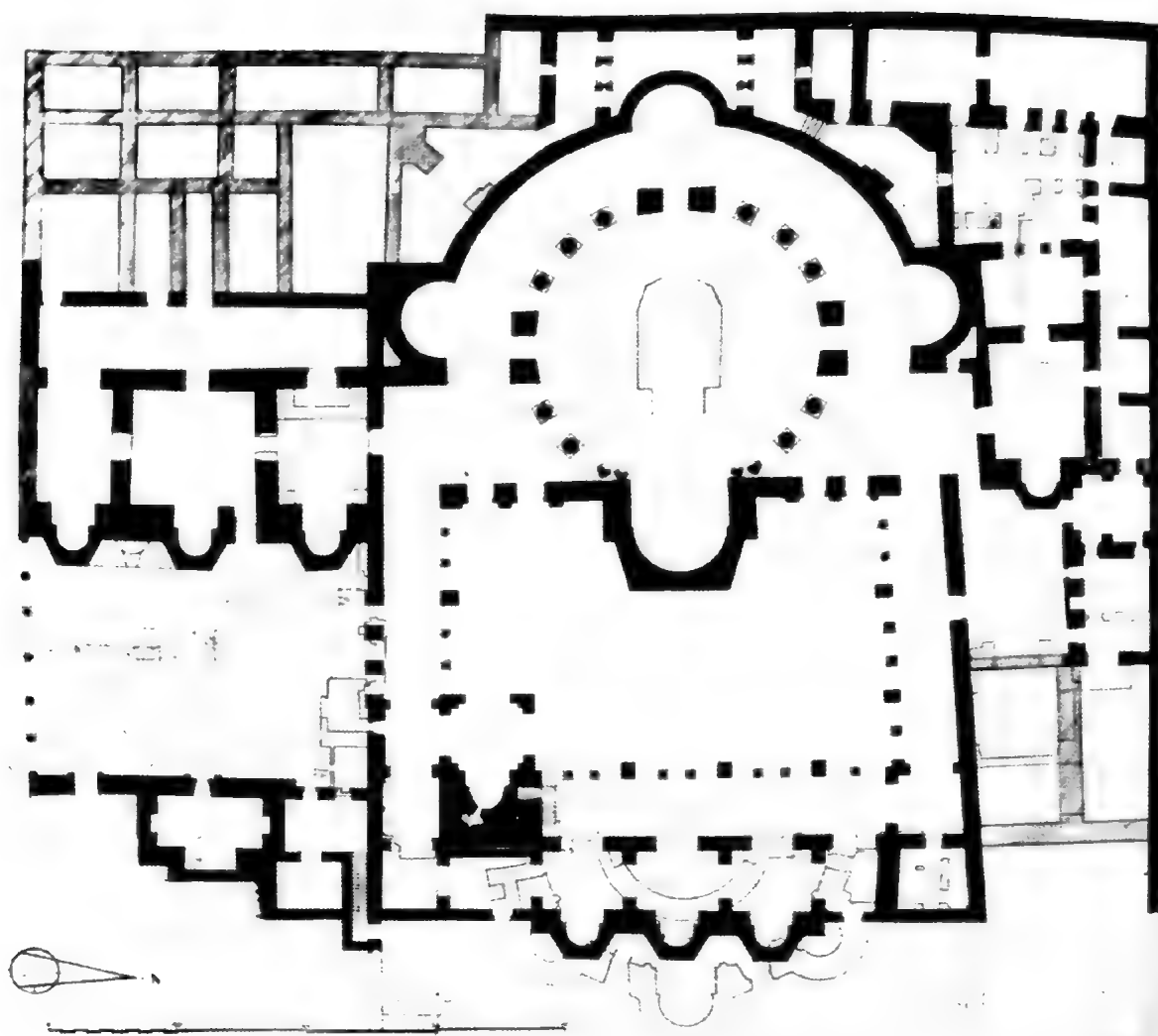


Fig. 1. Plan of the Holy Sepulcher as rebuilt in 1048 (C. Couâsnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*)

excavations have revealed the foundations of the *triporticus* the crusaders chose to remove, and it is now equally apparent that the plan of the new church was calculated to record visibly the location of the former arcades. Although not obvious to us, the sets of twin columns placed just inside the south portal and in the choir bay correspond to the foundations of the Holy Garden's *triporticus* and were, in fact, composed of ancient spoils clearly intended to signal that symbolic location. They are, moreover, the only freestanding shafts in the Romanesque building. The single columnar pier at the north end of the transept is the exception that proves the rule since it does not align with the oblique north portico. Together, the reused shafts constitute a motif whose sign value may have been inspired by the twin shafts that flanked the Byzantine apse of Monomachus, a motif that would be repeated throughout the new church (e.g., Plate 2, A.).<sup>23</sup>

was due to a later campaign that "was completed rapidly and rather haphazardly." The care with which the axis of that corridor was reflected also at the tribune level suggests a more deliberate act of conservation.

23 One of the original marble shafts remains partially to the north of the choir. Alan Borg, in

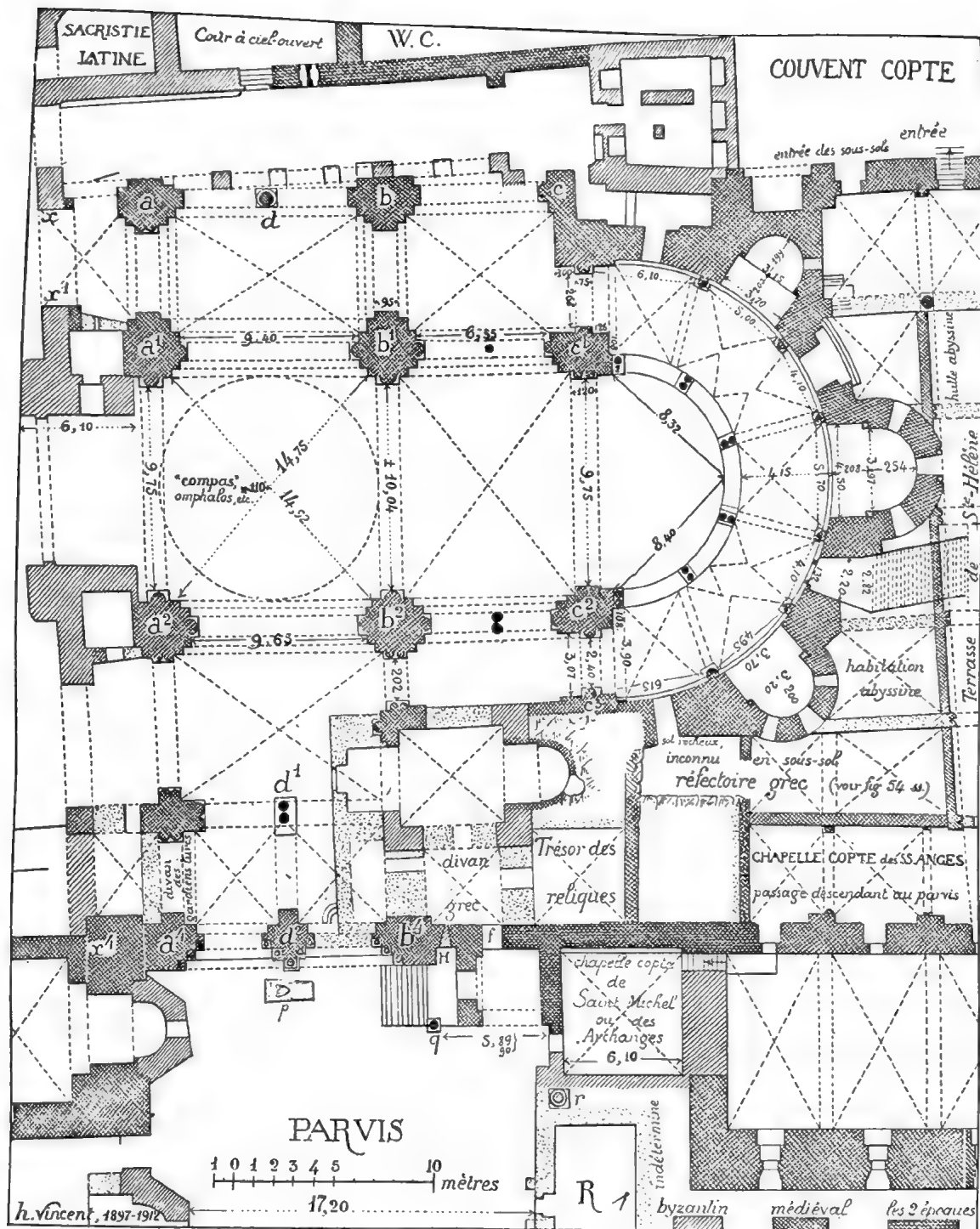


Fig. 2. Plan of the Crusader church (L.H. Vincent and F.M. Abel, *Jérusalem: recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 2: *Jérusalem nouvelle*)

The elevation foreseen in this plan also deferred to the location of the rotunda's eastern facade and the *triporticus*. The perimeter of the crusaders' church including the external walls of the transept arms corresponds to that facade and the backs of the porticoes, while the depth of the tribunes to the east

a lecture, mentions evidence to be found on wooden models sold as souvenirs of paired columns decorating the external surfaces of the apse as well. Enlart voiced the traditional explanation for twin columns as structurally warranted: "...sa hauteur modérée, le doublement des colonnes, sont autant de précautions contre les tremblements de terre...": *Monuments* 2:138.



and west was determined by the placement of the crossing piers. To the east, these may have been aligned with the eleventh-century aedicula that formerly enclosed the Golgotha shrine to the south and with the square pier closest to the northeast corner of the *triporticus* (cf. fig. 1).<sup>24</sup> In all events, the articulation of the tribune piers indicates that the builders were fully conscious of the relationship of that storey to the earlier buildings. For example, a curious, complicated pier type (Plate 2, B), with engaged half columns doubled in the long dimension as if to echo the motif used in the manner of the twin shafts to mark every threshold, is located exclusively above those twin shafts, with one notable exception: such a pier occurs above the pier marking the entrance to the Adam chapel beneath Golgotha in the eastern aisle of the south transept arm. The corresponding piers to the north are columnar like the one in the lower storey which does not refer to any earlier threshold. However, the divided bays of the eastern tribunes of the transept arms face across each arm toward large, undivided bays opening at the tribune level of the two-storey rotunda of Constantine Monomachus. The question of whether or not the tribune level in the crusaders' church was based on the level of the eleventh-century rotunda tribune is secondary to the fact that the new tribunes were calculated to signal their relationship to the rotunda facade and to the *triporticus* the crusaders found, in whatever state of disrepair, when they captured Jerusalem.<sup>25</sup>

But why, it must be asked, should a "master architect" capable of such a scheme have chosen so complicated a plan and elevation when a far simpler church type could more easily have accommodated the various shrines that stood in the area of the Holy Garden? They were obviously compelled by respect for the previous building to embrace the plan and even to reuse elements belonging to its predecessor. But could they not simply have inserted a longitudinal choir opening onto the preexisting shrines, as they presumably stood in the eleventh-century plan within three contiguous chapels aligned with

24 Couâsnon showed the corner piers of a square aedicula in front of the Adam chapel and Golgotha aligning with the square piers toward the eastern end of the north portico (Pl. IX), referring presumably to a rebuilding under Constantine Monomachus. That aedicula is not indicated in the plans published by Corbo (1982), but the north portico pier would probably have been justified in some way at the other end of the *triporticus*. To the west, all of the piers are shown by de Vogüé as aligning with the eastern extremity of the three eleventh-century apses that project into the esplanade from the former baptistry, but their alignment with some walls belonging to the Constantinian structure as shown in Couâsnon's reconstructions seems at least as plausible.

25 The tribunes in the crusaders' church have been taken for granted as a means of extending the tribune introduced in the eleventh-century restoration: cf. Enlart, *Monuments* 1:61; 2:146 and Couâsnon, *Church*, pp. 58-59. Although Couâsnon states that the vaults carrying the tribunes are at the same level and that the restoration of the north transept has equalized the floor levels, there are three steps leading up from the pavement level of the rotunda to that of the crusaders' tribune in the south tribune; the vaults do not appear to be at the same level where the Anastasis church and the new building join, either in the north or south transept arm. Couâsnon reconstructs the *triporticus* with two storeys but without indicating evidence for their alignment either with the rotunda tribune or that of the crusaders' church: Couâsnon, *Church*, pp. 55-57, pl. XXV.

the Byzantine apse according to Couâsnon's drawing (fig. 1)? That way, they could also leave the shrines to either side, including Golgotha, within their original porticoed setting. It could no doubt be argued that the crossing piers would have served a symbolic function, if Kenaan-Kedar's thesis about a dome forming a pendant to the rotunda is taken into account.<sup>26</sup> And by the same token, one might speculate about the symbolic value of superimposing a cruciform plan over the trapezoidal courtyard.<sup>27</sup> But one can imagine only with difficulty what liturgical—as opposed to aesthetic—function was served by the vast tribune surrounding the main vessels. It could not be reached except from the rotunda and would not have facilitated visits to the shrine of the Crucifixion on top of Golgotha; it merely encumbered that shrine as it still does today. Nor is it enough to argue as in the past that the radiating plan—which required uprooting and redistributing the original shrines—and the tribunes were simply the by-product of a European fashion.<sup>28</sup> One can imagine a separation of functions along the lines established today between the Franciscans and Armenians whereby the patriarch and his retinue might use the north tribune for liturgical functions while the crusaders used the south tribune. However, pilgrims, whether crusaders or laymen, would seem to have been served less well by the tribunes than they presumably were by the ambulatory.

As a matter of fact, texts offer no indication that the elaborate new facade (Plate 2, B) opening though the back wall of the old south portico served anything like what that splendor suggests. Texts say that pilgrims entered the courtyard, as they had traditionally, from Constantine's basilica before its destruction in 1009. Its loss seems to have favored entrance to the complex from the Patriarch's Street to the west. This was still the case when first Saewulf and then Daniel visited the site, evidently before anything but the tomb of Christ itself had been

26 See "Symbolic Meaning" (note 17 above), p. 115, where the author suggests that the choice of half the size of the rotunda might relate the crusaders' church to the *Templum Salomonis* on the Temple Mount. It is difficult to account, however, for the fact that the crossing piers are not equidistant, being further separated from north to south than from east to west for no apparent reason related to the earlier structure or to its purported symbolic function. It may not have been laid out with pendentives and a cylindrical drum in mind. Alan Borg, in a lecture, pointed out anomalies to suggest that another kind of crossing had been intended originally.

27 The contrast between the cruciform plan of the upper storey and the less obviously cruciform plan of the lower storey is pointed up in the drawings made by Fr. E. Horn in his painstaking eighteenth-century study: cf. Elzear Horn, *Ichnographiae locorum et monumentorum veterum Terrae Sanctae, accurate delineatae et descriptae a P. Elzeario Horn. Ordinis Minorum Provinciae Thuringiae* (1725-44), et codice Vaticano Latino No. 9233... It has been reprinted as *Ichnographiae monumentorum Terrae Sanctae* (1724-44), 2nd. ed. of Latin text with English version by Fr. E. Hoade O.F.M. and preface with notes by Fr. B. Bagatti O.F.M., (Jerusalem, 1962), Pls. VI, VII. Horn says, in fact, that the church "is in the form of a cross and the structure is almost entirely uniform": *Ibid.*, p. 53.

28 De Vogüé, Enlart, Boase, Prawer, and Wilkinson all speak in general terms about European antecedents for the ambulatory with radial chapels; Enlart says about the tribunes: "Quant aux tribunes, il en existait alors dans la plupart des grandes églises françaises, et elles s'imposait ici pour continuer l'ordonnance de la rotonde": *Monuments*, 2:146.

altered.<sup>29</sup> Both visits begin with the Holy Sepulcher and proceed to the shrines in the courtyard, and this apparently continues to be the case throughout the Latin occupation of Jerusalem. One might suppose that being clergymen, these visitors would have had privileged access to the patriarch's palace into which a twelfth-century door is still visible from the street. But al-Idrīsī, who completed his *Kitāb Rudjār* in January 1154, and the German pilgrim Theoderic who was in Jerusalem in 1172, also followed that order of visitation. Theoderic is especially explicit: his itinerary begins through a door into the tribune level of the rotunda, leads down a stairway to the Holy Sepulcher and then proceeds clockwise from Christ's prison past the shrines commemorating the division of Christ's garments, the crowing and scourging, and Calvary after which he exits through the south door. Each in his turn would thus have moved backward in time from the Resurrection to the Crucifixion.<sup>30</sup> Fr. Horn's thorough description of the stairways leading to and from the top of Golgotha give us a better sense of how this itinerary might have been accomplished but it also reminds us that access from the esplanade to the south via the so-called crusaders' chapel would have become a logical point of departure in later accounts, just as the esplanade serves today as the unique entryway.<sup>31</sup>

Whether used as a starting point for visits to the Holy Sepulcher during the Latin occupation of Jerusalem or not, the facade that faces the esplanade to the south of the crusaders' church today was clearly designed to establish a preferred approach once and for all. That this orientation was not original with the new church plan is indicated by three thresholds in the eleventh-century wall represented on the plans published after the recent excavations.<sup>32</sup> The eleventh-century approach would have been further enhanced by the arcade attested by bases still in place across the southern edge of the esplanade and that may date from the seventh century.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, it would not be surprising to learn that such

29 See note 21 above.

30 Theoderic's itinerary is the one chosen by Vincent and Abel as a topological guide for describing the holy sites as they stand today following their restoration after the fire of 1808 and it is also reproduced in full: *Jérusalem*, 2:287-290; also, note 6. Daniel's visit also takes place in counter-chronological order beginning with the site of the resurrection, then moving from the "compass" to that of the crucifixion before repairing to the settings for events leading up to Christ's death. John of Würzburg's itinerary is the exception in that it begins with Calvary: see, *Eglises*, pp. 213-215.

31 Horn, *Ichnographiae*, fig. 21, pls. XIII, XIV. The persistence of the order of description established by 1100 is attested by John de Mandeville's account in the mid-fourteenth century whose description follows that of Daniel: T. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine* (London, 1848), pp. 165-168. Enlart offers an extensive speculation on the uses of the Franks' Chapel during the middle ages: as a preacher's pulpit, for Holy Thursday ceremonies, for proclamations and patriarchal blessings... "mais l'usage normal et ordinaire de ce porche élégant était de permettre aux pèlerins l'accès direct de la chapelle du calvaire, avec laquelle il communiquait par un riche portail...": *Monuments*, 2:150.

32 Corbo, *Santo Sepolcro*; also Couäsnon, *The Church*, pl. IX. The three doors would have been located directly opposite the tripartite arcades in the south and north portico according to Couäsnon's plan.

33 The Byzantine basket capital still engaged in the wall to the west end suggests that the esplanade may have formed part of the eleventh-century campaign that also rebuilt the

an approach would have been possible ever since the time of Constantine in as much as the Roman forum built by Hadrian lay to the south of the temple of Jupiter that was cleared away for the Christian shrine. The design of the crusaders' church would simply have reaffirmed the Roman approach with considerable emphasis, even if it did not succeed in revising the discursive order of the itinerary taken by those visitors who left us written records of their perception of the holy places. Nevertheless, the plan and elevation of the crusaders' church look back not only to a local past and the topography of the immediate vicinity; they seem also to have looked forward to those occasions when such an approach would fit into a broader ceremonial context. The lintel that was once above the left-hand doorway may have referred to events leading up to the Passion of Christ and quite possibly to shrines that were visited by pilgrims before their arrival during Holy Week at the climax of their pilgrimage.<sup>34</sup>

But the plan itself predates the lintel and was conceived so as to invite a visit that was virtually analogous to that of pilgrims arriving at Saint-Sernin as it existed at the time of its consecration in 1096 when Raymond de Saint-Gilles would have seen it, perhaps for the last time. If the new scheme is taken at face value, as I believe it was intended to be taken, an approach across the esplanade past the baptistry toward the site of the crucifixion is self-evident. Beyond that point inside the biforal entryway, pilgrims could contemplate aspects of the Passion as they made their way along the ambulatory that would then lead them to—or perhaps through—the 'arches of the Virgin' past an image of Solomon, to the climactic rotunda and the Holy Sepulcher itself.<sup>35</sup> Such an itinerary would have been analogous to the one suggested at Saint-Sernin. There, the placement of capitals would have led pilgrims through a similar doorway, also perhaps past a baptismal font, then around the ambulatory, where the ordeal of the patron-martyr would have been recalled to mind, and finally to the vision of the risen Christ at the north end of the transept.<sup>36</sup>

*triporticus* with seventh-century elements. But it could also betray the rebuilding by Modestus of a Constantinian portico used as an alternative to the approach described by the pilgrims from "Constantine's basilica" and that would reflect the pre-Constantinian approach to Hadrian's temple from the second-century forum.

- 34 Cf. Molly Lindner's observations below. Alan Borg does not agree with most scholars that the lintels belong to the original scheme but suggests that they were added to an essentially aniconic facade.
- 35 Enlart's identification of the crowned figure with wings seated on a throne flanked by dragons on the only capital with a seemingly identifiable iconography in the entire building was based upon analogies drawn between this image and comparable representations in the art of Europe, one as late as the fourteenth century and the other in the twelfth-century cathedral of Vienne: *Monuments*, 2:157-158.
- 36 Daniel in the Lions' Den figures significantly in the ambulatory of Saint-Sernin as it does also quite as appropriately at the threshold of the chapel thought to be Christ's prison: Lyman, "Programme" (note 1 above), p. 13 and "La table d'autel de Bernard Gilduin et son ambiance originelle," *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 13 (1982), 58-63. It might even be argued that the twin threshold columns signaling the location of the original *triporticus* and that occur at every threshold in the form of engaged half-columns, reflect the same



One need not impute to Raymond de Saint-Gilles the ability to scrutinize the iconographic data that interests modern art historians in order to argue that what was eventually realized in Jerusalem responded in a very real way to what he experienced in Toulouse under extraordinarily charged circumstances in 1096. In the company of sixteen bishops as well as Pope Urban II and an assembly of nobles, he would have approached the basilica of Saint-Sernin toward a biforal entryway (Plate 3, A). He could hardly have remained impassive to the remains of his ancestors recently deposited in the adjacent mortuary chamber and of the two infant boys whose premature death guaranteed that he would succeed their father, Guilhem, recently departed for the Holy Land. Being the only public entrance to the unfinished edifice, the biforal portal would have functioned not only as a burial place but also like the westwork of an imperial abbey, that is, as a vestibule passing beneath a tribune which—in Carolingian, Ottonian, and, more recently, Norman churches—had been intended for an august presence. He was not, of course, destined to occupy the tribune built over the entryway that would later constitute part of the crusaders' church. But would he not have wished that his experience in Toulouse on the eve of the crusade be recreated there in Urban's presence had he been elected king of Jerusalem? Even the hospice founded by his brother, Guilhem, would have been recalled by the hospice of St. John behind him as he made his way across the esplanade toward the facade. When future kings did approach that portal—alongside the adjacent bay beyond which lay the tomb of the ultimate ancestor, Adam, where the early kings of Jerusalem were also buried—they could hardly have been as conscious as Raymond of the elements that made Saint-Sernin an experience afforded by no other church in Europe on the eve of the First Crusade.<sup>37</sup> What was built in Jerusalem corresponds exactly to those

motif used for the first time systematically not only at the threshold of Saint-Sernin's ambulatory but also in the crossing and at the western thresholds. This point need not conflict with the equally valid observation that the example of twin columns had already been provided at the threshold of the Byzantine apse. Influences go both ways: tribune galleries that Couâsnon believes were introduced into the rotunda between 1036 and 1048 could reflect the multistoreyed elevation of the rotunda built by William of Volpiano before the tomb of Saint-Bénigne in Dijon between 1001 and 1018—itsself thought to have been inspired by the recently destroyed Holy Sepulcher. R. Ousterhout, who doubts this hypothesis, has argued however that the use of upper chapels in the eleventh century derived from tenth- and eleventh-century practices in Constantinople: "The Byzantine Reconstruction of the Holy Sepulchre," *Abstracts of Short Papers, The 17th International Byzantine Congress, Washington D.C., August 3-8, 1986*, pp. 248-249. Nor is the hypothesis that the Porte des Comtes at Saint-Sernin emulated the late antique Golden Gate through which Christ was believed to have made his triumphal entry (Lyman, "Programme," p. 18) any less valid because of the more plausible suggestion that it was a local model for the crusaders' church portals: see N. Kenaan[-Kedar], "Local Christian Art in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal* 23 (1973), 222.

- 37 The only other pilgrimage church to which one might accede in a comparable way, in Santiago de Compostela, would not be built until the early twelfth century. Its south portal may also have emulated that of Saint-Sernin in function as well as style, to judge by the inscription thought to refer to King Alfonso VI who would have chosen the south rather than the original pilgrims' entrance for his ceremonial entrance: see J. Williams,

features he, from his privileged vantage point, would have been disposed to perceive as the essential ingredients of a pilgrimage church worthy of Christ's sepulcher: a biforal portal adjacent to a burial place, surmounted by a tribune and opening beneath it into a continuous ambulatory that would conduct a pilgrim around the canons' choir to the martyr's tomb.<sup>38</sup>

Raymond de Saint-Gilles had every reason to install reformed canons at the Holy Sepulcher with an eye to making the shrines adjacent to Christ's tomb more accessible to pilgrims, even if events denied him that opportunity. His reported refusal to be crowned king of Jerusalem in the wake of victory, on the grounds that Christ alone was worthy of the rank, while hoping that Urban would assume authority, was consistent with the personality that emerges from contemporary texts. Even before the council in Clermont, a private meeting with Urban II must have disposed him to act as the pope's special emissary to the Holy Land when other nobles, including the king of France, demurred. We also are told that, having abandoned his possessions as well as any hope of returning to his home, he saw himself as another Moses joined by the pope's surrogate, Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy, as his Aaron in their common quest to liberate Jerusalem.<sup>39</sup> After traveling across Europe and Asia Minor with Adhemar and seeing him die at Antioch with Urban's mission still unfulfilled, his resolve strengthened by the discovery of what he truly believed to be the Holy Lance and after storming Jerusalem from his auspicious position on Mount Zion, the site of

"'Spain or Toulouse?' a Half-Century Later: Observations in the Chronology of Santiago de Compostela," *Actas del XXIII Congreso internacional de Historia del arte (Granada, 1973)*, 1 (Granada, 1976), pp. 566-567. Borg, in suggesting a link between the south facade of the Crusaders' church and Santiago, says that the "idea of a double-doored transept was already current in the 11th century," citing Saint-Sernin as one such example, and adds that "it was only historical accident which made the south transept of the Holy Sepulchre the main entrance, and so parallels with other south transepts need not strictly apply."

- 38 A review of plans published in connection with the Holy Sepulcher suggest that one's perception of this complex building depend on the point being made. For example, E. Horn, whose drawing of the upper storey is unique in stressing its cruciform plan, made that point in his description, whereas modern authors often indicate schematically a basilican plan with three aisles but without a transept (e.g., Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 426 and B.Z. Kedar, "Genoa's Golden Inscription in the Holy Sepulchre: A Case for the Defence," in *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airaldi and B.Z. Kedar, *Collana storica di fonti e studi diretta da Geo Pistarino*, 48 [Genoa, 1986], Tav. 2). Raymond's hypothetical recommendation to the canons for building a church, it can be argued on this basis, would describe it from his vantage point at the south portal. Alan Borg's analysis of the capitals has even suggested that the south arm of the transept with its tribune and the ambulatory surrounding the choir was completed in a first campaign before the north arm was completed—that is, in an order corresponding to the count's perception of Saint-Sernin.
- 39 L. and J. Hill, *Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles: 1041 (ou 1042)-1105*, (Toulouse, 1959) and review by J. Richard, "La papauté et la direction de la première croisade," *Journal des Savants*, 1960, pp. 49-58 in particular. Robert the Monk described him as: *suscepit quasi alter Moyses, ducatum et regimen Dominici populi*. Cf. also, Mgr. C. Tournier, "La première croisade, Raymond IV, comte de Toulouse et Saint-Sernin," *Revue historique de Toulouse*, 1946, pp. 89-105.

the Last Supper as well as the Pentecost, could this zealous proponent of Urban II's ecumenical dream of consolidating Christendom around Christ's tomb have remained without designs on the Holy Sepulcher when he finally arrived there? Even after his allies chose Godfrey in his place, his first gifts went no doubt to the Latin establishment there and, as Jean Richard has also shown, to Sancta Maria Latina adjacent to the Holy Garden.<sup>40</sup> Abandoning the Tower of David to the clergy and his role as protector of the Holy Sepulcher to Godfrey of Bouillon, he would create his own pilgrimage retreat at Mont-Pèlerin and endow it with a Holy Sepulcher church. This self-styled emulator of Moses and David who might have been king could have found the first Latin ruler of Jerusalem to be a worthy surrogate. Although he had come to the Holy Land with less of a commitment than Raymond, Godfrey, once in place, might also have seconded Raymond's plans, had he lived beyond 1100. The loss of the first gathering from the cartulary of the canons at the Holy Sepulcher and the squabble over clerical leadership make it difficult to assess the state of the chapter of canons during the first decade of the twelfth-century.<sup>41</sup> But it seems likely that Raymond, who had endeared himself to Urban II, the champion of reformed clerics, by espousing the cause of the canons in Toulouse and who even spoke of himself as part of a "confraternity," would have been a firmer supporter of the canons at the Holy Sepulcher than the truant king Baldwin and his hardly more savory patriarch, Arnoul.<sup>42</sup> It also seems likely that the Augustinian rule was imposed in 1114 not by the king or the patriarch but by canons imbued with a firmer purpose than their nominal leaders. More to the point, there are good reasons to believe that whoever those canons were, they would have been the likely conduit through which Raymond's perception of the new church would eventually be realized.<sup>43</sup>

40 "Le chantier de Sainte-Marie-Latine et l'établissement de Raymond de Saint-Gilles à Mont-Pèlerin," *Mélanges Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), pp. 605-612. Richard pointed out that "La piété était sans conteste le motif dominant de ces donations," adding, however, that "elles ne devaient être effectives que le jour où chaque une des églises ainsi dotées serait bâtie et consacrée."

41 G. Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sepulchre de Jérusalem*, (Paris, 1984); Vat. Lat. 4947 includes documents extending between 1111 and 1159; as is the case for Vat. Lat. 7241.

42 Regarding the reputation of Arnoul and his champion, Baldwin I, cf. Hans Eberhard Mayer's discussion of Godfrey's motives and Arnoul's career in the context of a thesis that Baldwin's marital problems and threats of excommunication stemmed from a homosexual proclivity: *Mélanges sur l'histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, n.s. 5 (Paris, 1984), pp. 43-69. Despite Arnoul's detractors, several art historians are inclined to credit him with the new church's inception: cf. Enlart, *Monuments*, 2:138 and A. Borg, whose argument is based on Arnoul's early relationship to the family of the Anglo-Norman kings and his perception of the crusaders' church as reflecting influences from that quarter.

43 It should be recalled that, whereas many monastic churches are credited to a notable abbot, churches under the independent authority of a chapter of canons appear often to have been planned and built by canons with the help of a confraternity. This is clearly the case at Saint-Sernin where the provost of the chapter figures as less important than the *ecolanus*, Raymundus Gayrardus, whose eventual sainthood was based on his charitable works and on having "completed the basilica before his death"; see my article, "Raymond



The specific circumstances bearing on the planning of the crusaders' church serve to bolster a more general thesis I would like to put forward about how architectural ideas are engendered and eventually realized during this period when buildings assumed an enormous importance as visible—even rhetorical—signs of definable political ambition. I have suggested elsewhere that our presuppositions about how important buildings influence others should be tempered by distinguishing between iconography and iconology as they apply to architecture.<sup>44</sup> Architectural iconography, in the sense that Panofsky's definition for the figural arts was applied to architecture by Krautheimer, refers to a conventional meaning invested in a building by copying a particular aspect of a model, whereas typological resemblances owing to specific historical circumstances such as we encounter at the Holy Sepulcher recommend an iconological approach. As for the reservations that one may have about the thesis that the crusaders' church reflects a scheme transmitted to its "master architect" indirectly and by someone who may have been long dead, I would respond with several other instances where documents tell us someone was responsible for realizing a church building when the archeological evidence tells us otherwise. Gregory of Montaner, we are told, "greatly developed the building of Saint-Sever" but its plan, indebted to tenth-century Cluny II, and its elevation reflecting eleventh-century Benedictine traditions in Normandy, was not realized until decades after his death in 1072;<sup>45</sup> meanwhile, Odolric who died in 1065 was credited with building Sainte-Foy de Conques although the archeological evidence suggests that it was largely rebuilt in emulation of Saint-Sernin.<sup>46</sup> But Saint-Sernin itself provides as good an example as any: when Urban II, having consecrated a church begun in the 1070s, confirmed the canons' privileges in 1097, he gave credit for "causing the new basilica to be erected" not to Guilhem, Raymond, or their clerical contemporaries (who indeed seem to have been responsible for its construction) but to a bishop, Petrus Rogerius, whose episcopacy could not have lasted much beyond the mid-eleventh century when, incidentally, all of the pilgrimage features combined for the first time at Saint-Sernin (and that would be repeated, as we have seen, at the Holy Sepulcher) were at his disposal, had he conceived of the plan for the new basilica before his death and its inception. With these examples in mind, it becomes even less difficult to

Gayrard and the Romanesque Building Campaigns at Saint-Sernin in Toulouse," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 37 (1978), 71-91.

44 "Iconography vs. Iconology in the Interpretation of Romanesque Architecture," a paper presented in session entitled *The Iconography of Medieval Architecture Reconsidered* at the 20th International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, May, 1985.

45 J. Cabanot, "La construction de l'abbatiale de Saint-Sever: état des questions," *Saint-Sever: millénaire de l'abbaye* (Mont-de-Marsan, 1986), pp. 146-166.

46 The dating of Sainte-Foy de Conques remains in question. Historians agree that the upper part of the chevet and the tribunes were designed with Saint-Sernin in mind and I have argued that the building was largely rebuilt after the report of cracks in the fabric toward 1080; see my article, "L'ornementation au seuil de l'architecture romane au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 14 (1983), s.p.

credit Raymond de Saint-Gilles who died in 1105 with passing on his perception of what the new church might be to the canons at the Holy Sepulcher and through them to master masons of another generation who would prove capable of carrying out that perception of a pilgrimage church with remarkable fidelity.

To conclude, whatever the various styles of masonry and carving evident to the art historian upon examining the crusaders' church, its essential scheme can be understood only in the light of the historical circumstances that point to a single model the idea of which was most likely conveyed to the eventual builders by Raymond, the count of Toulouse, and the canons whose cause he championed along with that of the First Crusade.



# Topography and Iconography in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem \*

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The Franks conquered Jerusalem in 1099. While the king and nobles created the political hierarchy to govern the newly founded Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Latin religious establishment declared its supremacy over the local Orthodox Christian communities. The Latin clergy took control of the religious buildings and within the first two decades of the twelfth century began a campaign to rebuild or remodel the churches and shrines of the Holy Land, the most important of which was the Rotunda of the Anastasis. Commemorating the site of the burial and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, the Rotunda had been most recently reconstructed by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Monomachus circa 1048. As a visual testament to their control of church affairs in the Levant, the Franks enlarged the Rotunda by constructing a Romanesque church to the east. They also brought under the same roof Calvary, site of the Crucifixion. Constructing a choir, ambulatory, and radiating chapels, they created a magnificent space for the celebration of their liturgy. In addition, the Franks built a priory for the chapter of Augustinian canons who, beginning in 1114, served the church and who, along with the Benedictines, were the most powerful churchmen in the Holy Land. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher, as we know the total complex today, was dedicated in 1149.<sup>1</sup>

To provide access to this grand edifice, the Franks created a new, monumental portal on the south transept. Outside this entrance, a large courtyard or *parvis* served as a congregating place for the crowds of pilgrims visiting the church, especially on religious holidays. Above the two doorways of this south portal

\* I am indebted to Professor Annemarie Weyl Carr of Southern Methodist University for stimulating me to explore and now publish the ideas that follow, particularly the association of the historiated lintel with the topography of twelfth-century Jerusalem. My thanks also go to Professor Jaroslav Folda of the University of North Carolina for his encouragement to present my paper at the SSCLE conference in Jerusalem, July 1987, and to the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies at the University of Michigan for a travel grant.

1 Bernard Hamilton, "Rebuilding Zion: the Holy Places of Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century," *Studies in Church History* 14 (1977), 105-107; T.S.R. Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria, Part A: Architecture and Sculpture," in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, 4:74-80.

were originally two sculptured lintels, both of which were removed in 1929 for preservation and are now displayed in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> The western lintel, the subject of this paper, is historiated (Plate 3,B). The eastern one, which I shall not discuss here, is an inhabited vinescroll.

In the centuries following Frankish rule, which ended in 1187, much of crusader sculpture in Jerusalem suffered defacement or destruction. Although portions of the historiated lintel of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher were damaged, the work survives as an important example of crusader figural sculpture.<sup>3</sup> Scholarly consensus holds that the lintel is primarily a depiction of biblical narrative, specifically Jesus' activities in the days before his betrayal and arrest. But the identification of several scenes and the order in which one reads

- 2 Each lintel measures 3.75 m. in width and approximately .69 m. in height (cf. L.H. Vincent and F.M. Abel, *Jérusalem: recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 2: *Jérusalem nouvelle* (Paris, 1914-1926), pl. 25). The right panel of the eastern lintel (the inhabited vinescroll) was made from a *spolium* reused by the Crusaders, since on the verso it is carved in the style of the Fatimids, who occupied Jerusalem in the eleventh century: E.T. Richmond, "Church of the Holy Sepulchre: Note on a Recent Discovery," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 1 (1939), 2.

The material of the historiated lintel has been described as a "dense white crystalline limestone of the nature of marble" (A. Lucas, "Lintels of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre," unpublished report dated May 1928, in the archives of the Israel Department of Antiquities, Jerusalem, p. 2) and as "imported marble" in the exhibition catalogue *A Display of Crusader Sculpture at the Archaeological Museum (Rockefeller)* (Jerusalem, 1987), p. 9. The main argument of this paper, however, supports the idea that the historiated lintel was made of local stone, by local sculptors, for a Frankish patron.

In order to conserve both lintels, which were deteriorating badly, they were removed in 1930 from the portal of the Holy Sepulcher and taken to the Rockefeller Museum. The causes of the deterioration were both natural and manmade. Natural causes included blistering and peeling of the surface of the stone and earthquakes; see Lucas, "Lintels," pp. 6-7. Action by man, possibly from stones thrown at the historiated lintel, must explain the broken-off head of Jesus in the Entry into Jerusalem. Elsewhere on the lintel, the faces are gone because of blistering and peeling actions as the material of the stone deteriorated. J. Folda, "Painting and Sculpture in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1291," in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, 4:269, describes the method used to conserve the lintels after their removal from the portal and gives an annotated bibliography for both lintels, p. 83, n. 6. The most recent article on the inhabited vinescroll lintel is B. Kühnel, "Der Rankenfries am Portal der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem und die romanische Skulptur in den Abruzzen," *Arte Medievale*, n.s. 1 (1987), 87-121.

The traditional date of both lintels is circa 1149, the date of the consecration of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, but that date was set by the Franks in order to coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of their conquest of Jerusalem. Since the lintels are made of thin slabs of stone and were easily removed in 1930 without disturbing the structure of the portal, the lintels might have been put on the portal at any time after its completion. Cf. note 6.

- 3 The other major example of crusader historiated sculpture is the assemblage of capital sculptures from Nazareth, published by J. Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation* (University Park and London, 1986). The same author also studied a group of historiated capitals from Jerusalem: J. Folda, "Three Crusader Capitals in Jerusalem," *Levant* 10 (1978), 139-155, and "A Fourth Capital from the Chapel of the Repose in Jerusalem," *Levant* 15 (1983), 194-195. Other crusader figural sculptures were exhibited in the Rockefeller Museum on the occasion of the SSCLE conference in July 1987, note 2 above.

them is still disputed. The traditional identification of the scenes on the lintel is based on a narrative sequence from left to right. All scholars agree that the first scene at the left is the Raising of Lazarus (John 11.38-44) and the second is Jesus Met by Mary and Martha on the road to Bethany (John 11.20, 29) (Plate 4,A). The third and fourth scenes are the most controversial, but the majority of scholars describe the upper part of the third scene as representing Jesus sending the two disciples to fetch the ass and colt (Matthew 21.1; Mark 11.1; Luke 19.28) and the lower part, enclosed by a seven-lobed arch, as picturing two disciples preparing the Paschal Lamb (Plates 4,B-5,B). The fourth scene is traditionally called the Fetching of the She-Ass and her Colt (Plate 5,A). The Entry into Jerusalem follows immediately (Plates 3,B and 6,A), and the lintel concludes with the Last Supper on the far right (Plates 3,B and 6,B).<sup>4</sup>

Scholarship has primarily been concerned with stylistic and iconographic sources for the historiated lintel. Borg found tantalizing iconographic parallels in twelfth-century English art, but he concluded that the lintel mixes Byzantine and Western elements, the Raising of Lazarus being the most Byzantine scene and the Last Supper the most Western. Borg selected Tuscany as the source of the style.<sup>5</sup> Buschhausen, on the other hand, hypothesized that the style of the lintel belongs to northeastern France and heralds the work of Nicholas of Verdun in the 1180s.<sup>6</sup>

No one, however, has adequately explained why the scenes on the lintel were chosen and arranged in the particular order that they are. Scene two, the Meeting of Jesus with the Sisters of Lazarus, for example, is out of sequence. According to the Gospel of John, Jesus met the two women on his way into Bethany before he raised Lazarus from the dead, but the Lazarus scene on the lintel precedes the episode of the Meeting. Nurith Kenaan-Kedar attempted to explain the reversal by considering historical and theological factors. By referring to the contemporary history of the Franks, she identified the third and

4 All the photographs of the historiated lintel are reproduced by courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, Jerusalem. Plate 3,B seems to be the earliest photograph of the lintel. An engraving of the historiated lintel documents the fact that a large portion of the Entry into Jerusalem was gone by the mid-nineteenth century: M. de Vogüé, *Les églises de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1860), figure after p. 202.

Plates 4,A-B and 6,A-B were taken by the British in 1929 when the historiated lintel was still *in situ* on the south portal of the Holy Sepulcher. Plate 4,B shows the third and fourth scenes on the lintel after a large chunk of scene four, the Fetching of the She-ass and Colt, had fallen off, possibly in the earthquake of 1927. Plate 5,A shows scenes three and four after the lintel had been removed from the portal circa 1930 and the missing pieces of scene four had been replaced. Plate 5,B, a detail of the lower half of scene three, the Butchering of the Paschal Lambs, shows its condition after restoration circa 1930 when the blistering and peeling of the stone had been arrested.

5 A. Borg, "Observations on the Historiated Lintel of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969), 25-40.

6 H. Buschhausen, "Die Fassade der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem," in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda, BAR International Series 152 (Oxford, 1982), pp. 71-96. De Vogüé, *Églises*, p. 213, associated the style of the portal of the historiated lintel with the Portail Ste.-Anne of Notre Dame in Paris, circa 1160.

fourth scenes on the lintel as the Cleansing of the Temple by Jesus, an intentional reference by the Franks to their purging of Jerusalem of its Muslim and Jewish inhabitants after the conquest of the city in 1099. Although Kenaan-Kedar agreed with Borg and Buschhausen about the identification of three out of the other four scenes on the lintel, she explained that they are arranged in pairs on either side of the Cleansing of the Temple because they express the divine and physical natures of Christ.<sup>7</sup>

Kenaan-Kedar's interpretation of the theology behind the narrative on the historiated lintel of the Holy Sepulcher is difficult to accept because her reading of the lintel from the center outward contradicts the flow of the narrative from left to right. If the scenes on the historiated lintel do have a metaphorical meaning, then the direction of the narrative should coordinate with the interpretation.<sup>8</sup> When theological concepts are couched within a narrative context, the narrative should support whatever doctrine is being expressed.

The thesis of this article is that the historiated lintel of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is, foremost, a representation of the events in Christ's life on Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday. Jesus raised Lazarus in Bethany on Saturday and entered Jerusalem triumphantly the following day. Since the first two scenes on the lintel reverse the biblical order, the arrangement of the scenes must follow a logic not tied to the biblical account. Christian pilgrims, for centuries before the Franks arrived in the Holy Land, had been retracing the path of Jesus from Bethany into Jerusalem. The actual places referred to on the lintel form a visual itinerary of sites mentioned in pilgrim accounts. Moreover, the Franks most likely visited these sites on the annual procession of Palm Sunday as celebrated in the twelfth century. The overriding factor for the choice of scenes on the lintel seems to have been the Frankish patrons and their desire to allude explicitly to the Palm Sunday procession as they practiced it in Jerusalem. The evidence for this thesis comes from formal analysis of the lintel, twelfth-century pilgrim accounts, liturgical books, and the history of the Augustinian canons in Jerusalem.

As part of a new interpretation of the historiated lintel, I shall briefly point out for each scene the major iconographic elements, some of which repeat and constitute *leitmotifs* that, compositionally, draw the scenes together in a logical and rhythmic sequence.<sup>9</sup> These include gates, towers, thresholds, clusters of people, and the open book which Jesus carries in the first three scenes.

7 N. Kenaan-Kedar, "The Figurative Western Lintel of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange Between East and West During the Period of the Crusades*, ed. V. Goss and C. Bornstein (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 123-131.

8 On other artistic ensembles, narrative does work from the center outwards or from both sides into the center (cf. note 44), but the scenes on the historiated lintel make more sense if you read them from left to right, as I have done.

9 Borg, "Observations," gave the most detailed description of the iconographic elements on the historiated lintel; Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 435-437, contains the most lively description of the lintel, especially of the first two scenes.



Beginning with the Raising of Lazarus, the scene takes place under a triple-arched, triple-domed structure (Plate 4,A). Jesus, standing under the arch to the far right, holds an open book in the crook of his left arm. He is looking towards Lazarus who stands beneath the arch to the far left, with his winding sheets still around him. Immediately in front of Jesus crouches one of the sisters of Lazarus, possibly Mary, with her hands outstretched toward him.

In the second scene, Mary and Martha meet Jesus after his return from Galilee (Plate 4,A). According to the biblical account, the two women greeted him with words of reproach, "Lord, if you had been here, our brother would not have died." Jesus followed them to the sepulcher of Lazarus and raised him from the dead. In the center of the scene on the lintel, Jesus again holds the open book in his left arm. He is standing on what looks like an orb or globe, and the hem of his garment is fluttering in the wind. Both sisters of Lazarus are represented. Martha is possibly the one with her hands covered by her garment and Mary the one kneeling before Jesus. To his left are four men, presumably disciples. To Jesus' right, four other men, possibly residents of Bethany, are coming out of the town gate, a device which visually connects the first two scenes with each other.

Another architectural feature, perhaps meant to represent a tower, separates the second scene from the third (Plates 4,B-5,B). In the upper half of the third panel stands a polygonal, crenellated building made of ashlar masonry. Within it stand two men. The man on the left is Jesus, identifiable by the same cruciform halo he wears in the first two scenes. Again, he holds the open book. Jesus is sending two of his disciples on a mission to find the she-ass and colt so that he may fulfill Zechariah's prophecy that the Messiah will ride upon the foal of an ass. The figure on the right, more difficult to interpret because of the eroded stone, is looking back over his right shoulder toward Jesus. His torso faces the right wall, which is a doorway leading from the crenellated structure. Through this door strides a second man.

The scene in the lower half of this panel is quite damaged, a fragmentary state that has caused disagreement about its exact subject (Plate 5,B). Nevertheless, the remaining outlines of figures are still discernible. Two men, facing each other, are intently bent over their work. The one on the left sits with his legs crossed; the other, in profile, has dropped to one knee. The position of the hindquarters of an animal at the far left suggests that its upper body and head were held under the arm of the man at left. The concentrated, tension-filled postures of the men indicate that they were firmly holding the animals and, most likely, cutting their throats.<sup>10</sup> Rather than a pastoral episode of two shepherds with their sheep, this scene is the Preparation of the Paschal Lamb which Jesus and his disciples will eat at the Passover meal.<sup>11</sup> More importantly, in terms of

10 M. Piccirillo, "Basilica del Santo Sepolcro: i lintelli medioevali del portale," *La Terra Santa* 45 (1969), 110, rejected the identification of the scene as the Preparation of the Paschal Lambs and continued an idea proposed by de Vogüé, *Églises*, p. 202, that the two men are shepherds with their sheep on the Mount of Olives.

11 Enlart, *Monuments*, 2:168, called the Preparation of the Paschal Lambs a metaphor for

the composition of the lintel, this enigmatic scene is placed within a seven-lobed arch and is isolated from not only the scene in the crenellated tower directly above but also from the scenes immediately preceding and following.

In contrast to the isolation of the Preparation of the Paschal Lamb, the action begun above in the crenellated tower is carried forward into the next panel by the man stepping through the door. The next scene is the Fetching of the She-Ass and her Colt from the village of Bethphage on the Mount of Olives. One disciple brings forward the mother and the sucking colt while the other walks behind (Plate 5,A).

In the center of the lintel a break between the two pieces of fine-grained white limestone creates a literal parting of the ways between the two scenes, the Fetching of the Ass and Colt and the Entry into Jerusalem (Plate 3,B). At this division, two figures stand back to back, mirror images of each other. They clarify the separation of the two scenes and the direction of movement in each. In the background, the rising and falling line above and around the figures unites these scenes. Buschhausen called this line a cavern-like setting in front of which the action takes place, but de Vogüé and Piccirillo recognized the rising and falling line as the profile of the Mount of Olives, the place where the biblical episode took place.<sup>12</sup> The scenes on the lintel are topographically faithful to the biblical narrative, where the Fetching of the Colt for Jesus to ride into Jerusalem and the Entry into the city occurred on opposite sides of the Mount of Olives.

Because the next scene on the lintel, the Entry into Jerusalem, is in great part missing, much of its overall composition is uncertain (Plates 3,B; 6,A and 6,B). What is identifiable, however, is the party of people, including the cross-nimbed Jesus, descending the slope of the Mount of Olives. Further to the right, beyond the missing section, a boy is scaling a date palm. A resident of Jerusalem stands in the gate of the city. The man and the gate separate the Entry into Jerusalem from the Last Supper, which is the final scene on the lintel. As in the Raising of Lazarus, the Last Supper takes place under a triple-arched structure.

Most scholars have interpreted these triple-arched structures as interiors of buildings, although Buschhausen interpreted the architecture as cityscapes of the two towns, Bethany and Jerusalem, in which the Raising of Lazarus and the Last Supper took place.<sup>13</sup> Rather than pursuing the idea of topography, scholars have

Jesus as sacrificial victim and explained the presence of this scene on the historiated lintel in terms of its thematic connection with the Last Supper, the final scene on the lintel. The flesh of the butchered lambs was eaten at the Last Supper, just as Christ's body is consumed at the eucharistic meal of the Christian mass.

- 12 Buschhausen, "Die Fassade," p. 83; de Vogüé, *Églises*, p. 202; Piccirillo, "Basilica," p. 111. Although Enlart, *Monuments*, 2:168, saw a hillock on the historiated lintel, he did not explicitly say that it is the Mount of Olives. Borg, "Observations," p. 32, who agreed with Enlart's identification of the scenes on the lintel, wondered why the Mount of Olives should be in the scenes of the Fetching of the Colt as well as in the Entry into Jerusalem. The photographs in Borg, "Observations," pl. 4a, omitted the left half of what survives of the Entry into Jerusalem, thereby obliterating the right slope of the Mount of Olives.
- 13 Buschhausen, "Die Fassade," p. 83; Borg, "Observations," p. 27, stated that the Raising of Lazarus on the lintel takes place in an interior, and at note 6 Borg credited Boase with

interpreted the interior scenes at either end of the lintel primarily from a compositional standpoint. Both Borg and Buschhausen stated that reversing the first two scenes permitted an interior, the Raising of Lazarus, to come first.<sup>14</sup> The lintel begins with an interior space because it ends with one. According to this idea, the first two scenes on the lintel, the Raising of Lazarus and the Meeting of Mary and Martha with Jesus, are reversed because of the need to provide balance in the composition.

Although the two interior scenes at either end of the lintel do function as visual brackets—they lock in the other scenes—balancing the lintel compositionally does not totally justify the disruption of the biblical narrative. Rather, the impetus for the reversal would seem to have come from the wish of the designer to put the Meeting scene second on the lintel. The planner of the lintel reversed the first two scenes, not so much for compositional reasons, but because he intended that the order of the first two scenes reflect the actual route that both pilgrims and the official Palm Sunday procession took between Bethany and Jerusalem. Moving from left to right, the order of the scenes on the lintel follows a progression of sites which pilgrims visiting the Holy Land refer to again and again.

Twelfth-century pilgrim accounts provide the evidence that the scenes on the historiated lintel were chosen with the pilgrim itinerary from Jerusalem to Bethany in mind. Because the pilgrims usually lodged in Jerusalem, they began their descriptions at the walls of that city rather than at their destination, Bethany. Coming out of the gate of St. Stephen, the pilgrims would descend into the Valley of Josaphat, passing by the brook of Kedron and the tomb of the Virgin. Early in their ascent of the Mount of Olives, they came to the Garden of Gethsemane. At the summit of the Mount, the pilgrims commemorated the Ascension of Christ into heaven. In the account of Anonymous Pilgrim VII, the

the idea that the architecture on the historiated lintel may represent the crusader church at Bethany. Enlart, *Monuments*, 2:168, wondered if the architecture in the Last Supper on the lintel could have been inspired by the Coenaculum as the crusaders rebuilt it in the twelfth century. The architecture sculpted on the lintel does indeed seem to refer to actual buildings constructed by the crusaders in the twelfth century. It certainly would be worthwhile investigating more fully the crusader monuments on the Mount of Olives in order to identify which building the polygonal, crenellated structure so clearly represented in the third scene might have been.

- 14 My research on the historiated lintel was stimulated by a dissatisfaction with other scholars' explanations for the disruption of the narrative and the inclusion of certain iconographic elements in the meeting scene. Borg, "Observations," p. 27, also stated that the reversal of the first two scenes was the artist's mistake, but later he drew a parallel between the composition of the historiated lintel of the Holy Sepulcher and the Bethesda sarcophagi: A. Borg, "The Holy Sepulchre Lintel," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972), 389-390. Buschhausen, "Die Fassade," p. 81, on the other hand, interpreted the Meeting scene as symbolizing the Second Coming of Christ, because of the globe beneath the feet of Christ and the open book in his left hand. The reversal was justified, therefore, because it put the second scene closer to the Entry into Jerusalem where Buschhausen saw, at the bottom of the scene, another eschatological symbol, a Personification of Heaven.

description of the sites between Jerusalem and Bethany reads: "Between the Mount of Olives and Bethany is Bethphage, where the Lord sent Peter and John to fetch the ass, and hard by is Bethany, where the Lord raised Lazarus and forgave the sinful woman her sins. Here was the house of Simon the Leper. Close to it is St. Martha's [Church], where she and Mary met the Lord."<sup>15</sup> Although Anonymous VII mentions the place of the Meeting last, we know from Abbot Daniel that people believed the place was between Bethany and the summit of the Mount of Olives.<sup>16</sup>

Reversing these accounts from the perspective of the pilgrims coming from Jerusalem, the first five scenes on the historiated lintel of the Holy Sepulcher accord with a select group of places mentioned by these pilgrims (fig. 1). The Raising of Lazarus is the first scene on the lintel at the far left because Bethany was the site farthest away from Jerusalem. The Meeting of Mary and Martha with Jesus is next on the lintel because the meeting occurred at a place Anonymous Pilgrim VII calls St. Martha's Church outside Bethany on the path over the Mount of Olives. The Mission to Find the Ass and Colt and the Fetching of the two animals are the third and fourth scenes on the lintel because they occurred near the village of Bethphage, which was a little farther along the same road as the place of the Meeting. At Bethphage, the crusaders also commemorated the beginning of Jesus' ride into Jerusalem. The Entry into Jerusalem, the fifth scene on the lintel, shows Jesus progressing down the opposite slope of the Mount of Olives, approaching the Golden Gate through which he entered the city, just as in the Gospel account. The pilgrim accounts, therefore, held that the Fetching of the Colt for Jesus to ride into Jerusalem and the Entry into Jerusalem occurred on opposite sides of the Mount of Olives, just as they do on the lintel. Thus, if the lintel reflects a pilgrim's path, the order of scenes becomes obvious and clear.

Of the many sites which the pilgrims speak of on their way from Jerusalem to Bethany, the historiated lintel represents only a few: Bethany, the place of the Meeting, Bethphage, and the Mount of Olives. The reenactment of the Palm Sunday procession by the Franks may explain why they chose those sites for representation on the lintel. The Palm Sunday procession had been part of Christian ritual since at least the fourth century, when the nun Egeria described it, together with the observance of the Raising of Lazarus, as a two-day event.<sup>17</sup>

15 PPTS 6:73. Aubrey Stewart translated *occurrit* in the last line of the text of Anonymous VII as "met," but the translation "ran to meet" more accurately describes the activity associated with the place of the Meeting. D. Baldi, *Enchiridion locorum sanctorum* (Jerusalem, 1935; repr. 1982), p. 369, gives the Latin texts. J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), pp. 152-153, accepts Anonymous VII's reference to St. Martha's church as the place of the Meeting along the road from Bethany to Jerusalem.

16 Abbot Daniel (1106) provides corroborative evidence for the place of the Meeting being on the road from Bethany to Jerusalem: "At one *verste* from Bethany, on the side of Jerusalem, one finds a tower erected on the place where Martha met Jesus..." Baldi, *Enchiridion*, p. 368.

17 J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (London, 1971), pp. 73-74, 131-133.



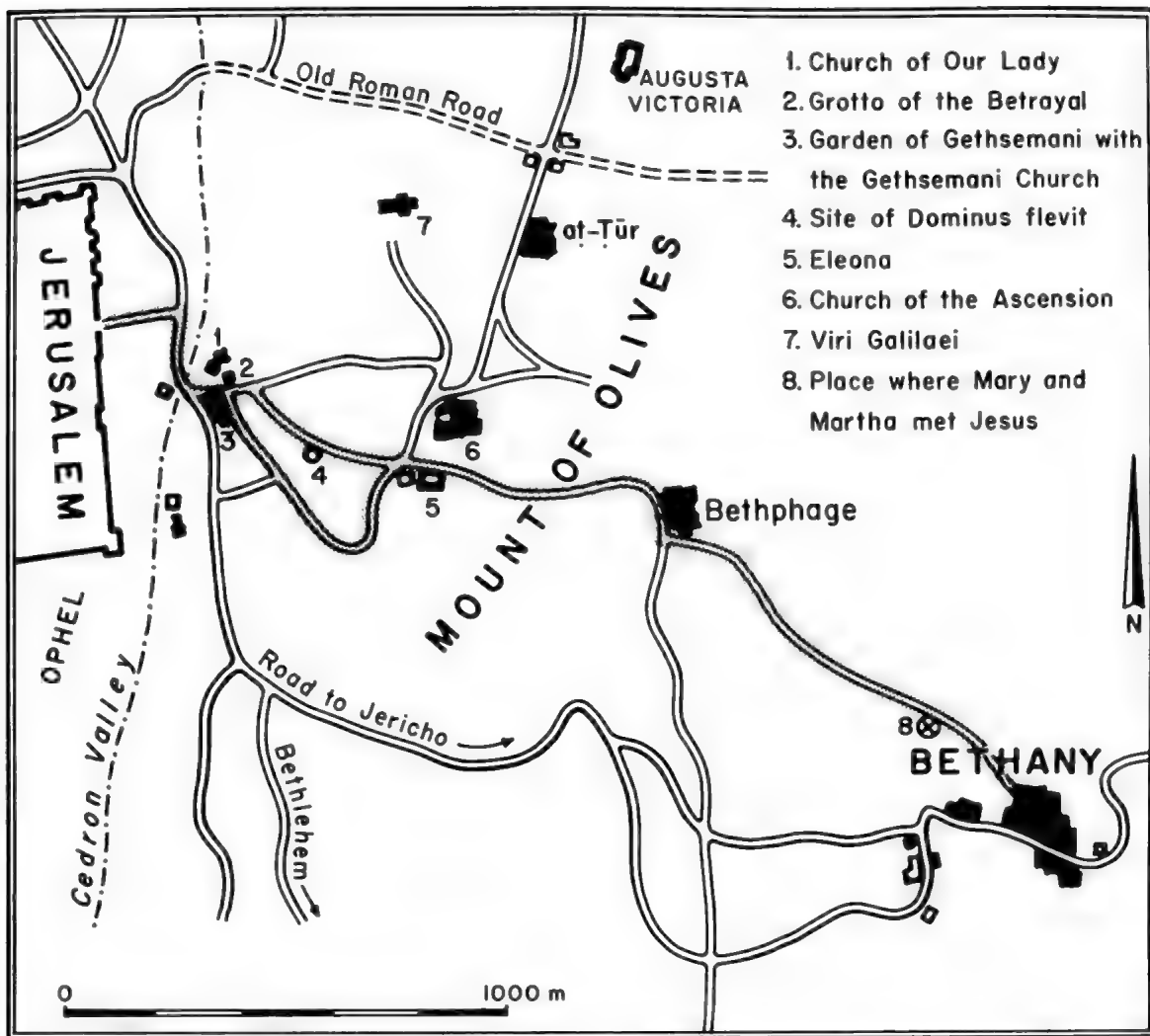


Fig. 1. Proposed route of the Palm Sunday procession in the twelfth century (From Clemens Kopp, *The Holy Places of the Gospels*, translated by R. Walls, [Freiburg, 1963], Fig. 6)

Throughout its history, the Palm Sunday procession was disrupted during periods of Muslim occupation of Jerusalem; in 1008 the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim prohibited it altogether.<sup>18</sup> Following the death of al-Ḥākim in 1021, the Byzantine Greeks, who, by treaty with the Fāṭimids, were rebuilding the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, must also have felt free to reestablish the Palm Sunday procession, for an elaborate Jerusalem liturgy is recorded in Greek manuscripts of the period.<sup>19</sup>

When the Franks conquered Jerusalem in 1099, their goal, besides the rebuilding of the Christian shrines, was to Latinize all Christian observances in the Holy Land. In the case of the Palm Sunday procession, and doubtlessly others, the Franks seem to have modeled their own procession on the Byzantine

18 J. Saller, *Excavations at Bethany* (Jerusalem, 1957), p. 72.

19 Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, 2:399, translating from A. Papadopoulos-Kerameos, *Analekta hierosolymitikes stachyologías*, 2 (St. Petersburg, 1894), 2:16ff.

one, changing and adding details to make it their own.<sup>20</sup> Like the Byzantines, the Franks began the Palm Sunday procession at Bethany, rather than at the Eleona on the Mount of Olives, where the early Christians had begun their procession in the fourth century.<sup>21</sup> Frankish liturgical books record that the Patriarch of Jerusalem, joined by the religious communities of Mount Zion, the Mount of Olives, and the Valley of Josaphat, went to the tomb of Lazarus in Bethany before sunrise on Palm Sunday morning. There they said prayers and dressed ceremonially for the procession. With the patriarch carrying the holy cross, the whole company, singing psalms and antiphons, walked along the road to Jerusalem, following in the footsteps of Jesus.<sup>22</sup>

Meanwhile in Jerusalem, three other communities—the Holy Sepulcher, the Hospital of St. John, and Sta. Maria Latina—gathered in the *Templum Domini* (formerly the Dome of the Rock, converted by the crusaders into a church) where palm and olive branches were blessed. Following the blessing, the crowd went into the Valley of Josaphat to meet the patriarchal party coming from Bethany. When the two groups met, they joined in much singing and chanting, after which the patriarch delivered a sermon from a dais. Following that, everyone processed to the Golden Gate at the wall of the city of Jerusalem. A boys' choir had meanwhile climbed into the crenellated walls of the Golden Gate and sang *Gloria laus et honor*. In response the patriarch chanted *Ingrediente domino in sanctam civitatem* and the procession entered the city through the Golden Gate. The final station of the Frankish procession took place in the courtyard of the *Templum Domini*.<sup>23</sup>

Two of the places between Bethany and Jerusalem which are represented on the historiated lintel and attested to by twelfth-century pilgrim accounts are not included in the liturgical accounts of the Palm Sunday procession. The Frankish liturgical books are silent about any liturgical stations that might have been at the place where Jesus met Martha and Mary outside Bethany or at Bethphage where the disciples brought the colt to Jesus. But Egeria, writing in 381, recorded that in her time the people went to a church outside Bethany dedicated

20 Evidence for how soon the Franks were reenacting the Palm Sunday procession comes from an account by Albert of Aachen. In 1118, the procession was interrupted by the funeral cortege bearing the body of the King of Jerusalem, Baldwin I, who died on campaign and whose body was being brought back to the city. "The religious communities fell silent at the sight of the dead king and their praises were turned to great weeping. Nevertheless the office of the palms was completed, and everyone, with the dead king among them, was sent back through the gate which was called Golden, through which the Lord came to the Passion." Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, RHC HOcc. 4:708-709.

21 Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, 2:399, 403. The Eleona was a church built in the fourth century, and destroyed by Persians in 614, on the site of a cave on the Mount of Olives where Christ addressed his disciples, and the hillock near it was regarded as the place of the Ascension: Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 166.

22 A. Schoenfelder, "Die Prozessionen der Lateiner in Jerusalem zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 32 (1911), 584-586; H. Graef, *Palmenweihe und Palmenprozession in der lateinischen Liturgie* (Steyl, 1959), p. 8.

23 Ibid.

to St. Thecla to commemorate the Meeting of Jesus with the Sisters of Lazarus.<sup>24</sup> Evidently the place of the Meeting was not mentioned in pilgrim accounts or liturgical books after the period of Egeria but became noteworthy once again in the early twelfth century. In 1106 the Russian Abbot Daniel described it as the same place where Jesus mounted the ass to ride into Jerusalem.<sup>25</sup> The historiated lintel, therefore, might be a visual reflection of an attempt by the Franks to reestablish the memory of the place of the Meeting along the road from Bethany over the Mount of Olives and to incorporate the place of the Meeting into the route, if not the liturgy, of their Palm Sunday procession (Plate 4,A).

Bethphage, the second site not mentioned in Frankish liturgical books, is represented on the historiated lintel (Plates 4,B and 5,A). Evidence for the twelfth-century Frankish Palm Sunday procession having passed by Bethphage comes from Byzantine liturgical books for the Jerusalem liturgy. Like the Frankish patriarch, the Byzantine patriarch had led the procession of Greek clerics from Bethany onto the Mount of Olives. Their destination was the Church of the Ascension at the summit of the mount. There the patriarch read the Gospel according to Mark 11.1-11, which begins: "They were now approaching Jerusalem, and when they reached Bethphage and Bethany, at the Mount of Olives, he [Christ] sent two of his disciples with these instructions: 'Go to the village opposite and, just as you enter, you will find tethered there a colt which no one has yet ridden. Untie it and bring it here....'" The Byzantine evidence attests that a major liturgical station at the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives already commemorated the Mission to Find the Colt and the Fetching of the Colt from Bethphage.<sup>26</sup>

But evidence exists which suggests that the Franks commemorated the Mission and Fetching of the Colt episodes not at the Church of the Ascension but at a chapel which they erected at Bethphage. Bethphage, just as the Meeting place, may not have been a liturgical site in the crusader period, but it had become an object of pilgrim visitation and crusader patronage. Toward the end of the Frankish occupation of Jerusalem, the pilgrim Theoderic recorded what

24 Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, pp. 73, 131.

25 Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 152-153. Piccirillo, "Basilica," p. 109, asserted that the object beneath the feet of Christ in the second scene is the rock which pilgrims after the crusades said marked the place outside the village of Bethany where the Meeting of Jesus with Martha and Mary took place. The difficulty with this explanation, however, is that, according to thirteenth-century tradition, the rock was located on the *east* side of Bethany, while the road leading to the Mount of Olives was *west* of Bethany: Saller, *Excavations*, p. 362. Furthermore, the earliest mention of the stone in pilgrim literary accounts is Anonymous VIII: "Thence to Bethany, where our Lord raised Lazarus. There is St. Mary Magdalene's Church, and there is the stone whereon the Lord was sitting when Martha came to Him" (PPTS 6:77). Anonymous VIII is dated ca. 1185, both by the translator Aubrey Stewart and by John Wilkinson, in his *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, (London, 1988). The tradition of the stone marking the place of the Meeting, therefore, begins very late in the occupation of the Holy Land, much later than the presumed date of the historiated lintel of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, mid-twelfth century.

26 Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, 2:399.

he saw at Bethphage: "...halfway between Bethany and the Mount of Olives is a fine chapel containing the large stone from which Christ mounted the ass."<sup>27</sup> Archaeologists who discovered the remains of the chapel and the stone stele credit the crusaders with the decoration on four sides of the stele with frescoes of the following scenes: the Raising of Lazarus, the Disciples Fetching the Ass, the Entry into Jerusalem, and, possibly, the Meeting of Christ with Martha and Mary.<sup>28</sup> The remarkable duplication of subjects, represented on the frescoes on the stone stele at Bethphage and the sculptures of the historiated lintel of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, has not gone unnoticed. Yet, the two cycles do not replicate each other iconographically or stylistically.<sup>29</sup> Rather, their similarity of subjects attests to the Franks' continual use of visual imagery to enliven a holy site, telling the story that the place commemorates so that every pilgrim would appreciate and understand. The frescoes at Bethphage were part of the larger artistic efforts of the crusaders to make the holy sites more understandable to the Western pilgrims. So that visitors to the Holy Sepulcher might understand what they were looking at, the Franks added Latin inscriptions to the eleventh-century Byzantine mosaics.<sup>30</sup>

Yet, the historiated lintel of the Holy Sepulcher does not fit so easily into the pattern of art that instructs the pilgrims, for those who later wrote about the lintel had trouble identifying all the scenes and never made the connection between the scenes on the lintel and the Palm Sunday procession. The pilgrims saw the episodes in sculpture simply as biblical narrative. Both damage to the lintel, possibly already in the fourteenth century, and the disruption to the Palm Sunday procession in the centuries following the Franks may help to explain this missed connection. The account of Niccolò of Poggibonsi in 1345, the first surviving description of the historiated lintel, makes clear that the third and fourth scenes—the Mission to Find the Colt and the Fetching of the She-Ass and the Colt—were not easily recognized (Plate 5,A). Niccolò named the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, and the Last Supper, all three of which are still readily identifiable. Presumably because Niccolò recognized the Mount of Olives in the center of the lintel, he called the third and fourth scenes the Arrest of Christ and the Betrayal of Judas.<sup>31</sup> In the fifteenth century, another

27 PPTS 5:34.

28 Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, "La pierre de Bethphage," *Revue archéologique*, n.s. 34 (1877), 366-388. J. Folda, in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, 4:123, note 9, summarized the state of our knowledge of the frescoes on the Bethphage stele.

29 Folda, "Painting and Sculpture" (note 2 above), p. 262, wondered if the frescoes had been painted yet when Theoderic described the chapel and the stele, because he did not comment on the frescoes. But Theoderic, unlike John of Würzburg (1165), was not inclined to comment on works of art, unless they were glittering mosaics such as the *Noli me tangere* on the doorway of the Holy Sepulcher: PPTS 5:21. Furthermore, both John and Theoderic were absolutely mute about the sculptured lintels of the south portal of the Holy Sepulcher: PPTS 5:36-37, 21.

30 Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art" (note 2 above), pp. 117-118.

31 Fra Niccolò of Poggibonsi, *A Voyage beyond the Seas (1346-1350)*, trans. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade (Jerusalem, 1945), p. 12. Because Niccolò actually named the Arrest and



pilgrim, Felix Fabri, hypothesized that these same two scenes were the Expulsion of the Money-Changers and Merchants from the Temple.<sup>32</sup> No other observer of the lintel accurately identified all the scenes until Melchior de Vogüé published the engraving of the lintel in 1860.<sup>33</sup>

After Saladin expelled the Franks from Jerusalem in 1187, alternating periods of tolerance and intolerance by the Muslims caused the Palm Sunday procession to become a truncated, hurried, almost furtive act of a small group of people. For some period of time before the mid-fourteenth century, the Muslims allowed the Armenians to conduct the full procession, including their archbishop riding on an ass through the Golden Gate.<sup>34</sup> Yet, contemporaneously, Niccolò reported that the procession had to be conducted within the city walls of Jerusalem.<sup>35</sup> During a return of tolerance in the fifteenth century, the Armenians were once again able to process from Bethany to Bethphage and over the Mount of Olives. But on account of the Saracen cemetery at the foot of the Golden Gate, the Christians had to halt their procession at the Brook of Kedron.<sup>36</sup> In the sixteenth century, the Franciscans were in charge of the Palm Sunday procession and their abbot was allowed to ride a donkey across the Valley of Josaphat through the Golden Gate, until the Turks permanently walled it up in 1530.<sup>37</sup>

Since the historiated lintel of the Holy Sepulcher has remained difficult to interpret and the scenes difficult to identify correctly, the Franks may have intended that it express something in addition to the route of their Palm Sunday procession in the twelfth century. The *leitmotif* of the open book and the large number of people recurring on the lintel could suggest the actual contemporary liturgical and commemorative observances of the Franks at each of the sites on the procession route. First, Christ stands in the Raising of Lazarus with an open book, not as Jesus in customary depictions, but as the Frankish patriarch who would read from the open liturgical manuscript before the Palm Sunday procession got under way. Jesus in the Meeting of Martha and Mary on the road to Bethany stands not as a man greeting friends on a country road, that is, facing them, but facing us with the open book in his hands, once again as the patriarch would have held the book from which he would have read at the place

Betrayal after the Last Supper, scholars have speculated that Niccolò was describing scenes on a second lintel where the inhabited vinescroll was. I think the solution to the naming of the Arrest and Betrayal lies, instead, in Niccolò doubling back to the center of the historiated lintel in an effort to make sense of the third and fourth scenes. He recognized the profile of the Mount of Olives, and he guessed that the third and fourth scenes must be the Arrest and Betrayal, since they both took place on the Mount of Olives. But Niccolò names them last in his description because, in the Gospel account, they chronologically follow the Last Supper.

32 PPTS 8:426.

33 Note 4 above.

34 PPTS 12:100.

35 Niccolò, *Voyage*, pp. 24-25.

36 PPTS 8:460.

37 G. Jeffery, *A Brief Description of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, and Other Christian Churches in the Holy City* (Cambridge, 1919), p. 137.

commemorating the Meeting. The people gathered to Jesus' right on the historiated lintel may indeed represent the Jewish community of Bethany in Christ's time, while those to his left may be the disciples who followed Jesus wherever he went. But two of the disciples to Jesus' left are holding books. Are they, too, references to the clergy, carrying their liturgical books, who followed the patriarch on the Palm Sunday procession in the twelfth century? In the Mission to Find the Ass and Colt Christ again holds the open book, perhaps for the same reason that the Frankish sculptor depicted the motif in the first two scenes on the lintel, namely to allude to the contemporary Palm Sunday procession.

The clusters of little people who appear on the left (east) slope of the Mount of Olives could be, in terms of the biblical narrative, the residents of Bethphage who watch as the two disciples fetch the ass and colt for their master. But they could just as easily be onlookers at the Frankish procession in the twelfth century. The group of people awaiting the descent of Jesus from the west slope of the Mount of Olives is composed of seven heads, today unfortunately disembodied because of the large missing section of the Entry into Jerusalem (Plate 3,B). Are they meant to be Franks along the procession route?<sup>38</sup>

If the historiated lintel might depict the contemporary Frankish procession, perhaps the history of the twelfth-century Latin church in Jerusalem would explain other details. The peculiar iconographic details in the second scene of the orb on which Jesus is balancing and the fluttering hem of his garment suggested to Praver in 1972 an Ascension.<sup>39</sup> If these two details do suggest an Ascension,

38 The lintel is crowded with people. Borg, "Observations," p. 28, commented on the unusual number of people in the Raising of Lazarus, but he was silent about the cluster of heads in the path of Jesus as he descends the Mount of Olives.

39 Praver, *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 436-437; see also Kenaan-Kedar, "Figurative Lintel" (note 7 above), pp. 127-128. Ascensions in twelfth-century French sculpture conform with either of the two accepted ways of representing this scene: Christ, floating above the apostles and the Virgin Mary, stands or is enthroned within a mandorla surrounded by angels, or the hand of God pulls Christ into the clouds while his followers and mother watch from below. Even when the Ascension is the main theme of a portal, however, compositions vary considerably, indicating that local interpretation was as important as the model. The two iconographic details which I have identified as constituting an abbreviated Ascension on the lintel of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem appear in French Ascensions.

At Montceaux-l'Etoile, St.-Pierre-et-Paul, the fluttering hem of Christ's garment suggests imminent movement: E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France: the Twelfth Century*, trans. M. Mathews (Princeton, 1978), fig. 84. At St.-Sernin, Toulouse (Porte Miegerville) (Mâle, fig. 42), a lumpy landscape beneath the feet of Christ and the angels indicates a rocky setting from which Christ is attempting to lift off into heaven. Even more clearly representing the Mount of Olives, the actual site of the Ascension, is the pile of rocks below Christ at Mauriac, Notre-Dame-des-Miracles (Mâle, fig. 279). Romanesque sculptors in France used the iconographic details of the fluttering hem and the round object beneath the feet of Christ to add a dimension of time and place to their compositions, which would have been fully understandable as Ascensions without them. The sculptor in Jerusalem, on the other hand, relied solely on these same details to allude to an Ascension without distracting from the narrative of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday.

the reason why the Franks included such a radical intrusion into the scene of the Meeting of Jesus with Mary and Martha may lie along the route of the Palm Sunday procession. Since the Franks seem to have modeled their liturgical observance of Palm Sunday after the Byzantine practice in the eleventh century, could the Franks, like the Byzantines, have made a stop at the Church of the Ascension while they processed from Bethphage over the Mount of Olives? The Franks rebuilt the Church of the Ascension and established a residence there for the Augustinian canons who served the shrine beginning circa 1112.<sup>40</sup> Most significantly, the Augustinian canons of the Ascension were among the group of clerics who accompanied the Frankish patriarch of Jerusalem in the procession from Bethany into the Valley of Josaphat. It is extremely difficult to imagine that the patriarchal party would have skirted the Mount of Olives and not have gone over the summit, passing by or stopping at the Church of the Ascension as a nod to the Augustinian canons of the Ascension who were in the procession.

The choice and arrangement of the first five scenes on the historiated lintel make sense from the standpoint of both the pilgrim itineraries of the twelfth century and the Palm Sunday procession as the Franks practiced it. The Last Supper, the final scene on the lintel, does not seem to belong to the historiated lintel because the Last Supper occurred on the Thursday after Palm Sunday and took place on Mount Zion, which is along the southern wall of Jerusalem. Omitting the Last Supper, the lintel would have ended with the Entry into Jerusalem, dramatically emphasizing the Palm Sunday procession. Instead, following the Entry into Jerusalem with the Last Supper suddenly condenses the narrative. Limits of space do not seem to have been a problem, however, for the designers of the lintel of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. They could have used the second lintel over the right doorway to expand the narrative if they had wished to do so. Instead, the designers of the lintel took all the space they needed to show the sites between Bethany and Jerusalem that corresponded to the Palm Sunday procession. Condensation of the narrative, therefore, is not the primary reason for the presence of the Last Supper. No one seems to have questioned its presence on the historiated lintel, because the Last Supper seems to be a perfectly natural choice for the final scene on the lintel; the trio of the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, and the Last Supper forms a credible summary of the activities of Jesus from Saturday through Thursday of Passion Week. But the designers of the lintel may have chosen the Last Supper for a reason other than to complete this iconographic triad.

The inclusion of the Last Supper invites the same explanation that I have proposed for the reversal of the first two scenes on the lintel, namely, that the designers considered the actual participants and route in the Palm Sunday procession to be as important as the sites referred to in the biblical scenes. Like their spiritual brothers on the Mount of Olives, the Augustinian canons of the Church of Mount Zion had responsibility for shrines that included the Coenacu-

40 Hamilton, "Rebuilding," p. 109, note 33.

lum, that is, the location of the Last Supper. Since the patriarchal party that came from Bethany on Palm Sunday included these canons of Mount Zion, they, too, might have pressed for a visual acknowledgement of their participation in the procession. Thus the Last Supper became the final scene on the historiated lintel because the Augustinian canons of Mount Zion might have wanted it to represent them, their stronghold on Mount Zion, and their involvement in the Palm Sunday procession, just as the Augustinian canons on the Mount of Olives might have wanted a disguised Ascension to symbolize their shrine of the Ascension and its centrality in the Palm Sunday Procession.

A combination of factors allowed Augustinian canons to gain strongholds in Jerusalem and its environs and become more prominent than the Benedictines, who had been established at Sta. Maria Latina since the middle of the eleventh century and at St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat since 1110-11.<sup>41</sup> No later than 1112, Augustinian canons possessed the properties of the Mount of Olives (site of the Ascension), Mount Zion (site of the Last Supper and Pentecost), and the *Templum Domini* (site of the Presentation in the Temple). The chapter of non-resident secular canons, appointed to serve the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, were not originally Augustinians. In 1114, however, they were forced to adopt the rule of St. Augustine and live in residence. That same year, the newly made Augustinian canons of the Holy Sepulcher began to administer the shrine of Lazarus in Bethany.<sup>42</sup>

A striking pattern emerges from a juxtaposition of the sites represented on the historiated lintel of the Holy Sepulcher and the property holdings of Augustinian canons in and around Jerusalem. They not only controlled Bethany, the location of the Raising of Lazarus and the first scene on the lintel, but also Mount Zion, the location of the Last Supper and the final scene on the lintel. Furthermore, Augustinian canons controlled the Mount of Olives, site of the Ascension, which is possibly alluded to in the second scene on the lintel. Beyond their common stewardship by Augustinian canons, the thread that ties all these places together is the route of the Palm Sunday procession in the twelfth century, which, I have argued, went from Bethany along the road over the Mount of Olives, past the Church of the Ascension, into the Valley of Josaphat, and through the Golden Gate. As well as controlling the starting point of the procession in Bethany, Augustinian canons controlled its *terminus* in the *Templum Domini*.

The coincidence that the people who participated in the Palm Sunday procession should be the same people who resided in the place depicted in the scenes on the lintel strongly suggests the possibility that the Augustinian canons of Jerusalem formed a corporate patronage for the historiated lintel of the Holy Sepulcher, itself the most important of the shrines administered by Augustinian

41 B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: the Secular Church* (London, 1980), pp. 95-96; Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 258-287.

42 Hamilton, "Rebuilding," pp. 106-113.

canons. Even though anecdotes abound about the notorious rivalries between the various groups of Augustinian canons, those of the Mount of Olives being particularly contentious,<sup>43</sup> they might have cooperated briefly on this one occasion of the designing of the historiated lintel if for no other reason than to assure that each was properly represented in a sculpture destined for the major entrance to the most venerated shrine of Christendom. If the historiated lintel of the Holy Sepulcher may serve to fill in certain blanks in our knowledge about ritual and ceremony in twelfth-century Jerusalem, specifically the route of the Palm Sunday procession, the sculpture could also be mute testimony to its own patron.<sup>44</sup>

If my reconstruction is correct, the historiated lintel of the Holy Sepulcher represents an annual procession and acknowledges the importance of pilgrim traffic. The lintel tells the story of Palm Sunday according to the Gospel narrative, but reverses the first two scenes in deference to the pilgrim itineraries from Bethany to Jerusalem. Most importantly, the Jerusalem lintel documents the Palm Sunday procession at the time of the Frankish occupation and may also allude to the property holdings of the Augustinian canons who controlled the major sites along the procession route.

The historiated lintel has been treated as a two-dimensional object with only a stylistic and iconographic history. The lintel has not as yet been adequately studied in relationship to its neighbor, the inhabited vinescroll lintel, or within its original context on the south portal of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Nor has it been convincingly dated or put within the artistic *oeuvre* of crusader Jerusalem. Lastly, the potential influence of the historiated lintel on the iconography of later Western and Byzantine art has not been investigated. This work needs to be done.

I have approached the historiated lintel as a product of its own period, intimately connected with the very people who chose the decoration for the new south portal of the Holy Sepulcher. The environment, be it political, ecclesiasti-

43 Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem* 2:402.

44 The lintel of the central narthex portal at La Madeleine, Vézelay, most intriguingly parallels the lintel of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, foremost, because the subject of the Vézelay lintel is a procession, the same activity that I have identified on the lintel in Jerusalem. On the Burgundian lintel, laborers bring to the abbey at Pentecost their "first fruits": J.S. Feldman, *The Narthex Portal at Vézelay: Art and Monastic Self-Image* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, 1986), chapter 2: "The Lintel: Art and Ceremony at Vézelay," pp. 47-75. Moreover, the left half of the lintel at Vézelay represents the sources of wealth of the abbey, specifically what farms it owned, what fishing rights it had in the rivers, what hunting rights it had in the woods, what revenues it received from products sold at market (such as wine, bread, and butchered meat): Feldman, *Narthex Portal*, pp. 55-56. Feldman, p. 57, makes a case that the right half of this same lintel represents the pilgrims from around the world, among them soldiers and sick children, who came to the shrine of Mary Magdalene at the abbey. The lintel at Vézelay seems to make a statement about the economic as well as spiritual bonds between the monks and laity and pilgrims whose labors and donations brought income to the abbey the year round.



cal, economic, or geographic, in which the historiated lintel was made is primary to understanding the meaning of the work. Although the Palm Sunday procession occurred but once a year, memory of it stayed in the minds of the Franks, and the desire for the procession to survive is reflected in the lintel. I have argued that the designers of the lintel, in response to patrons' mandate, agreed on enough iconographic elements to make most of the scenes recognizable to the pilgrims walking through the doorways below. But the *leitmotifs* of the gates, towers, and thresholds suggested that the patrons were thinking of their own landscape in twelfth-century Jerusalem, particularly buildings they had helped to reconstruct. Although the lintel did not elicit comment from contemporary pilgrims, the recording in stone of a contemporary event makes the historiated lintel of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher a valuable document for the study of crusader Jerusalem. In this study, I have sought to recover a once lost association between place, event, and art object.

# The Cathedral of Sebaste: Its Western Donors and Models

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The Cathedral of St. John the Baptist at Sebaste, second in size only to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, already lay in ruins in 1333, according to Wilhelm of Boldensele.<sup>1</sup> These ruins impressed many later travelers<sup>2</sup> and in the nineteenth century were described by Melchior de Vogüé, Victor Guérin, and the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine, and painted by David Roberts and Léon de Laborde.<sup>3</sup> In about 1893 a mosque was erected on the eastern parts of the cathedral, including the choir, and the decorated remains of the apses were torn down and replaced by a straight wall.<sup>4</sup>

The architectural history of the cathedral has not yet been systematically studied, although it was briefly investigated by Camille Enlart.<sup>5</sup> In 1935 R.W. Hamilton excavated the northern wall of the chevet, and concluded that it was built on the foundations of an earlier Byzantine church.<sup>6</sup> Enlart and Hamilton produced the same ground-plan for the church: a west-to-east oriented basilica, with a nave and two aisles, an inner transept, a triapsidal chevet, and an alternating supporting system of engaged pillars and double columns. Both Enlart and Hamilton reconstructed sexpartite rib vaults for the nave, and

1 For Wilhelm's account see F. Khull, *Zweier deutscher Ordensleute Pilgerfahrten nach Jerusalem in den Jahren 1333 und 1346* (Graz, 1895), p. 41. Cf. *Mandeville's Travels. Texts and translations*, ed. M. Letts (London, 1953), 2:287.

2 The more important traveler accounts are those by F. Quaresmius, *Historica, theologica ac moralis elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*, 2 (Antwerpen, 1639), p. 811b; the Damascene mystic al-Nablūsī, who visited Sebaste in 1689, and whose description is translated in A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine* (Paris, 1951), p. 92; and especially A. Morison, *Relation historique d'un voyage nouvellement fait au Mont de Sinā et à Jérusalem* (Paris, 1705), pp. 231-232. See also H. Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, AD 1697* (Oxford, 1732), p. 59.

3 M. de Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1860), pp. 358-362; V. Guérin, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*, 2: *Samarie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1874), 2:189-209; *Survey of Western Palestine*, 2: *Samaria* (London, 1882), pp. 212-213.

4 G. Dalman, "Die Stadt Samaria und ihre Verkehrswege," *Palästina-jahrbuch des Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem* 2 (1906), 42.

5 Enlart, *Monuments*, 2:339-349, Pls. 145-148.

6 R.W. Hamilton, *Guide to Samaria-Sebaste* (Jerusalem, 1944), pp. 34-40.

quadripartite rib vaults for the aisles.<sup>7</sup> Enlart surveyed also architectural details such as capitals and entablatures. Of the six pieces of figural sculpture stored until recently in the church courtyard, Enlart saw and described only four.<sup>8</sup> He regarded the cathedral as an early Gothic edifice probably built in the 1160s, and pointed out its similarities to early Gothic French architecture, yet maintained that it constituted a local version of the French 'transitional' style. However, Enlart and Hamilton were not aware of various documents concerning the history of the cathedral, nor did they carry out a comparative study of the capitals and architectural details. Finally, in 1969, David A. Walsh studied five historiated capitals from Sebaste, apparently unknown to Enlart, now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.<sup>9</sup> These pieces have not yet been discussed together with the other sculptures of the cathedral.

The contention of this paper is that the ground-plan and elevation system of the cathedral of Sebaste was probably inspired by the cathedral of Sens, and its sculpture by several artistic centers of northern France. This contention is based on a stylistic and iconographic examination of the architectural remains in their entirety, as well as on documentary evidence.

The history of the cathedral of Sebaste can be reconstructed in more detail than that of most crusader churches. Under Frankish rule, Sebaste was the seat of a Latin bishop, the only suffragan of the archbishop of Caesarea.<sup>10</sup> The first bishop of Sebaste whose name has come down to us is Baldwin, who attested a charter in March 1128.<sup>11</sup> At that time Sebaste Cathedral appears to have been a small structure which did not yet include the tomb of St. John the Baptist, for the Syrian amīr Usāma b. Munqidh, describing his visit to the place sometime between 1140 and 1143, reports that after praying at John's tomb, he turned to a walled enclosure nearby containing a church. Some ten old, shaven Christians prayed there with a zeal Usāma had yet to witness among Muslims. He also mentions the hospitality of these Christians.<sup>12</sup> Pope Innocent II (1130-1143) granted papal protection to this church at some unspecified point during his pontificate; the grant was renewed by Pope Alexander III in 1179.<sup>13</sup> The

7 Enlart, *Monuments*, pl. 12, fig. 23; Hamilton, *Guide*, fig. 22.

8 Enlart, *Monuments*, 2:344; pl. 148, figs. 468-471.

9 D.A. Walsh, "Crusader Sculpture from the Holy Land in Istanbul," *Gesta* 8 (1969), 20-29.

10 *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane*, ed. G.M. Thomas, in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-philol. Classe* (Munich, 1865), 2:149. The Russian abbot Daniel, who visited the Holy Land in 1106-1108, mentions "a rich Frankish monastery" at Sebaste: PPTS 4.3 (London, 1895), pp. 58-59. I would like to thank B.Z. Kedar for his help with the documentary evidence.

11 *Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier (Paris, 1984), No. 30, p. 93.

12 The relevant passage from Usāma's *Kitāb al-'Aṣā* (Book of Rods) is edited and translated in H. Derenbourg, *Ousāmah ibn Mounqidh, un émīr syrien au premier siècle des croisades (1095-1188)*, première partie: *Vie* (Paris, 1889), pp. 189, 528-529.

13 R. Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius, III: Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 3.136 (Göttingen, 1985), No. 117, p. 291.



Aerial view of  
Sebaste cathedral  
(photo by Dov Tal)

rebuilding of the cathedral of Sebaste began some time after 1145, the year in which remains of St. John the Baptist, the prophets Elisha and Obadiah as well as of other prophets and patriarchs were discovered there in a silver casket. Patriarch William of Jerusalem appealed to the prelates of Christendom to support the restoration of the church, and promised the remission of 40 days' penance to all those who would make contributions for the new undertaking, and visit the place on the feast of St. John's birth, beheading, and discovery of his remains.<sup>14</sup> The immediate results of the patriarch's appeal are not known, but news about the discovery did spread in Europe. Sometime between 1148 (or 1153) and 1161, the canons of the church of St. John the Evangelist in Liège asked Bishop Frederick of Acre for some of the recently found relics of the Baptist. A certain Bovo begged him to obtain such relics for the abbey of Florennes. Frederick persuaded the reluctant Bishop Rainer of Sebaste and the canons of his church to part with several pieces, and sent them with Bovo to Liège and Florennes.<sup>15</sup>

14 The patriarch's appeal is printed from BN lat. 12838, fol. 222, in Le Roux de Lincy and A. Bruel, "Notice historique et critique sur dom Jacques du Breul, prieur de Saint-Germain-des-Près," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 29 (1868), 492-493.

15 Ursmer Berlière, "Frédéric de Laroche, évêque d'Acre et archevêque de Tyr. Envoi de reliques à l'abbaye de Florennes (1153-1161)," *Annales de l'Institut archéologique du Luxembourg* 43 (1908), 67-79; see also Berlière's earlier articles on this subject in *Revue Bénédictine* 23 (1906), 501-513 and 24 (1907), 123-125.

In the documents, Rainer appears as bishop of Sebaste from 1144 to 1168, or 1169; his successor Radulph is mentioned from 1175 onwards.<sup>16</sup> In an undated appeal to the prelates of Christendom, Bishop Radulph retells the story of the discovery of 1145, and reports that work subsequently begun to erect an adequate church of the best stone could not be brought to conclusion because of lack of funds. Therefore, on the advice of his fellow prelates, he sends to the West canons with some relics of the Baptist, Elisha and Obadiah, hoping to obtain the money needed to complete the church. He announces that the patriarch of Jerusalem granted the remission of one year of penance for a gift equal to the wages of two workmen engaged in the construction of the church of Sebaste, half a year for a gift equal to the daily(!) wages of a single workman, 40 days for other alms, and so forth.<sup>17</sup> Radulph's letter was preserved in the church of Nemours; this fact suggests, for reasons presently to become apparent, that the bishop issued his appeal in 1170 at the latest.

The information on Sebaste's European donors is exceptionally specific. As all of the known gifts date from the years 1168-1179, it is probable that several of them came in response to Radulph's appeal. In 1168 *Elisabeth ducissa*, widow of Guillaume *Goetus* who was buried in the church of Sebaste, donated the annual income of ten pounds Angevin to the canons-regular of Sebaste; she did so with the consent of her son-in-law Hervé de Gien and her daughter Mathilda.<sup>18</sup> On 28 August 1170, King Louis VII of France, who had visited Sebaste during the Second Crusade and had been impressed by the canons' piety, gave its church "and the brethren sent thence to [him]" a rent of 20 pounds from the income of Château Landon; he did so with the assent of his son Philip.<sup>19</sup> According to an undocumented tradition, King Louis deposited in 1170 at Nemours the part of the Baptist's skull which Bishop Radulph had sent him; he entrusted the relic to the canons who had brought it from Sebaste, and built for them a church in Nemours.<sup>20</sup> On 24 December 1170, Archbishop Guillaume of Sens, at the

16 Cf. Reinhold Röhrich, "Syria sacra," *ZDPV* 10 (1887), 29, notes 28-29. In addition, Bishop R[ainer] and Prior Ra[dulph] of Sebaste are known to have authenticated the relics of the Baptist they gave Maurice II of Craon. This act probably took place in 1169: A. Bertrand de Brousillon, *La maison de Craon, 1050-1480. Étude historique accompagnée du cartulaire de Craon* 1 (Paris, 1893), pp. 100-105.

17 Radulph's appeal is printed from BN lat. 12837, fol. 345, in G. Estournet, "Les origines historiques de Nemours et sa charte de franchises (1170)," *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique du Gâtinais* 39 (1930), Doc. 6, pp. 242-244.

18 Guillaume Morin, *Histoire générale des pays de Gastinois, Senonais et Hurepois* (Paris, 1630), pp. 316-317. The charter is partially reprinted, with some corrections, in RHGF 16:607, note g.—In the same year of 1168, Robert de Beaumont is said to have given an annual income of two marks of silver to Sebaste: Emile Richemond, *Recherches généalogiques sur la famille des seigneurs de Nemours du XII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* 1 (Fontainebleau, 1907), p. 57; Estournet, "Origines" (note 17 above), pp. 225-226.

19 Archives Départementales de l'Yonne, G 188, fol. 1r-1v; inaccurately printed in Morin, *Histoire* (note 18 above), pp. 307-308; *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 12 (Paris, 1770), *Instr.*, Doc. 58, col. 50-51.

20 *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 12, Pr., col. 51; H. Bouvier, *Histoire de l'Eglise et de l'ancien archidiocèse de Sens* (Amiens, 1911), 2:108. The tradition is presented without documentary evidence.



request of King Louis, gave the churches of Nemours and Ormesson to Sebaste, on the condition that two canons of Sebaste serve perpetually in the church of Nemours; the dean and chapter of Sens subsequently gave their assent to this donation.<sup>21</sup> On a later occasion the date of which remains unknown, Archbishop Guillaume added the church of Treuzy to his donation.<sup>22</sup> In 1179, during his stay in Sebaste, Count Henri of Champagne donated the annual income of ten pounds.<sup>23</sup> On 28 April 1179, Pope Alexander III confirmed the donations of Archbishop Guillaume, King Louis VII, as well as of Hervé de Gien, his wife Mathilda, and *Elisabeth ducissa*.<sup>24</sup>

Contemporary sources reveal that all these donors were closely related. Guillaume of Sens, Henri of Champagne and *Elisabeth ducissa* were the children of Count Thibaut IV le Grand of Champagne, who died in 1152; their sister Adèle was the second wife of King Louis VII. Guillaume was archbishop of Sens in the years 1169-1176; it was probably between 1170 and 1176 that he donated Treuzy to Sebaste. In 1176 he left Sens to become archbishop of Reims. His brother, Henri le Libéral, count of Champagne, participated in the Second Crusade, and went East once more in 1179, returning home in 1181. During this second sojourn in the Holy Land he visited Sebaste and made his donation there.<sup>25</sup> *Elisabeth ducissa*, the sister of Guillaume of Sens and Henri le Libéral, was first married to Duke Roger of Apulia, the oldest son of King Roger II of Sicily. Sometime after Duke Roger's death in 1149, the widowed Elizabeth was married to Guillaume Gouët, lord of Montmirail and Perche-Gouët, but retained her ducal title.<sup>26</sup> Guillaume Gouët was one of the *optimates* of Elizabeth's father, Thibaut IV of Champagne; in 1141 he is mentioned as a member of Louis VII's *curia*, together with Count Thibaut of Blois (who was another brother of Guillaume of Sens, Henri le Libéral, and *Elisabeth ducissa*).<sup>27</sup>

21 Estournet, "Origines" (note 17 above), Docs. 7-8, pp. 244-246, printed from Arch. hospital. de Nemours, B 37; Arch. de l'Yonne, G 188, fol. 1v-2v; see also Richemond, *Recherches* (note 18 above), Doc. 2, pp. iv-v.

22 The fact is known from Alexander III's confirmation of 1179, see note 24 below.

23 Morin, *Histoire*, pp. 314-315. During his visit to the Holy Land, Henri also gave ten pounds to Saint Mary in the Valley of Josaphat, and 60 pounds, as well as a house in Troyes, to the bishop and canons of Hebron whose poverty touched his heart: Ch. Kohler, "Chartes de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Vallée de Josaphat en Terre-Sainte (1108-1291)," *ROL* 7 (1900), No. 42, pp. 149-150; H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, "Études sur les documents antérieurs à l'année 1285, conservés dans les archives de quatre petits hôpitaux de la ville de Troyes," *Mémoires de la société d'agriculture, des sciences, arts et belles-lettres du département de l'Aube*, 2.8 (1857), Doc. 19, pp. 109-110.

24 Estournet, "Origines" (note 17 above), Doc. 9, pp. 246-248; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten* (note 13 above), Doc. 117, pp. 291-292, who gives the correct date (but *Goetus* should be preferred over *Grotus* and *Hervaeus de Grex* corrected to *de Gien*).

25 On Thibaut IV's offspring see *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst in MGH SS 23:841. On Henri le Libéral and Guillaume of Sens see for instance R.R. Bezzola, *Les Origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident (500-1200)*, 3.2 (Paris, 1963), pp. 370-375, 404-405.

26 See RHGF 16:607, note g. On the death of Roger of Apulia in 1149 see Romuald of Salerno, *Chronicon*, ed. C.A. Garufi, in RIS, new ed., 7.1:231.

27 RHGF 14:241; A. Luchaire, *Études sur les actes de Louis VII* (Paris, 1885; repr. Brussels,

In 1164, the bishop of Le Mans complained to Louis VII that Guillaume Gouët caused damage to his church.<sup>28</sup> Possibly to expiate this misdeed, he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and died at Sebaste; Robert of Torigni reports in his chronicle, under the year 1169, that Guillaume *obiisset in itinere Jerusalem*.<sup>29</sup>

Beside receiving support from King Louis VII and the descendants of Thibaut IV of Champagne, the canons of Sebaste amassed considerable wealth by exacting sumptuous gifts from Muslims who wished to visit the tomb of the Baptist. Thus reports 'Imād al-Dīn, the secretary of Saladin, who also relates that the Frankish priests turned John's tomb into one of their principal sanctuaries, bedecked it with veils and ornaments of silver and gold, and made it into the site of a pilgrimage which took place on a fixed date each year.<sup>30</sup> The bishop of Sebaste appears to have been one of the wealthier prelates of the realm: he owed the service of 100 serjeants, i.e., twice as much as the archbishop of Caesarea, or the bishops of Hebron and Sidon.<sup>31</sup>

In September 1184 Saladin raided the region of Nablus. The bishop of Sebaste decided to negotiate with Saladin and succeeded in saving his town and church from destruction by handing over to the sultan eighty Muslim prisoners of war, as King Baldwin IV reported to Patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem.<sup>32</sup> The name of Sebaste's resourceful bishop goes unmentioned, but it may well have been the aforementioned Bishop Radulph, who was one of the representatives of the Frankish clergy at the Third Lateran Council of 1179.<sup>33</sup> It was possibly the same

1964), pp. 123, 361; M. Pacaut, *Louis VII et son royaume* (Paris, 1964), p. 171. On the Gouets see A. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes. XF-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1973), pp. 257-258.

28 RHGF 16:98. For further information on Guillaume Gouët see Estournet, "Origines" (note 17 above), pp. 228-229.

29 *The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni*, ed. Richard Howlett, RS 82.4 (London, 1889), pp. 243-244. Robert relates also that Guillaume's son-in-law Hervé seized Montmirail and other fortresses to the chagrin of Count Thibaut of Blois, who wanted them for himself. As Louis VII supported Count Thibaut, his brother-in-law, Hervé handed over the fortresses to Henry II of England. The ensuing friction between the kings of France and England was one of the reasons for postponing the crusade promised to the archbishop of Tyre. In 1170 Henry II made peace between Count Thibaut and Hervé: See John of Salisbury, Letter 87, in RHGF 16:607-608.

30 'Imād al-Dīn in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:302; cf. M.C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin. The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 268.

31 *Livre de Jean d'Idelin*, in RHC Lois, 1:426-427. The bishop of Lydda owed the service of ten knights and 200 serjeants; the archbishop of Nazareth—six knights and 150 serjeants; the bishop of Bethlehem—200 serjeants; the archbishop of Tyre and the bishop of Acre—150 serjeants each: *Ibid.*, pp. 422, 426-427. The seal of the bishops of Sebaste showed a figure with crozier and mitre, and the legend... SEBASTENSIS EPS; the reverse showed John baptizing Christ, with the legend JOHANNES BAPTIZAT XPM: Bertrand de Brousillon, *Maison de Craon* (note 16 above), No. 142, p. 103, note 3; Estournet, "Origines" (note 17 above), p. 242. See also Morin, *Histoire* (note 18 above), p. 310.

32 Baldwin's letter—probably a mere fragment—appears in Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 68 (London, 1876), 2:28. Ibn al-Athīr merely mentions the liberation of the Muslim prisoners: RHC HOr. 1:667.

33 WT 21.25, p. 996; Mansi, *Concilia* 22:215. William of Tyre refers to Sebaste as the burying place of John the Baptist and the prophets Elisha and Obadiah: WT 8.1, p. 321.

bishop who, on the night of 30 April 1187, played host to Balian d'Ibelin; the Old French account mentions *la maison l'evesque* as the place where the two talked until mass, thus providing another detail regarding the layout of Frankish Sebaste.<sup>34</sup>

After the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn, Saladin's nephew, Ḥusām al-Dīn Muḥammad, occupied Sebaste. According to 'Imād al-Dīn, he seized most of the cathedral's riches, leaving only those furnishings which were indispensable for the mosque into which he transformed the church. The author of the anonymous Latin account of the downfall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem relates that the Muslims seized the bishop of Sebaste, "a gentle and distinguished man," scourged him until he divulged the whereabouts of the treasures of his church, and then sent him to Acre. This was the end of the Frankish presence at Sebaste.<sup>35</sup>

The aforementioned documents suggest two different building campaigns of Sebaste Cathedral. The first, which apparently took place some time before 1145, was a modest one. A small church or rather an enclosure, to use the words of Usāma, was erected over the Byzantine remains, while the Baptist's tomb with its Byzantine marble slabs remained outside as a separate shrine. A series of Late Roman and Byzantine capitals, later reused for the pillars of the modern mosque, may be an additional testimony to this early stage (see Campaign A on fig. 1). The second campaign began after 1145 and was still under way in about 1170, when Bishop Radulph made his appeal and King Louis VII and members of the house of Champagne made their donations. The architect encountered the foundations of the Byzantine church, which dictated the framework of his ground-plan. Consequently, the chevet remained triapsidal, with a polygonal wall enclosing the main apse from the outside. He included the crypt of St. John the Baptist in the second bay of the northern aisle. The overall plan remained an oblong rectangle with an inner transept (see Campaign B on fig. 1). Both of these features are known from several crusader churches, like those of Ramleh and Abū Ghōsh. But on this common crusader ground-plan the architect imposed a supporting system of cruciform engaged pillars alternating with double columns, a system recurring in the first two double bays of the vessel, the inner transept, and the additional bay in front of the chevet (Plate 7,B). He also employed a sexpartite vaulting in the vessel and quadripartite rib-vaultings in the aisles. This alternating support system, as well as the vaultings, closely resemble those

34 *Cont. WT*, p. 40.

35 'Imād al-Dīn in RHC HOr. 1:302; Lyons and Jackson (note 30 above), p. 268; *De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae libellus*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 66 (London, 1875), p. 233. Bishop and chapter appear to have continued elsewhere for some time, for in 1189 Philip II Augustus renewed his father's yearly grant of 20 pounds for the church of Sebaste: Lincy and Bruel, "Notice" (note 14 above), Doc. 4, p. 495. On 20 December 1188, Pope Clement III issued a letter of protection *canonicis de Nemos et fratribus Sebastiensis ecclesie*: Lincy and Bruel, Doc. 3, pp. 494-495; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten* (note 13 above), No. 156, p. 334. Lincy and Bruel thought that the papal protection extended to Nemours and Sebaste; Hiestand believes that it was given to the canons of Nemours who were also brethren of the church of Sebaste.

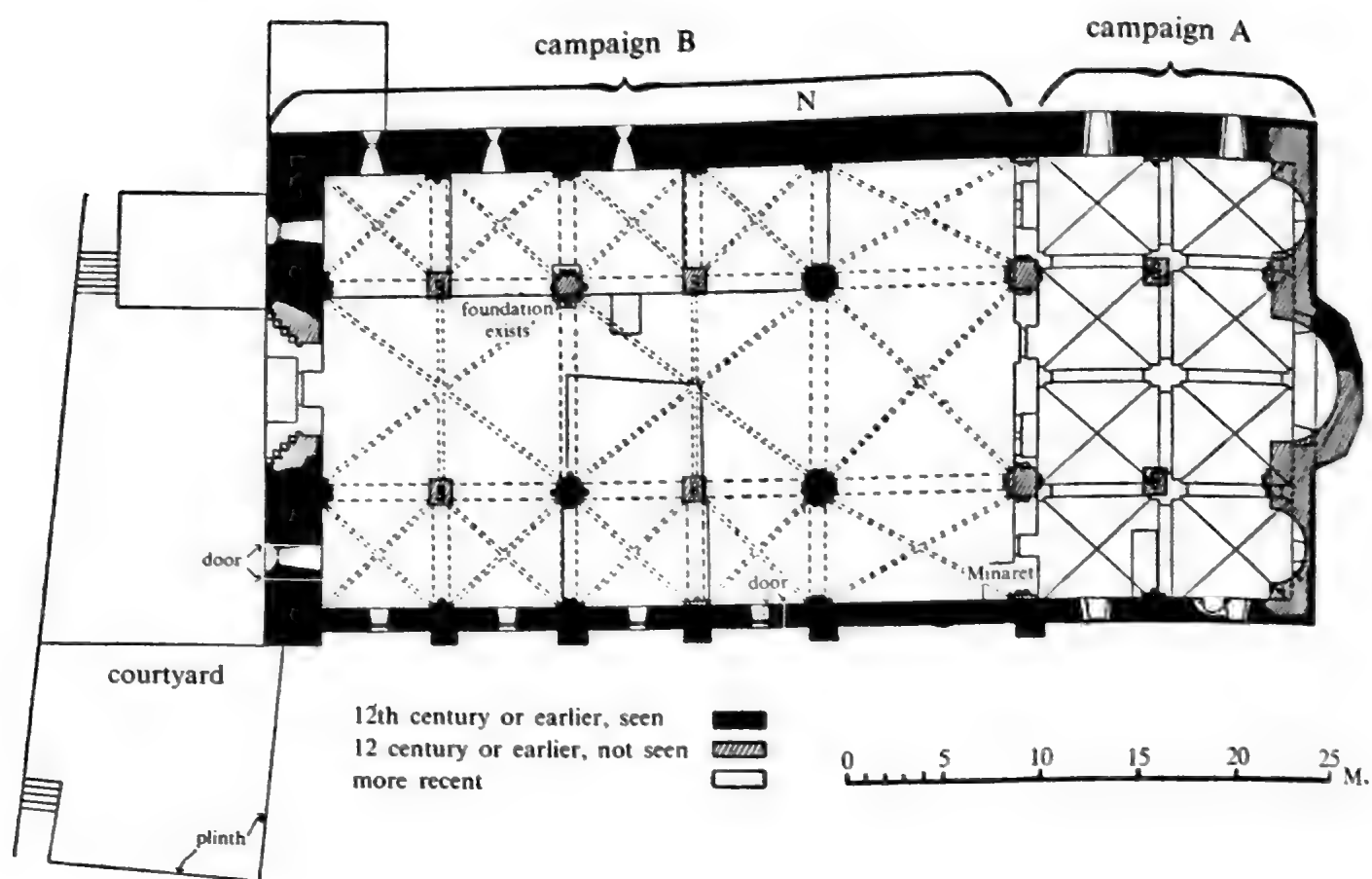


Fig. 1. Sebaste. Plan of cathedral (R.W. Hamilton, *Guide to Samaria-Sebaste*, p. 36)

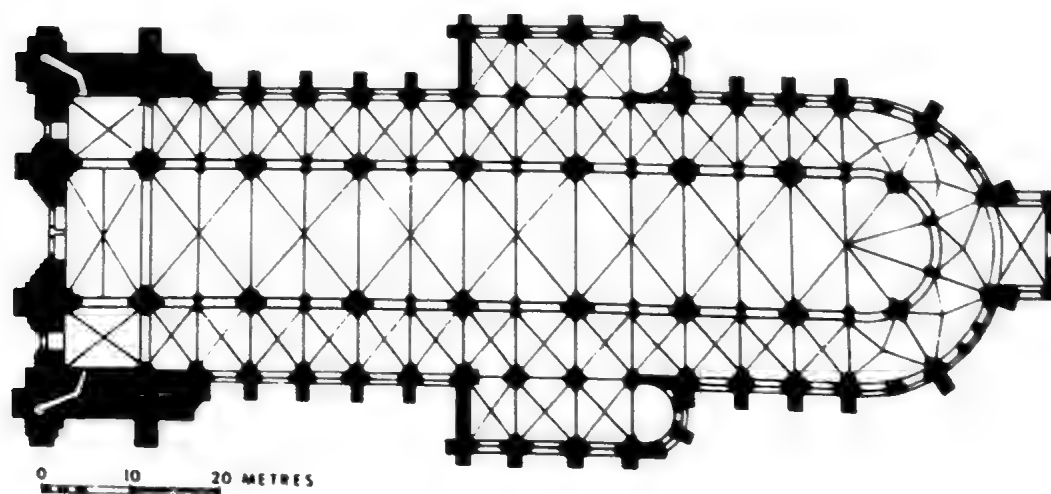


Fig. 2. Sens. Plan of cathedral (J. Henriët, "La Cathédrale Saint-Etienne de Sens," *Bulletin Monumental* 140, [1982], p. 120)



Fig. 3. Sebaste. Engaged pillar of nave (photo by Moshe Milner)



Fig. 4. Sens. Engaged wall pillar in the northern aisle (photo by B.Z. Kedar)



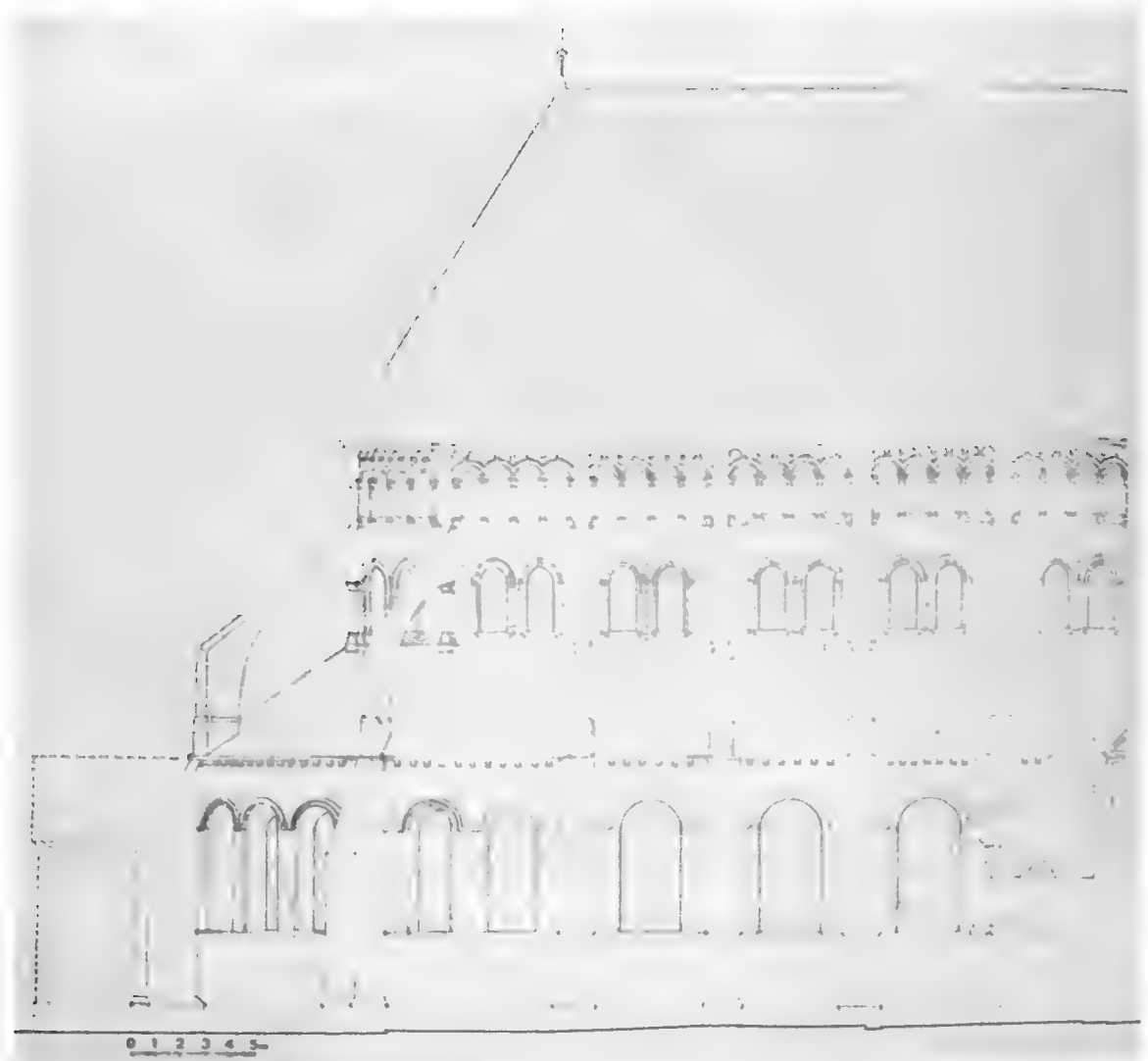


Fig. 5. Sens. Reconstruction of southern wall (J. Henriët, p. 92)

employed in the cathedral of Sens (fig. 2).<sup>36</sup> In both cathedrals, every engaged pillar bears large as well as small leaf capitals (figs. 3 and 4). In addition, there is a similarity between the outer southern wall of the cathedral of Sebaste and its supports, and the original southern wall of Sens Cathedral (Plate 7,A and fig. 5). Both conform to late Burgundian Romanesque tradition inasmuch as they exhibit square supporting pillars without buttresses, as well as a row of pointed-arch windows.<sup>37</sup> There may have been further similarities. Léon de Laborde's drawing of the external decoration at Sebaste shows an apse with three windows, divided by round blind arcades and, above them, by straight pilasters emerging from the arcades' capitals. A corbelled cornice appears to be supporting the roof. If this depiction accurately represented the apse which was to be torn down during the construction of the modern mosque, then its divisions closely corresponded to the late Romanesque or early Gothic ones which can be

36 Literature on the architectural history of Sens Cathedral is listed in the recent study by J. Henriët, "La Cathédrale Saint-Étienne de Sens: Le parti du premier maître, et les campagnes du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bulletin Monumental* 140 (1982), 6-168.

37 Ibid., p. 92, fig. 6; Enlart, *Monuments* 2:342-343.



Fig. 6. Sebaste. Fallen antique column in Bay 1 (photo by Moshe Milner)

observed in the early parts of Sens Cathedral, as for example in the chapel of St. John the Baptist in the northern transept.<sup>38</sup> As for the blind arcades of the apse of Sebaste, they might have resembled those of the north aisle and ambulatory of Sens.

There are differences, of course. The engaged pillars of Sebaste differ from those at Sens in that the former consist of double half-columns on each of their sides instead of the single half-column found at Sens (Plate 7,B). These double half-columns may be considered as replicating the double columns of the basic supporting system common to Sens and Sebaste. Also, in contrast with Sens, the alternating double columns in Sebaste were probably reused antique monoliths.<sup>39</sup> This may be deduced from a pair of column bases which have survived under the later, domed construction in the northern aisle, and from a

38 de La Borde's drawing is reproduced in Enlart, *Monuments*, pl. 145, fig. 458; Henriët, "Sens," figs. 21, 36.

39 The reuse of antique columns and capitals in crusader buildings has not yet been systematically studied. Questions as to whether these elements were used out of necessity for rapid building, or as spoils, or in a conscious attempt to revive the Holy Land's ancient past, are worthy of study. The reuse of antique capitals in Sebaste is obvious in the capitals now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum where two scenes are carved on a late Roman capital. See Walsh, "Crusader Sculpture" (note 9 above), pp. 24-25. In the Church of Jacob's Well southeast of Sebaste, Enlart observed reused antique granite columns. He suggested that the same alternating support system as at Sebaste, and a similar sexpartite vaulting system, was employed in this church: Enlart, *Monuments* 2:289-292.

fallen antique column still to be seen in the first bay (fig. 6). The reuse of antique columns may be explained by the convenient proximity of the Herodian city.

The striking similarities between Sens and Sebaste, and the fact that Archbishop Guillaume of Sens was one of Sebaste's benefactors, lend probability to the assumption that the cathedral of Sens served as a model for the architect of the second campaign at Sebaste. The initial stages of the architectural history of the cathedral of Sens in the 1140s are still being discussed, as well as the relations of Sens with St. Denis and with traditional Burgundian Romanesque architecture.<sup>40</sup> But it is an undisputed fact that the building of the nave at Sens was already in progress under Archbishop Henri de Toucy (1142-1168). By the time of his successor, Guillaume, the eastern parts of the cathedral had been completed and the supporting system of engaged cruciform pillars alternating with double columns, as well as the second floor and the sexpartite vaults were being erected.<sup>41</sup> In 1175, Archbishop Guillaume established, in the northern part of the cathedral, a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist.<sup>42</sup> Thus an architect in the employ of the house of Champagne could have introduced to Sebaste systems which had been previously evolved at Sens. But there may be more to it. Archbishop Guillaume of Sens, who had been bishop of Chartres from 1165, retained his see there also after his election to Sens in 1169.<sup>43</sup> In his days as bishop of Chartres and archbishop of Sens, the Porte Royale at Chartres was nearing completion, and Sens Cathedral was drawing toward its final stages. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that he was knowledgeable of the leading artistic trends of his time. He was also aware of intellectual developments, with such men as Gautier de Châtillon dedicating works to him. A major supporter of Thomas Becket, he was close to English men of letters and, in 1176, helped John of Salisbury to succeed him at Chartres when he himself became archbishop of Reims.<sup>44</sup> It was during his archepiscopate at Sens that his cathedral undoubtedly served as a source of inspiration for that of Canterbury. As is well known, in 1174 the famous Master Guillaume of Sens was charged with rebuilding Canterbury Cathedral, into which he introduced the Sens supporting system of double columns and engaged pillars (fig. 7).<sup>45</sup> Thus, it may not be too farfetched to assume that Archbishop

40 K.W. Severens, "The Early Campaign at Sens, 1140-1145," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 29 (1970), 97-107.

41 Henriet, "Sens" (note 36 above), pp. 90-93, 120-127.

42 Estournet, "Origines" (note 17 above), p. 213, note 2, referring to Archives de l'Yonne, G 112.

43 John R. Williams, "William of the White Hands and Men of Letters," *Anniversary Essays in Medieval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins* (Boston and New York, 1929), pp. 365-387. Williams characterizes Guillaume of Sens as interested mainly in canon law and theology but also as fond of Latin poetry.

44 Ibid., p. 366.

45 P. Draper, "William of Sens and the Original Design of Canterbury Cathedral, 1175-1179," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42 (1983), 238-248; K.W. Severens, "William of Sens and the Double Columns at Sens and Canterbury," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 22 (1970), 307-313; P. Frankel, *The Gothic Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries* (Princeton, 1960), pp. 24-35.

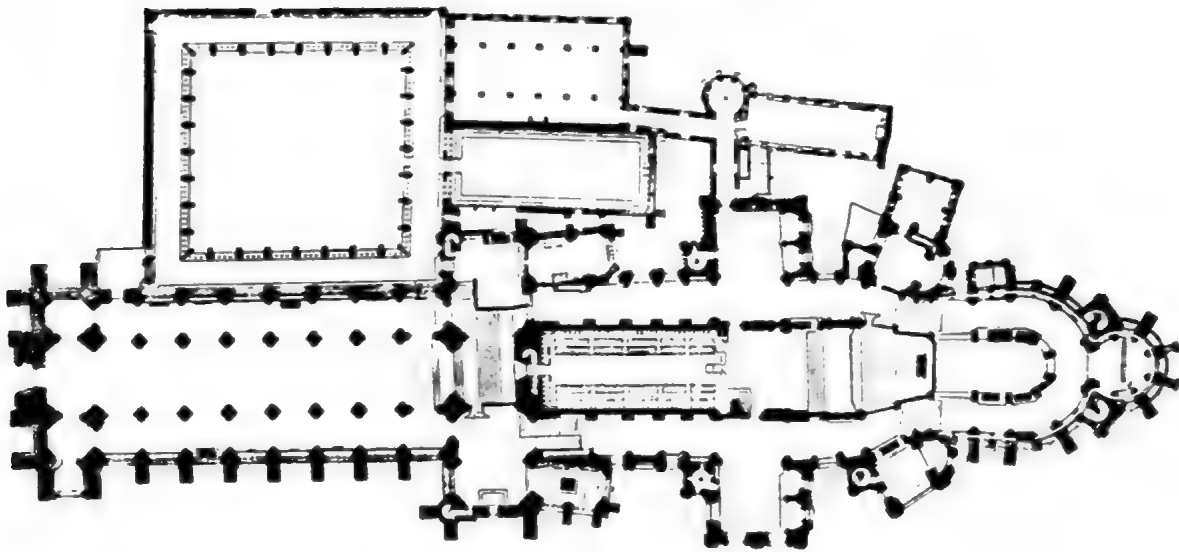


Fig. 7. Canterbury. Plan of the cathedral (J. Henriët)

Guillaume may have had a hand in the diffusion of the Sens system to the two new cathedrals which were being built across the Channel and the Mediterranean, and with which he is known to have been connected.

While the ground-plan and elevation system at Sebaste appear to have been inspired by Sens, the capitals and figurative sculptures betray the influence of several northern French centers.

At least three groups of leaf capitals can be distinguished. The first consists of the reused capitals now located over the antique columns in the mosque. The capitals represent three versions of Late Roman Corinthian capitals, and an early Byzantine one (fig. 8).<sup>46</sup>

The second group consists of seven leaf capitals on the western and northern inner walls (Plate 8, A-D). All are *in situ* above the wall pilasters, which also replicate the alternating rhythm of the single and double half-columns. An uninterrupted frieze is set over the imposts of all seven capitals. Compared with the first group, these capitals demonstrate an awareness of classical forms combined with a greater precision in detail and an increased motion of the constituent elements. Enlart had already noted their high quality and regarded them as superior to the figurative sculpture of the church.<sup>47</sup> They differ in detail, but all have a wide round astragal decorated with classical motifs such as a zigzag or diamond frieze. The leaves are arranged in two rows, voluminously modeled, and are not carved on their surfaces. Concave abaci, deeply hollowed, and sometimes decorated in their middle with a square, are raised over their linearly carved corner spirals. The extremely concave abaci create the illusion of deeply carved niches in motion. The capital imposts, too, are decorated on their

46 Late Roman and Byzantine capitals were inserted also in each of the cruciform engaged pillars of the crusader church of Ramleh.

47 Enlart, *Monuments* 2:345.

Fig. 8. Sebaste. Early  
Byzantine capital  
in modern mosque  
(photo by Moshe Milner)



lower faces with a classical zigzag or diamond frieze topped with an ornament consisting of straight parallel lines whose carving recalls the decoration of an Ionic architrave. In addition, leaf formations are engraved between the upper row of leaves on the bare background of the capitals. This linear carving repeats the design of the plastically modeled leaves.

The concave abaci can be compared to a large group of early figurative and vegetal capitals—probably dating from the 1140s—in Sens Cathedral.<sup>48</sup> However, the abaci at Sens are heavier and static, and lack the definitive space differentiation of Sebaste where the individual leaves are clearly separated and several types of linear carving are combined. The combination of plasticity and linearity in the Sebaste capitals, as well as the elaborate usage of concave abaci, rather suggest a knowledge of the leaf capitals in the choir of Cluny III, which stand out for the linear carving of the background.<sup>49</sup>

The capitals of the third group are *in situ* on the engaged pillars of the nave and the transept (see fig. 3). They are rounder, with two rows of leaves which are bigger, flatter, and more coarsely carved than those of the second group. Some of them can be compared to capitals from the double columns in the cathedral of Sens, such as those of the choir, and the capital of an outer support.<sup>50</sup> Both at Sebaste and Sens, the leaves are wide and lack surface carving, and the abaci enframe the narrowing forms of the capital. It should be noted however that capitals of this type are found in most crusader edifices of the twelfth century.

48 Severens, "Early Campaign" (note 40 above), pp. 97-107, figs. 5, 6.

49 On Cluny III see M.F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 102-118, figs. 74, 81, 82.

50 Henriët, "Sens" (note 36 above), p. 142, figs. 71, 72 and p. 137, fig. 62b.



Hence, the master of the cathedral of Sebaste, who presumably came from Sens (or perhaps from a neighboring early Gothic workshop), appears to have been acquainted with the routine of including several types of leaf capitals in the same church. The capitals of his cathedral represent several contemporaneous trends of capital decoration. The high quality and explicit dialogue with antique models, which characterize the second group, suggest an awareness of the classical revival.

Three groups of figurative sculpture can be discerned. The first comprises the historiated capitals which were sent from Sebaste to Istanbul in 1894. Published in the catalogue of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum in 1914, these capitals were first studied by David Walsh in 1969. Walsh identified the subjects on at least three of the capitals as a cycle of scenes from the life of the Baptist. He suggested that the capitals were located in the single western portal of the cathedral.<sup>51</sup> The portal's original layout is however difficult to determine. Besides, the capitals may have been situated elsewhere in the cathedral or its vicinity. According to Laborde's drawing, there was a series of capitals on the blind arcades of the chevet. Burchard of Mount Zion describes the tomb of St. John the Baptist at Sebaste as "made after the fashion of Christ's sepulcher," and this raises the possibility that there had been an edicule over the crypt, and that the historiated capitals formed part of its sculptural program.<sup>52</sup> Finally, Enlart mentions other entrances to the cathedral and vast ruins of the cloister or the bishop's palace annexed to the cathedral on its northern and southern sides, and the capitals may have been located there.<sup>53</sup>

The second group consists of three large console pieces carved on all three sides and topped by three elaborate bases and the initiations of three colonnettes (Plate 9, A-D). These pieces were drawn and briefly described by Enlart, who identified them as (1) a female figure holding threatening snakes, (2) a man tearing his forked beard, and (3) a bull's head. Enlart interpreted the three consoles as images of vice, and suggested that they functioned as rib-receivers located on the engaged pillars of the crossing.<sup>54</sup>

Enlart's hypothesis may be supported by the fact that the snake-holder and the man are half-figures, and only the head of the bull is represented. These foreshortened half-figures, which emerge frontally from the stone, must have been located high up on the building, intended to be viewed from below. Although the figure holding the snakes is somewhat smaller than the other two, I

51 Walsh, "Crusader Sculpture" (note 9 above), p. 20. As I have not yet been able to examine the capitals themselves, I refrain from discussing their style.

52 For a proposed reconstruction of an edicule in the crusader cathedral of Nazareth see J. Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 15-23.

53 Enlart, *Monuments* 2:342-343, 348.

54 Ibid., pp. 345-346. A recent guidebook contains a mediocre photograph of the sculptures drawn by Enlart, and the explanation that one is popularly considered to depict Salome, the other Herod Antippha tearing his beard: Maria Teresa Petrozzi, *Samaria* (Jerusalem, 1973), p. 303 and fig. 114.

am inclined to accept Enlart's suggestion that all three were part of a single installation of rib-receivers, possibly consisting of four figures. Various scholars have mentioned sculpted rib-receivers in early Gothic churches, and Ludwig Schreiner carried out a systematic study of their subjects and iconography, tracing their origin to the Île-de-France and following their diffusion to western and eastern France in the 1150s and 1160s.<sup>55</sup> Such figures appear also in the vaulting of the ambulatory of St. Denis<sup>56</sup> as well as in more distant regions like Castile and Galicia which betray Burgundian and Aquitanian influences.<sup>57</sup> The rib-receiver figures of all these regions range from atlants and monsters to angels and apostles. Moreover, the ambulatory of Sens Cathedral is decorated by a series of fourteen sculpted rib-receivers which has not yet been studied, and which includes monsters, animal heads, floral ornaments, a thorn puller (fig. 9), a male depicted standing upside down, a sitting male (fig. 10) leaning on his knees and dressed in a short habit. Three sculpted rib-receivers depict the same subjects like the extant consoles of Sebaste: a beard puller; a sitting figure holding a reptile intertwined over its legs; a bull's head (figs. 11-13). Their style also resembles that of Sebaste. However, all the Sens rib-receivers, unlike those of Sebaste, carry a profiled abacus on which the triple profiled ribs are resting.



Fig. 9. Sens. Rib-receiver of the ambulatory: thorn-puller (photo by B.Z. Kedar)

- 55 M. Aubert, "Les plus anciennes croisées d'ogives, leur rôle dans la construction," *Bulletin Monumental* 93.2 (1934), pp. 5, 137; L. Schreiner, *Die frühgotische Plastik Südwest-frankreichs* (Cologne and Graz, 1963), pp. 112-126.
- 56 For an atlant as rib-receiver in a radiating chapel of the chevet of St. Denis, see Severens, "Early Campaign" (note 40 above), fig. 12.
- 57 P. de Palol and M. Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain* (New York, 1967), pp. 134, 487.



Fig. 10. Sens. Rib-receiver of the ambulatory: sitting male (photo by B.Z. Kedar)



Fig. 11. Sens. Rib-receiver of the ambulatory: beard-puller (photo by B.Z. Kedar)



Fig. 12. Sens. Rib-receiver of the ambulatory: sitting figure with reptile (photo by B.Z. Kedar)



Fig. 13. Sens. Bull's head [?] (photo by B.Z. Kedar)

*The figure holding threatening snakes* (Plate 9, A-B). This frontally depicted figure is raising its hands in order to ward off the snakes which are about to bite its shoulders as their tails are twisted along the sides of the corbel. The figure's mouth is open, perhaps in an expression of pain. The remains of red paint underline the folds of drapery on its shoulders and belly.

The Romanesque motif of a human figure being attacked by snakes or dragons has been studied by Thomas W. Lyman and Jacques Bousquet.<sup>58</sup> Bousquet has shown that the motif is common from Merovingian times; in the eleventh and twelfth centuries it appears mainly in the Limousin and Languedoc, and less frequently in other regions of France. Its meaning may range from temptation to punishment, depending upon the context of the installations.<sup>59</sup> This motif appears in the ambulatory of Sens in two variations. The sitting figure of one of the rib-receivers is almost naked and holds the snake in both hands, while its head leans toward the snake as if listening to its whisper (fig. 12). In addition, a sitting figure holding snakes in both hands while being devoured by a dragon is depicted on a capital of the ambulatory.<sup>60</sup> However, the



Fig. 14. Sens. Capital depicting man's head, situated near rib-receivers (photo by B.Z. Kedar)

58 T.W. Lyman, "The Sculpture Programme of the Porte des Comtes Master at St. Sernin at Toulouse," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971), 16 and note 13; J. Bousquet, "L'homme attaqué à la tête par deux dragons: géographie et origines d'un motif de sculpture romane," *Cahiers de St.-Michel de Cuxa* 14 (1983), 30 unnumbered pages.

59 Bousquet, *ibid.*, 'Conclusions.'

60 A. Moreau, *La cathédrale de Sens* (Paris, n.d.), p. 16.



imagery of the Sebaste figure shows closer affinities to a capital from Solignac in the Limousin. There, as at Sebaste, a standing beardless figure with no specific attributes wears a short tunic and holds snakes in its hands.<sup>61</sup> As far as style is concerned, the Sebaste figure, with its spiral draperies on chest and belly and the peculiar form of the head, seems to be closer to the feminine figures of the Sebaste capitals now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.<sup>62</sup>

*The man tearing his beard* (Plate 9, C). This figure is more complex. Straps bearing the load cross over the man's shoulders and naked chest, and twist around his arms. His open mouth and eyes, and the tearing of his beard, express pain.<sup>63</sup> Unlike the snake-holder, he actually supports the colonnettes with his bare head and shoulders. Therefore he can be assigned to the large group of twelfth-century atlants, who appear in monumental sculpture in the guise of slaves, prisoners, jongleurs, or devils, and differ from the classically inspired Atlases. Such atlants may appear standing or seated, in full-length or as half-figures, dressed or naked. They support with their heads—and occasionally with their legs—architectural elements, church furniture, or sepulchral monuments, and their act of supporting represents the eternal punishment for their sins.<sup>64</sup> The resemblance between the beard-pullers of Sebaste and Sens is striking, especially in the execution of their broad shoulders and wide-opened eyes. The broad shoulders of the Sebaste beard-puller resemble also those of another Sens figure, that of the sitting male leaning on his knees and dressed in a short habit (fig. 10). The linear execution of the drapery of the Sens beard-puller resembles that of the Sebaste snake-holder.

The Sebaste atlant resembles contemporary depictions of laborers in masons' workshops who carry their loads with the aid of straps over their necks and shoulders.<sup>65</sup> The atlant's tearing at his beard may be understood as a gesture of despair,<sup>66</sup> consistent with his grief-stricken mouth. The combination of a load carrier with gestures of pain and despair may be compared, for example, to the seated atlant just below the famous inscription HIC PLORAT HIC LABORAT of the portal of Modena Cathedral.<sup>67</sup> The grief-stricken mouth resembles the

61 Bousquet, "L'homme attaqué," fig. 27.

62 Walsh, "Crusader Sculpture" (note 9 above), figs. 4, 16.

63 It seems to me that the mouth remained unfinished. Its outlines are marked by holes arranged in half circle. This probably brought Enlart to sketch the figure as sticking its tongue out: *Monuments*, pl. 148, fig. 469.

64 A. Grabar, "Trônes épiscopaux du XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> s. en Italie méridionale," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 16 (1954), 7-52; N. Kenaan-Kedar, "Les Modillons de Saintonge et du Poitou comme manifestation de la culture laïque," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 29 (1986), 311-330.

65 See for example J. Gimpel, *Les Bâtisseurs de cathédrales* (Paris 1958), pp. 113, 166.

66 F. Garnier, *Le Langage de l'image au moyen âge, signification et symbolique* (Paris, 1982), pp. 136-137, 225; Zehava Jacoby, "The Beard Pullers in Romanesque Art: An Islamic Motif and its Evolution in the West," *Arte medievale* 1 (1987), 65-83 (the author mentions the Sebaste atlant, but in a different context).

67 R. Salvini, *Wiligelmo e le origini della scultura romanica* (Milan, 1956), pp. 84-85, 110.

expression on the faces of two atlants in chains supporting the trumeau of the church of Oloron Ste. Marie.<sup>68</sup> The broad chest and thin limbs of Sebaste's atlant indicate a knowledge of early Gothic sculpture, where realistic details of the human body begin to appear. The atlant may be also compared to the thorn puller—another image of sin—who serves as a vault supporter at Sens (see fig. 9).

*The bull's head* (Plate 9, D).<sup>69</sup> This huge, plastically carved corbel can be compared to numerous representations of the same subject, such as the consoles of the western façade of the church of Oloron Ste. Marie, and on the southern portals of St. Isidoro of León.<sup>70</sup> In its plasticity it resembles also the Sens sculpture depicting the same motif (fig. 13).

The third group of sculptures consists of three unfinished smaller corbels, each depicting a male head (Plate 10, A-C).<sup>71</sup> Enlart sketched one of them; the other two have not yet been mentioned. All three heads are in an early stage of carving. The technique of the sculptor carving inwards, as well as the first chisel strokes underlining the hairdress, may be observed on the side of corbel 2. Even in this primary stage of carving, the expressions of grief on the faces can already be observed. The corbel head with the long beard shows close affinities with a small head on a capital adjoining a rib-receiver in the ambulatory at Sens (fig. 14).

The unfinished state of these corbels suggests, perhaps, that work in the cathedral of Sebaste was still in progress at the time of Saladin's conquest in 1187. The corbels could have been already mounted with the intention to be finished *in situ*; such a situation is known from numerous churches in France. Laborde's drawing shows clearly the upper cornice series of the main apse. The unfinished corbels might have been planned to be part of this cornice, or of a side cornice running along the nave's outer walls, as the one which still exists in the cathedral of Sens.

The subject matter of the Sebaste sculptures, possibly located on rib-receivers, parallels that of the rib-vault sculpture of the ambulatory of Sens. Both in Sebaste and Sens the themes include animal and human heads and snake-

68 J. Gantner, M. Pobé and J. Roubier, *Gallia Romanica* (Vienna and Munich, 1955), pl. 119.

69 S.A.S. Hussein of the Palestine Department of Antiquities reported on 4 November 1943 that after some boys from the village of Sebaste had entered the chamber in which the sculptures were kept, he found that "the upper tips of the bull's horns were chipped off" and "some damage had been done to the carved console depicting a man gripping his long beard." File ATQ/59 in the archives of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums housed in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, and inspected by kind permission of the Department.

70 Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art*, p. 152, fig. 85.

71 The three corbels, as well as the figure holding threatening snakes, were brought to the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem on the occasion of the Second SSCLE Conference in July 1987. The man tearing his beard and the bull's head remained in the domed chamber in the courtyard at Sebaste.

holders; the atlant of Sebaste and the thorn-puller and beard-puller at Sens are images of carnal sin. This vocabulary of motifs was characteristic of corbel series situated mainly on the outer walls of Romanesque churches.

The ground-plan and elevation systems of Sebaste Cathedral, the choice of the sculpted figurative images, and the understanding of their function within the edifice's context, demonstrate a thorough knowledge of the early sculpture at Sens and of contemporaneous northern French and Burgundian achievements. Although the sculpted remains are limited in number, their variety indicates a complex sculptural program consisting of sculpted rib-receivers, corbels, foliated capitals, and perhaps a sculpted western portal. One may conjecture that a headmaster from the West, sent by Sebaste's patrons in Champagne, was responsible for the overall design. Presumably coming from mid-twelfth-century northern France, he could not have been blind to the remains of ancient Sebaste. He reused its columns and related to its sculptures, and especially to its foliated capitals. Western and local assistants may have executed some of the individual pieces.

# The Beginnings of King Amalric of Jerusalem

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On 10 February 1163 King Baldwin III of Jerusalem died childless in Beirut, on 18 February he was buried in Jerusalem. On the same day his brother Amalric was consecrated and crowned as king of Jerusalem in the same city. In spite of the fact that the dying king had expressly designated his brother as his successor these eight days witnessed a short but violent succession crisis which has caused historians considerable difficulties. King Amalric himself totally denied the crisis when he wrote to the king of France on 8 April 1164.<sup>1</sup> William of Tyre, who owed a good deal of his ecclesiastical career and certainly his office as tutor of Amalric's son as well as his charge as royal historian to his protector Amalric, discreetly passes over in silence certain aspects of this affair.<sup>2</sup> It is true that he tells us that there was a feudal opposition to Amalric's succession. But he does not tell us who was the alternative candidate of this opposition, and he reports motives on the part of the opponents which modern historiography has not been prepared to accept at face value. William says that Amalric was related in the fourth degree to his wife Agnes of Courtenay and that this was the reason why he was forced to separate from her before he could be elevated to the throne — even though it was ruled in the separation procedures that the two children who had been born from this union were to be considered as legitimate.

According to the genealogy as stated by William, and which cannot be shaken, it is correct that there was between the two a blood relationship in the fourth degree according to canon law, because it was established by four begettings on each side. Amalric and Agnes had greatgrandmothers who had been sisters. It is also true that such a case of a marriage between people related to each other in the fourth degree had until then not occurred in the royal family of Jerusalem. Yet it is strange that the affair could not have been solved by an ecclesiastical dispensation. Even if the marriage obstacle of too close a blood relationship was not reduced from the original seventh degree to the fourth until the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, ecclesiastical practice reveals that a relationship in the fourth degree was regarded in the second half of the twelfth

1 RRH No. 396 reports the death of Baldwin III and continues: *Verumtamen nos regno ipsius, quod nos hereditario iure obveniebat, nunc potimur et sine omni impedimento atque in bona omnium hominum nostrorum voluntate in solio regni nostri consolidati sumus.*

2 WT19,1 and 19,4, pp. 864, 868-870.

century as being only on the fringes of the illicit. In theory, Pope Alexander III maintained that a relationship down to the seventh degree made a marriage between partners so related impossible, but he also encouraged the local ecclesiastical authorities to grant dispensations from the fourth degree on. Such marriages were to be separated only in those instances in which the relationship was manifest and notorious.<sup>3</sup> Even the urgent need to anoint the new king cannot have favored annulling the marriage of Amalric and Agnes rather than awaiting a papal dispensation. The authority to grant such dispensations was still mainly in the hands of the local churches, although it could of course be exercised by the papacy. Yet it so happened that the cardinal priest John of SS. Giovanni e Paolo was present as a papal legate and he dissolved the marriage. Within his legatine powers he could also have granted a dispensation.

William of Tyre allows us to recognize that the feudal opposition was vehement; he speaks of an *ingens cum periculo ex scismate ortum scandalum*. This is really out of proportion when William's reason for this scandal, i.e., the uncanonical marriage, is considered. Historians therefore have looked for a long time for the true motives underlying the crisis. But the majority of the standard works display helplessness in dealing with this crisis. Partly the outcome is a *Non liquet*,<sup>4</sup> partly William's story is simply repeated; consequently the problem of the blood relationship between Amalric and Agnes is seen as the real and only reason for the difficult succession.<sup>5</sup> Others believe that a loose life might have argued against Agnes and that because of this she might have been regarded as unsuitable for a queen.<sup>6</sup> Hamilton correctly objects to this by pointing out that, while it is true that Ernoul reported that the opposition had been directed exclusively against Agnes and that the barons had not cast doubts on Amalric's hereditary claims to the throne, the rumors about the sexual license of Agnes concern only a later period in her life; that is, if in fact they were true at all.<sup>7</sup> Hamilton further argues that one fails to see how Agnes, after her divorce from

3 Jean Dauvillier, *Le mariage dans le droit classique de l'Eglise depuis le Décret de Gratien (1140) jusqu'à la mort de Clément V (1314)* (Paris, 1933), pp. 148, 203. It is therefore easy to understand that the court historian William of Tyre stressed how difficult it had been for him to establish with certainty the degree of relationship: although it was because of this degree that the marriage was dissolved he further wished to exculpate Amalric by pretending that the relationship had not been very manifest.

4 Adolf Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, I (Freiburg i. Br., 1956), p. 116. Marshall W. Baldwin in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, 1:549 where it is said that the objections were directed against Agnes although no specific complaints were mentioned, it being true however that Agnes later showed herself to be an accomplished intriguer and harmful for the kingdom. But in 1163 this could not have been foreseen.

5 Reinhold Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (Innsbruck, 1898), pp. 309-311 (falsely dating the presence of the legate to 1160 because he did not realize that this particular legate was sent to the East twice). Runciman, *Crusades*, 2:362 who, however, justly points out that the distant consanguinity alone was not a sufficient reason for the baronial opposition. Prætorius, *Histoire*, 1:438, note 14.

6 René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, 2 (Paris, 1935), pp. 436-437. Runciman, *Crusades*, 2:362.

7 Ernoul, p. 17. Bernard Hamilton, "The Titular Nobility of the Latin East: the Case of Agnes of Courtenay," in *CS*, pp. 198-199.



Amalric, could still strike a very advantageous marriage with Hugh of Ibelin, the head of one of the most powerful feudal clans, if she had been morally discredited. This had already been pointed out by Grousset. Runciman also adduces Agnes's age and feels that it might have been considered too far advanced. The argument aims, of course, at the ability of Agnes to bear children. But Runciman himself believes her to have been born in 1133, so that in 1163 she would have been only 30 years old. She cannot have been born earlier than 1133, nor later than 1137.<sup>8</sup>

Twice, a totally different motive for the resistance against Agnes was put forward. Amalric, so it was believed, was forced into a divorce before his consecration in order to eliminate Agnes's Edessan entourage, people who after the fall of Edessa in 1144 had lost their possessions there and had established themselves, with the support of Agnes, in an unpleasant manner in the kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>9</sup> This is not expressly attested to in the sources. But it is impossible to put forward solutions to the problem without a certain measure of speculation as long as the undeniable blood relationship is only looked upon as a pretext. At first sight the Edessan theory is enticing. But when one examines the source material more closely, doubts are raised. It is true that the influence of Agnes in the kingdom of Jerusalem became paramount after her son, King Baldwin IV, had come of age in the middle of 1176. It is also true that this influence was used by her and even more so by her brother Joscelin III to enrich themselves shamelessly. But this development could not have been foreseen in 1163.<sup>10</sup>

Arnulf of Turbessel, Joscelin of Samosata, and Baldwin of Samosata have also been adduced in evidence for the existence of such an Edessan clique. Their names betray their origins. The three were without doubt knights who had become lordless in Edessa and had emigrated to Jerusalem. Arnulf of Turbessel participated in King Amalric's Egyptian campaign of 1167. He was taken prisoner and was then sent by the Egyptians to the king to transmit a peace offer. This might point to an influential position at Amalric's court were it not for the fact that Arnulf was only the second choice of the Egyptians; the first had been

8 Hamilton, "Titular Nobility," p. 202, note 6.

9 Richard, *Royaume*, pp. 77-78 = *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Amsterdam, 1979), pp. 78-79; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 135-136 = 168-169. Hamilton, "Titular Nobility," p. 199.

10 We must indeed deduce from the chronicle of Michael the Syrian that in 1164 Joscelin III administered the fortress of Harim in the principality of Antioch. That he had received it two years earlier as a fief from King Baldwin III is stated only in the Armenian revision of Michael's chronicle (*Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, trans. by J.B. Chabot, 3 [Paris, 1905], p. 316, already for the year 1160 but cf. WT 19,9, p. 875; *Extrait de la chronique de Michel le Syrien* in RHC DArm. 1:353). But even if one follows the common opinion that Joscelin III came into the kingdom towards the end of Baldwin III's reign and was assigned money and land fiefs in the royal domain of Acre (Ernoul, p. 15, although he may confuse Baldwin III and Baldwin IV because the chartulary of the Teutonic Knights which preserves a good part of Joscelin's archives contains no donation by Baldwin III but many by Baldwin IV), and then took over Harim at the king's request, it does not necessarily follow that the king thereby consciously removed Joscelin from the kingdom, as suggested by Hamilton, "Titular Nobility," p. 198.

Hugh of Caesarea.<sup>11</sup> William of Tyre calls Arnulf *regis familiaris* and this is rendered by his translator into Old French as *acointes et privez del roi*. As Arnulf does not even once show up in the royal charters he cannot have been a true confidant of the king but was most likely no more than a member of the royal household. In the same year, 1167, Joscelin of Samosata commanded the infantry of the royal army. He appears in the royal charters over a long period of time. From 1155 on he is found in the charters of Amalric in his capacity as count of Jaffa-Ascalon.<sup>12</sup> He followed the count into the royal service and left it under Baldwin IV to serve Countess Sibyl of Jaffa-Ascalon and her husband Guy of Lusignan; they appointed him castellan of Ascalon.<sup>13</sup> But it is important to remember that he had not begun his Jerusalem career in Amalric's service. He is first found on 14 January 1155 as *homo regius* of King Baldwin III. Only one month later, on 14 February 1155, he is in the retinue of the king's brother, Count Amalric of Jaffa-Ascalon.<sup>14</sup> Joscelin's brother Baldwin of Samosata is found from 1155 to 1183 as a vassal of the successive counts or countesses of Jaffa-Ascalon.<sup>15</sup> It cannot be proven that Agnes of Courtenay, who had herself come from Edessa and had married Count Amalric in 1157, furthered the career of these three Edessans under her husband. Yet it is not *a priori* an improbability if one points to this trio as an argument for the existence of an Edessan clique which had to be eliminated in 1163 by forcing Amalric's divorce from Agnes before he was made king.

It is only at closer range that the theory shows flaws. The brothers Baldwin and Joscelin of Samosata began their service with Amalric as early as 1155, i.e., *before* he married Agnes. In 1163 they did not have to leave it.<sup>16</sup> After Amalric's death in 1174 Joscelin of Samosata had to return to Ascalonitan service and therefore did not mean enough for Agnes, whose power continuously increased after 1176, to bring him back to the royal court of her son Baldwin IV. Joscelin was clearly not the protégé of Agnes but of Amalric. Arnulf of Turbessel seems to have entered Amalric's service only after the latter had become king in 1163. All this means that neither did Amalric's marriage to Agnes in 1157 lead to a demonstrable increase in Edessan influence in the kingdom or at Ascalon nor did it diminish through Amalric's divorce in 1163. What is even more revealing

11 WT19,30, p. 906 (Old French translation in RHC HOcc. 1:936).

12 WT19,25, p. 900. RRH Nos. 303.308.324.332.334.356, expressly referred to in Nos. 324.332 of 1157-58 as *homo comitis*.

13 RRH Nos. 447.514 of 1168-74. RRH Nos. 545.546.553.570.589.613 (as witness to a royal charter but clearly in the entourage of Count Guy of Jaffa-Ascalon). RRH No. 627 of 1177-83.

14 RRH Nos. 299-301.303.

15 RRH Nos. 308.332.334.545.546.553.627.

16 It is true that Baldwin of Samosata is not mentioned between 1158 and 1177. Agnes could have pushed his interests after she returned to the royal court in 1175, but against this must be held the fact that Baldwin does not show up even between 1158 and 1163 when she could easily have pushed his interests at Ascalon. As a vassal of the count of Jaffa-Ascalon who never reached either a comital or royal office, he was never important enough to make his downfall necessary.

is that Edessan immigrants are to be found even where the opposition towards them was presumably located, i.e., with the old baronial families of the kingdom. A certain Paganus of Rohais (Edessa) was in the service of Hugh of Ibelin from 1158 to 1160. A Baldwin of Rohas in 1167 was still a bourgeois of Jerusalem and as such attested a charter issued by Hugh's brother Baldwin of Mirabel. Owing to this tie with the house of Ibelin he rose to be a knight of Hugh of Ibelin in 1169, and in 1181 he witnessed a charter by the castellan of Ramla, then an Ibelin possession.<sup>17</sup>

The number of Edessan immigrants who can be identified in the kingdom of Jerusalem in these years is modest. With the exception of Agnes and her brother Joscelin III, high born children of a ruling count of Edessa, their careers were not spectacular and their interests were pushed by Agnes neither in Ascalon nor in the kingdom but rather—if at all—in the Ibelin sphere. They did not lose their positions after the divorce of 1163. The problem of the Edessan immigrants can therefore have at best been incidental to the considerations of the opposition forcing the divorce of 1163, if this theory is to be maintained at all.

If another solution to this problem is to be sought, we must revert to a point already made by Du Cange, namely, that Agnes had been engaged to Hugh of Ibelin when she married Amalric.<sup>18</sup> Fate has not dealt very kindly with this idea. Mas Latrie repeated it in a most inconspicuous place, hidden among the variant readings of his edition of Ernoul where he did not have enough room to state his reasons as he ought to have done because, partly explicitly, partly implicitly ("fiancée en secondes nocés"), he interpreted the matter to the effect that Hugh and Agnes had in fact been married to each other before Agnes married Amalric. Grousset and Prawer repeated the facts and added Mas Latrie's interpretation but, like Mas Latrie, this did not lead them to any further conclusions. Hamilton also reported this information, but rejected it because at the time of the marriage between Amalric and Agnes its very validity had not raised any general doubts. Only La Monte made the connection between the resistance against Agnes in 1163 and her breaking off her engagement to Hugh of Ibelin in 1157. He gave, however, no reasons for his opinion and did not go back to the decisive source which has been cited only twice, by Du Cange and by Hamilton.<sup>19</sup>

Agnes of Courtenay had been married at first to Raynald of Marash who was

17 RRH Nos. 330.332.335.360 (Paganus). RRH Nos. 433.472.611 (Baldwin); cf. No. 597 for the castellan. Here, rather than in the case of the Edessan trio cited above, one might think of patronage by Agnes since in 1158-60 Hugh of Ibelin was, in Ramla as well as in Ibelin, the vassal of Count Amalric of Jaffa-Ascalon who was married to Agnes and from 1163 to 1169 she was herself married to Hugh.

18 *Les Familles d'Outremer de Du Cange*, ed. E.G. Rey, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris, 1869), pp. 20, 363.

19 Ernoul, p. 17, notes 5 and 9. Grousset, *Croisades*, 2:697, note 2. Prawer, *Histoire*, 1:590, note 29. Runciman, *Crusades*, 2:406, note 1, mentions an engagement citing a source which does not report this. Hamilton, "Titular Nobility," p. 198. John L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100 to 1291*, Monographs of the Medieval Academy of America, 4 (Cambridge, MA, 1932), p. 19.

killed in 1149 in the battle of Inab. At what time she came into the kingdom of Jerusalem<sup>20</sup> is not clear. She had arrived by 1157 because it was in that year that she married Amalric of Jaffa-Ascalon.<sup>21</sup> In chapter I of the *Lignages d'Outremer*, a frequently unreliable genealogy of the Jerusalem feudal clans whose older version was written c.1270,<sup>22</sup> we are told that after the death of King Baldwin III the patriarch of Jerusalem refused to crown the late king's brother Amalric until he had put away Agnes of Courtenay, his cousin. This Agnes, the *Lignages* continue, was engaged (*fiancé*) to Hugh of Ibelin. When she arrived in the kingdom she came to Jaffa. With the advice of his vassals Count Amalric of Jaffa-Ascalon took her (*prist*) by force and married her (*l'esposa*) and had by her a son and a daughter, Baldwin and Sibyl. Therefore the patriarch did not want to crown him until he would leave her. In fact Agnes, after her divorce from Amalric, married Hugh of Ibelin and this was known to the author of the *Lignages*.

This is our only indication that there had been a betrothal of Agnes and Hugh which Amalric is said to have disrupted by force. It would certainly have been an extremely unfriendly act towards his most powerful vassal whose ambitious clan had as early as 1150 exercised so much power in the kingdom that its change of loyalties from Queen Melisende to her son, King Baldwin III, marked the beginning of the downfall of Melisende.<sup>23</sup> As Hamilton has shown with correct insistence, Agnes was very poor but of excellent descent. Her grandfather Joscelin I of Courtenay had at first been prince of Galilee, then count of Edessa, a position he passed on to her father. Through Baldwin II of Jerusalem she was related to the royal house there as the mothers of Joscelin I and of Baldwin II had been sisters. Ever since 1150, when a granddaughter of a brother of her grandfather Joscelin I had married a brother of King Louis VII of France, Agnes had been, if only very distantly, in the outer orbit of the Capetians. This royal brother called himself from now on—after the patrimony of his wife—Peter of Courtenay, and his descendants were to become Latin Emperors of Constantinople.

The Ibelins wanted power but also prestige. Their founder Barisan-le-Vieux had struck a very good marriage with the heiress of Ramla. In 1163 his son Hugh married Agnes of Courtenay. In 1177 his youngest son Barisan the Younger married Maria Comnena, the widow of King Amalric of Jerusalem, and this

20 Nothing should be made in this respect of the story in the Armenian revision of the chronicle of Michael the Syrian (RHC DArm. I:343; cf. Vartan the Great, *ibid.*, p. 434) that her mother Beatrix planned to return to Europe in 1150 because Beatrix lived on a Byzantine pension which obviously required her presence in the East. There is nothing about this in the Syrian original (trans. Chabot, 3:297).

21 Robert of Torigni, *Chronicle*, in: *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, RS82.4 (London, 1889), p. 194.

22 *Les Lignages d'Outremer* in RHC Lois, 2:442. On the older version see Peter Edbury, "The Ibelin counts of Jaffa: a previously unknown passage from the *Lignages d'Outremer*," *English Historical Review*, 89 (1974), 604-605.

23 Hans E. Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), 155-156.

gave Barisan control of the royal domain in Samaria. Around 1179 his older brother Baldwin of Ramla entertained hopes that he might be able to marry Sibyl, the daughter of Agnes of Courtenay from her union with Amalric and the most likely person at the time to succeed King Baldwin IV. When this plan miscarried because of the very sudden wedding of Sibyl to Guy of Lusignan in 1180, Baldwin of Ramla became, next to Count Raymond III of Tripoli, one of the leaders of the anti-Lusignan opposition. Basically therefore a match between Agnes of Courtenay and Hugh of Ibelin, as evidenced by the fact that in 1163 it actually occurred, was well suited to the designs of both sides. For Hugh it meant prestige and an elevation in social standing, for Agnes a solid power base.

Through the violent intervention by the count of Ascalon these aspirations foundered in 1157. Why this should have been so, remains mysterious; especially if it is true that his vassals advised the count to proceed on this blatantly illegal path. It would be wrong to assume that the marriage between Amalric and Agnes did not meet with any opposition at all. Patriarch Fulcher of Jerusalem opposed it energetically on the grounds that the future husband and wife were related to each other in the fourth degree.<sup>24</sup> We must not be surprised that the patriarch personally busied himself with this matter. Firstly, it concerned the marriage of the king's brother. Secondly, it was not to be expected that the competent diocesan bishop at Bethlehem would raise any objections. Just one year before, in 1156, the Englishman Ralph had, after a checkered career, been appointed bishop of Bethlehem. In June 1156 he is found as bishop-elect there.<sup>25</sup> But before that he had already been the chancellor of King Baldwin III and he still remained in this office. If the king did not oppose the marriage, his chancellor certainly would not do so, and the king must have supported Amalric otherwise the marriage could not have been concluded.

Yet, just as in the case of the divorce of 1163, it remains at first mysterious why the patriarch, given that a relationship in the fourth degree existed, did not from the beginning propose a dispensation. It is true that in 1157 Amalric was heir to the throne and this lent additional importance to his marriage and his brother, the king, was not yet married. But it is likely that the patriarch knew that this state of affairs would soon end, because in the autumn of 1157 an embassy was dispatched to Constantinople to find a wife for the king. In 1158 he married the Byzantine princess Theodora.

But even for an heir to the throne, a dispensation from the obstacle of too

24 We must interpret WT19,4, p. 869, to this effect and his Old French translator (RHC HOcc. 1:889) did the same. But William constructed his sentence in such an unfortunate way that one is tempted to connect this reason not with the preceding but with the following part of the sentence. Then the reason for Fulcher's opposition would remain open and the objection of the relationship would have been raised only in 1163 by Patriarch Amalric of Jerusalem. Against such an interpretation one can, however, adduce William's statement that this reason was *postea* proved under oath by relatives. This only makes sense if the objection had been raised as early as 1157 but was not proved until 1163. It is not a matter of great significance, since there is a general consensus on the relationship being only a pretext. This applies to 1157 as well as to 1163.

25 WT16,17, p. 739, RRH No. 321.



close a relationship with the bride would have been a suitable political solution to this problem. Even if one disregards for a moment the information about a previous engagement of Agnes to Hugh of Ibelin, it is difficult to escape the impression that as early as 1157 the blood relationship was only a pretext employed by the patriarch to cover up more fundamental objections. Whether his opposition could ever be overcome is not certain but Hamilton suggests persuasively that the pair postponed the wedding until the very old patriarch had died on 20 November 1157.<sup>26</sup>

Even an existing betrothal of Agnes to Hugh of Ibelin was not a sufficient reason to oppose Amalric's marriage with such stringency, even if betrothals were basically protected by canon law.<sup>27</sup> Such an objection could have been removed with less noise than the patriarch apparently made. It is really with great ease that one comes very close to agreeing with the suspicion voiced by Mas Latrie, namely that Agnes was already married to Hugh when she was abducted by Amalric. This is precisely what the *Lignages d'Outremer* say, if they are only read closely. At first, it is true, this source reports only a betrothal in which Count Amalric intervened. This, so it is said, was the reason why Patriarch Amalric in 1163 did not want to crown the count as king of Jerusalem. But then the report continues: *Laquelle (=Agnes) vint à Hue d'Ibelin et dit qu'il estoit ses maris, et il la prit*.<sup>28</sup> This means that after her divorce from Amalric in 1163 Agnes came to Hugh of Ibelin and said to him that he was her husband. One cannot really interpret in any other way the past tense *estoit* (*était* in modern French). If one were to interpret the sentence as an indirect speech, i.e., that Agnes told Hugh that he ought to be her husband, the author of the *Lignages* should have written *seroit* instead of *estoit*. In other words, Agnes in 1163 claimed that in legal terms she was still married to Hugh: "You are my husband!"

One must admit that the *Lignages d'Outremer* are not the most reliable source. One needs to look for confirming evidence in other sources in the light of such a theory. One such indication may be seen in the fact that for six years after 1157

26 WT18.19, p. 838. Bernard Hamilton, "Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem (1100-1190)," *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1978), p. 159. Idem. *The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church* (London, 1980), p. 75.

27 A betrothal did not have a sacramental character like marriage but in principle it was an indissoluble contract. It was a promise which, if not fulfilled, could be placed before a court Christian, but practice was more lenient as in such cases the judge was not to hand down a verdict but to persuade. According to the canonists a betrothal could be dissolved by episcopal arbitration under certain, and indeed restricted, conditions, but such an action required in any case the consent of both parties, if they were adults. Hugh of Ibelin would certainly never have consented. Breaking her betrothal under circumstances different from those just outlined would have been a great sin for Agnes and would also have been very cumbersome for Amalric if he talked her into it or took her by force. On the canonistic doctrine see *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, s.v. "fiançailles"; *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, s.v. "fiançailles"; Josef Georg Ziegler, *Die Ehelehre der Poenentialsommen von 1200-1350* (Paderborn, 1956), pp. 92, 94.

28 *Lignages d'Outremer* in RHC Lois, 2:442.

Hugh of Ibelin did not marry another woman until he obtained Agnes in 1163.<sup>29</sup> Hugh had been born c. 1139 because his mother had married shortly before her father had died in 1138.<sup>30</sup> In 1157 Hugh was eighteen years old or a little older. As head of the house of Ibelin and heir to Ramla—where his mother died between 1158 and 1160—the problem of his marriage became ever more pressing after the death of his mother, if his own children rather than his brothers were to be his heirs. That he should have waited until 1163 in order to marry his former “fiancée” is astonishing but it would be plausible if, in fact, he had been married to her since 1157.

It is with this in mind that one must read William of Tyre.<sup>31</sup> He does indeed say that in 1163 Agnes “married” Hugh (*copula coniuncta est maritali*). But he pretends to be ill-informed in the whole matter. He says expressly that at the time of the events themselves in 1163 he was still in Europe, busy with his studies. Therefore he was obliged to have the genealogy setting forth the illicit relationship of Agnes and Amalric explained to him later by a very old lady, the abbess of S. Maria Maior in Jerusalem. As a daughter of Joscelin I of Edessa she was well qualified to do so. But these genealogical circumstances cannot have been a great secret if Patriarch Fulcher had based his public opposition to the marriage between Amalric and Agnes precisely on this relationship as early as 1157. One must also note that William writes that Joscelin II of Edessa had two children, namely Joscelin III and *Agnes comitissa, domini Amalrici de facto, non de iure uxor*. Up to now this has been seen as an indication that because of blood ties between the two the marriage was uncanonical and legally invalid. But one can interpret it just as well as a discreet, and almost the only, reminder that Agnes and Amalric were not married at all or lived in a bigamous union because of an already existing marriage bond between Agnes and Hugh of Ibelin. In fact, William uses precisely the same words to describe the bigamous marriage between Baldwin I of Jerusalem and Adalasia of Sicily.<sup>32</sup> Finally, one must take into consideration that William of Tyre counts it among Amalric’s faults that he penetrated other people’s marriages (*aliena attemptare matrimonia*).<sup>33</sup> This has been seen as Amalric seducing married women but only in brief adventures not in lasting unions. Yet it could also be a reproach against Count Amalric living with Agnes in a bigamous union. Just like the statement that this was a marriage only *de facto*, one can interpret this portrait of Amalric in the traditional

29 In historical literature the date of this wedding is mostly given as 1164 ever since Du Cange, *Familles d'Outremer*, p. 363, gave this year. But WT19,4, p. 870, says expressly that after the divorce of February 1163 she married Hugh *statim*, so that the wedding must be placed still in 1163; cf. Hans E. Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F., 83 (Munich, 1978), p. 51.

30 Hans E. Mayer, “Carving up Crusaders: The Early Ibelins and Ramlas,” *Outremer*, pp. 104, 108.

31 WT19,4, pp. 869-870.

32 WT12,5, p. 552: *Adelasia... que predicti domini regis Balduini de facto, etsi non de iure, uxor fuerat*.

33 WT19,2, p. 866.

fashion, particularly since William reports the same weakness with regard to King Baldwin III for the time when he was a bachelor.<sup>34</sup> But equally as well it may be interpreted as a confirmation of the suspicion first voiced by Mas Latrie.

To assume a mere concubinage on the part of Agnes and Amalric would probably put it too mildly because all the sources agree that in 1157 the two were "married," meaning a wedding had been performed.<sup>35</sup> There were illustrious, if stormy, precedents for bigamous marriages in royal families. Not to mention the Carolingian Lothar II, there was in the kingdom of Jerusalem the bigamous marriage of Baldwin I with Adalasia of Sicily lasting from 1113 to 1117, and in France there was the famous marriage, consecrated by a wedding, of King Philip I with Bertrada of Montfort—Amalric's paternal grandmother. In Baldwin's case the king was already married at the time of the wedding, in the French case this applied to both partners, even though doubts could be raised whether Bertrada's previous marriage with Fulk IV of Anjou was legally valid at all because Fulk, at the time he married Bertrada, still had two living wives whom he had put aside.<sup>36</sup> As Amalric did to Agnes, Philip I of France had abducted Bertrada, and the king of France had been served with four excommunications because of the outrage.

If Agnes was already married to Hugh of Ibelin in 1157, then her marriage to Amalric, accompanied by an abduction, was a real monstrosity which fully justified the hard and public opposition by Patriarch Fulcher. He was certainly a man of principle. Because of his support of Innocent II in the Anacletian Schism he had fallen out with his bishop Girard of Angoulême to such a degree that he left his comfortable position as the head of a house of Austin canons in the Angoumois and became a simple canon at the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem.<sup>37</sup> Even if one does not take William of Tyre literally that Fulcher was almost 100 years old in 1155 and believes with Hamilton that at the time of his election to the patriarchate in 1146 he was about 70 years old,<sup>38</sup> he had himself been a witness to the dispute over the marriage of Philip I of France. This did not apply to his successor Amalric of Nesle who came from northern France but did not die until 1180 and therefore was too young to have witnessed the French troubles. From him, and at the beginning of his pontificate, Count Amalric did not have to expect much opposition to a marriage with Agnes because Amalric of Nesle had already been the chaplain of Count Amalric's mother Melisende

34 WT16,2, p. 716 and 18,22, p. 844.

35 WT19,4, p. 868: *uxorem duxit*. Old French translation, RHC HOcc. 1:888: *espousa. Eracles*, p. 5 = *Cont. Wt*, pp. 19-20: *avoit esposée and qui fu s'espose*. Ernoul, p. 15: *prist à femme. Regni Iherosolymitani brevis historia* ed. L.T. Belgrano, in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, 1 (Genoa, 1890), p. 131: *habebat in uxorem. Les Lignages d'Outremer* in RHC Lois, 2:442: *l'esposa*.

36 Louis Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1906), pp. 169-170.

37 On Fulcher see *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, s.v. "Foucher, abbé de Cellefrouin". In RRH No. 152 of 1134 he appears as canon at the Holy Sepulcher. WT14,11, p. 643, describes him as *constans et amator discipline*.

38 WT18,6, p. 818. Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 72.

before 1143 and Melisende had had a large hand in Nesle's elevation to the patriarch's throne.<sup>39</sup> Moreover there was an appeal against Nesle's election which was still pending in September 1158. He had not yet been consecrated when King Baldwin III married Theodora and therefore could not officiate. For the royal wedding the patriarch of Antioch had to be asked to officiate.<sup>40</sup>

If one reconstructs the events of 1157 in this way, the affair could have lasted as long as 1163 only because the king was on his brother's side. For there can be no doubt that in this view of things the marriage between Agnes and Amalric was a real *affront* to the powerful Ibelins. But there was reason for a growing concern amongst the nobility over the fact that the king's own marriage remained childless through the years because this kept Amalric with his bigamous situation in the position of heir to the throne. The last illness of Baldwin III lasted for several months.<sup>41</sup> There was therefore enough time for *pourparlers* among the nobility on the royal succession. The Ibelin position can be easily imagined. They were against a continuation of Amalric's marriage so that the injustice of 1157, whether it broke an engagement or a marriage, would be redressed and Hugh of Ibelin could finally regain his wife. The position of the Church had been defined in the marriage dispute of Lothar II and had been confirmed in the affair of Philip I. A bigamous marriage was invalid and in the case of a ruler intolerable. Possibly the disruption of a betrothal might have been overlooked conveniently. A bigamous marriage of the future king, however, could not have been passed over in such a way. And it was just as intolerable for the nobility as it was for the Church. In order to prevent marriage disruptions of this kind cheating the nobility out of the yield of carefully arranged marriage contracts in the future, the barons must have been quite naturally inclined in 1163 to force a separation from Agnes upon Amalric now that he was totally dependent on their goodwill and consent. In addition the precedent case of King Baldwin I could not be overlooked. His bigamous marriage to Adalasia of Sicily had in the end, and against his will, been annulled in a public council under the combined pressure of Church and nobility.

The barons were not opposed to Amalric himself, their objections were directed against his marriage with Agnes.<sup>42</sup> There were only a few who were ready to receive him unconditionally, and the events fall into a logical sequence only if we assume that the opposition had a clear majority.<sup>43</sup> A marriage problem fell into the competence of the Church. It is therefore the patriarch who

39 WT18,20, p. 840.

40 WT18,22, p. 843.

41 WT18,34, p. 860: *mensibus aliquot*; Old French translation, RHC HOcc. 1:879: *plus de deus mois*.

42 According to Ernoul, p. 17, they were prepared to acknowledge his hereditary claim but insisted on the dissolution of the marriage. According to *Eracles*, p. 5 = *Cont. WT*, p. 19 the opposition was directed against Amalric but only because he was living with Agnes in mortal sin.

43 WT19,1, p. 864, says that he was supported only by *paucis de magnatibus*. The Old French translator (RHC HOcc. 1:883-884) changed this into *li plus des barons*.

appears on the scene as the acting political power. But the solution of this problem required time because, in spite of the presence of a papal legate who jointly with the patriarch dissolved Amalric's marriage, further papal confirmations were now sought regarding not only the legatine ruling but also other problems raised by this affair. While this embassy to the papal curia was still on its way, Agnes returned to Hugh of Ibelin.<sup>44</sup> Because of the very short period of only eight days between the death of Baldwin III and the coronation of Amalric, Pelliott reflected on the possibility that perhaps the divorce may not have been pronounced until after the coronation.<sup>45</sup> This is *a priori* not very probable because in this case the opposition would have lost its means of bringing political pressure to bear on Amalric. On the other hand his coronation on 18 February 1163 came apparently as a surprise because it was done *subito* and, contrary to custom, on a Monday, which was not any remarkable church feast and, finally, on the day of the funeral of his predecessor.<sup>46</sup> It seems that in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher the persons involved marched very quickly from the tomb to the altar. It is therefore actually worth pondering whether the ecclesiastical authorities did not content themselves with a firm promise by the *coronandus* and whether the dissolution of the marriage based upon the deposition of testimony concerning the degree of relationship between the two did not take place a little later. Otherwise one cannot see any compelling reason for the unbecoming haste with which the coronation was performed. Especially if the new king did send an embassy to the pope, this would become plausible since in this case the king naturally also wished to see confirmed the promises which the legate had made to him concerning the legitimacy of his children by Agnes. This meant that the Church retained a way of applying pressure to Amalric while the nobility had in any case been taken by surprise by the sudden coronation.

In the report of William of Tyre one can clearly discern that the patriarch and the episcopate supported Amalric as much as they possibly could. In the presence of the episcopate he was crowned by the patriarch *favente sibi potissimum clero et populo paucisque de magnatibus*. It would seem to be very likely therefore that in the negotiations before the coronation the patriarch offered a compromise acceptable to Amalric: to dissolve the marriage, which

44 *Eracles*, p. 5 = *Cont. WT*, p. 20. Since William of Tyre does not report this embassy while the two Old French sources do not tell anything about the legate, the latter might have mistaken the legatine decision for a papal one obtained at the Curia or, and this seems to be more likely, both have a part of the truth: first a legatine ruling, later efforts to have it ratified by the pope.

45 Paul Pelliott, *Mélanges sur l'époque des croisades*, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 44 (Paris, 1951), p. 14, note 1.

46 WT 19,1, p. 864. 18 February was the day of a local saint, Bishop Simeon of Jerusalem, who is remembered in the calendars of the Holy Sepulcher; see Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), p. 111, but the chroniclers do not report that the coronation took place on a church feast. The Old French translator of William (RHC HOcc. 1:883), wishing to move the coronation at least close to a church feast, placed it three days before the feast of the *cathedra Petri* (22 February), a Tuesday.



had become untenable, on the apparent grounds of too close a blood relationship in the fourth degree between the two. This would have saved Amalric's face because marriages theoretically forbidden by such a degree of relationship were, in fact, so common among the nobility that in most cases they were not dissolved at all. Rather the obstacle was removed by a dispensation. If only this had been the case here this solution would probably have been resorted to. It is quite possible that, in order to prevent a marriage of Amalric which ignored an existing marriage of Hugh of Ibelin, Patriarch Fulcher in 1157 already brought the relationship problem into the foreground and let it be known at the same time that he would not grant a dispensation. This would have been much more diplomatic than to discuss in public the imminent danger of a new case of bigamy in the royal family.

If the annulment of 1163 was also based on these grounds, as we know it was, then the legal consequences of it were softened for Amalric at a decisive point. If his marriage was bigamous, then the two children he had by Agnes, Baldwin IV and Sibyl, were clearly illegitimate. Certainly it was not a case of a putative marriage in which the children conceived up to the moment in which husband and wife became aware of the marriage obstacle were legitimate. Patriarch Fulcher in 1157 had publicly declared that there was such an obstacle consisting of too close a blood tie. This ruled out any possibility of considering the marriage as a putative one once concluded in good faith. But if the marriage was dissolved only because of the blood tie, the legitimizing of the two children was greatly facilitated. This act of declaring them to be legitimate can easily be seen to have been a most important issue in the negotiations. It was clearly in the interest of Amalric as well as of the nobility, because in the person of Baldwin IV it guaranteed a successor to the throne. Even modern canon law still distinguishes between *fili adulterini*, *sacrilegi*, *incestuosi* and *nefarii*, depending on the obstacle which is in the way of conceiving legitimate children: (1) a marriage of one parent or both and concluded earlier and therefore already existing (*adulterini*), (2) a higher ecclesiastical order or a solemn monastic vow by at least one parent (*sacrilegi*), (3) blood relationship in indirect descent (*incestuosi*), or (4) in direct descent (*nefarii*).<sup>47</sup> According to the reasons given as grounds for the divorce of 1163 Baldwin IV and Sibyl had been conceived incestuously. But if in 1157 a marriage bond had already existed between Agnes and Hugh of Ibelin, then they had been conceived in an adulterine fashion and this would increase considerably the difficulties of legitimizing them, because the obstacle of too close a blood relationship weighed much less than the obstacle of an already existing marriage. It is true that the legate legitimized the two children *uno actu* with the divorce<sup>48</sup> but in the light of the interpretation offered here also the embassy dispatched by the king to the papal Curia would become

47 Johannes Linneborn, *Grundriss des Eherechts nach dem Codex iuris canonici*, 5th edition by Joseph Wenner (Paderborn, 1933), pp. 400-401.

48 WT19,4, p. 869: *hoc addito tamen, ut qui ex ambobus nati erant legitimi haberentur et in bona paterna successionis plenum ius obtinerent.*

entirely understandable. Amalric wanted to make sure that the pope would uphold his legate's decision since the ecclesiastical history of the Latin East was full of examples in which the popes had revoked decisions made by their legates in the East.

Yet another point is to be made. The embassy did not only request that the children be considered legitimate but, according to the *Estoire de Eracles*, it petitioned for a *dispensacion pour aleauter la dame et ses enfans*.<sup>49</sup> There cannot be a shadow of doubt that by birth Agnes herself was fully legitimate. For this she did not need any ecclesiastical dispensation at all. Because of the sin that she was married to a man to whom she was related in the fourth degree, she would not need to have troubled the pope. The dispensation by the patriarch or the legate would have been quite sufficient to heal this impediment. But if by marrying Amalric she had committed adultery and even bigamy because she had already been married to Hugh of Ibelin, then she was very much in need of a special papal dispensation in order to release her from the blame of gross unchastity and to make her acceptable again for Hugh. *Semper aliquid haeret*. It is now easy to see why later in her life she was credited with one scandalous love affair after the other, with the archbishop of Caesarea, with Aimery of Lusignan, until she had become the *femme fatale* of the Latin East. A divorce on the grounds of a blood relationship in the fourth degree was not a miscarriage of justice but very firmly based upon principles of canon law, but in political terms it was not necessary and could have been avoided by a dispensation. These grounds, however, presumably smoothly covered up very nicely the real ones of a bigamous marriage, reducing in this way the sinful scandal from a real monstrosity to a much lower and rather frequent dimension. With such an explanation the Church would have maintained its position on that point which was really at the heart of the matter, the demands of the nobility that the marriage be dissolved would have been met, and the face of the king would more or less have been saved.

If this reconstruction is correct then the best course of action was not to talk any longer about the real reasons for the divorce. Therefore we hear from all sides only about the pretext, not about the true grounds. This applies to William of Tyre, the court historian protecting the reputation of the dynasty and of his royal Maecenas, as well as to the various versions of the Old French continuations of William. They were close to the Ibelins, less to Hugh who had died before the time they dealt with, but rather to his brothers Baldwin and Barisan the Younger.<sup>50</sup> But surely an author who composed an *apologia* of the Ibelins was reluctant to admit that over a period of six years a member of the royal family had been able to steal from the head of the Ibelins his legal wife. It is only in the *Lignages d'Outremer* that we still catch a glimpse of the truth and enough to reconstruct it with the help of other indications in the sources.

49 *Eracles*, p. 5 = *Cont. WT*, p. 20.

50 M.R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (London, 1973), pp. 41-46, 98-116.

The feudal opposition must have had an alternate candidate for the succession to Baldwin III in case Amalric should refuse to divorce Agnes. Regarding this problem we have not the slightest helpful indication in the sources, but a genealogical table as well as the observation that the succession of 1163 was, in fact, governed by *Geblütsrecht*, i.e., by hereditary considerations based upon blood relationship, provides some clues. Amalric based his claim upon this and Ernoul assures us that this was fully recognized by the barons.<sup>51</sup> If this was so, the alternate candidate also had to be related to the deceased king. Baldwin III had been the son of Queen Melisende, the oldest daughter of King Baldwin II. His youngest daughter Iveta had entered a convent. But the two daughters in the middle, Alice and Hodierna, had married into the ruling families of the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripoli. Just like Baldwin III and Amalric, princess Constance of Antioch and Count Raymond III of Tripoli were grandchildren of Baldwin II of Jerusalem. Constance was not a debatable alternative. Although she had in her favor that, if Amalric's candidacy should founder and there should be no longer any offspring of Melisende available for the succession, she was the daughter of the second eldest daughter of Baldwin II, but she was a political risk because she was married to a man who had given sufficient proof of his lack of ability for royal office and who, moreover, was in 1163 in Muslim captivity from which he was not to be released until 1176. Also it was just at this juncture that Constance was expelled from Antioch and replaced there by her son Bohemund III. It was unthinkable that one should have thought of a female successor in Jerusalem who could not succeed even in maintaining herself in Antioch, apart from the fact that female rule had been a very two-edged experiment under Queen Melisende. One may also assume that the barons did not think seriously of Constance's son Bohemund III. He first had to show in Antioch what was in him. He had just come of age and was therefore just above 15 years old and, most important, he was one generation further removed from King Baldwin II than the only remaining alternative under the rules of *Geblütsrecht*: Raymond III of Tripoli. Raymond's mother Hodierna, who provided the genealogical link with Baldwin II, was already dead in 1163. Her son was approximately 23 years old because his age is stated as 12 years in 1152.<sup>52</sup> He was the only practical alternative to Amalric. This would explain why later on rumors never subsided that Raymond intended to make himself king of Jerusalem.<sup>53</sup> For the time being, however, the crisis of 1163 could be solved by Amalric's separation from Agnes of Courtenay.

51 Amalric to King Louis VII of France, RRH No. 396: *regnum...., quod nobis hereditario iure obtinebat*. WT19,1,4, pp. 864, 869. *Eracles*, p. 5 = *Cont. WT*, p. 19. Ernoul, pp. 16-17.

52 WT17,19, p. 787.

53 WT 22,1.10(9), pp. 1007, 1019. Ibn Jobayr, *Voyages*, trans. Maurice Gaudesfroy-Demombynes, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 6 (Paris, 1953-56), p. 362. *Regni Iherosolymitani brevis historia* (note 35 above), p. 137. *Die lateinische Fortsetzung des Wilhelm von Tyrus*, ed. Marianne Salloch (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 51, 57, 65. *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Hans E. Mayer, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 18 (Stuttgart, 1962), p. 253. *Eracles*, pp. 4, 6 = *Cont. WT*, pp. 19-20.

# Miles of Plancy and the Fief of Beirut

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When Amalric of Jerusalem died on 11 July 1174 his heir was a thirteen-year-old boy, Baldwin IV. The fact that he was known to be suffering from leprosy created problems for the future, but made no difference to the immediate need to appoint a regent until he came of age. The government of the kingdom in the new reign was at first conducted by the seneschal, Miles of Plancy, but it is not clear from the sources that he was appointed regent. The *Brevis historia*, a Genoese source dating from about the year 1200, states that King Amalric designated Miles as regent for his son<sup>1</sup> and William of Tyre describes him as acting as regent (*procurante regni negocia*),<sup>2</sup> yet it is clear from William's subsequent narrative that Miles did not hold the official title of regent. It may be inferred from this that although Amalric may have expressed a wish during his last illness that Miles should become regent the High Court failed to ratify his appointment. This decision, I would argue, was made because the High Court wished first to offer the regency to King Henry II of England to whom by the law of Jerusalem it belonged as the closest kinsman of Baldwin IV on his father's side.<sup>3</sup> This policy did not appear unrealistic since it was known that Alexander III had imposed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem on the king of England as a penance for his part in the murder of St. Thomas Becket.<sup>4</sup> If no regent was appointed the government of the kingdom of Jerusalem devolved on the seneschal during a minority. John of Ibelin explained this some eighty years later:

If the king is absent from the kingdom and his representative (*home qui teigne son leuc*) is also absent, the seneschal by virtue of his office should hold the king's place, save in matters relating to the army...<sup>5</sup>

Miles of Plancy was a member of the royal family, being a third cousin of King

1 *Regni Iherosolymitani brevis historia*, ed. L.T. Belgrano, in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, vol. 1 (Genoa, 1890), p. 135.

2 WT21,3, p. 963.

3 Henry II was a nephew of King Amalric of Jerusalem and was first cousin of the Leper King. He had no claim to the throne, but the best claim to the regency: *Le Livre au Roi* 5, RHC Lois 1:609-610.

4 *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. J.C. Robertson and J.B. Sheppard, RS 67 (London, 1875-85), 7:514.

5 Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre* 256, RHC Lois 1:408.

Amalric.<sup>6</sup> This was the kind of relationship of which the twelfth-century nobility needed to be aware, because of canon law rulings about the prohibited degrees of marriage. Miles had come to Jerusalem from Champagne during Amalric's reign and soon won the king's favor, being appointed seneschal in 1169.<sup>7</sup> Shortly before Amalric's death, and undoubtedly at the king's wish, he married Stephanie of Milly, heiress of the great fief of Oultrejourdain.<sup>8</sup> This was one of the most important lordships in the kingdom: like Sidon it owed the crown service of forty knights.<sup>9</sup>

If William of Tyre's description of him is at all accurate, it is easy to see why Miles was not well liked:

He was proud and conceited. He loved the sound of his own voice and had far too good an opinion of himself.<sup>10</sup>

In a cryptic passage, William related how, in order to counter criticisms of his rule, Miles ostensibly placed himself under the orders of Rohard, the castellan of Jerusalem. "In fact," William tells us, "the reverse was true. For one man held the title which sounded good but conferred no power, while the other ... dealt with the business of the kingdom as seemed good to himself."<sup>11</sup> Although William does not say what title was given to Rohard, this passage does show that Miles was not the regent, for if he had been then there would have been no higher title which could have been conferred on Rohard except that of king, which was clearly not the case. Jonathan Riley-Smith has suggested that Miles arranged for Rohard to be nominal regent while reserving all real power to himself,<sup>12</sup> but it is difficult to believe that the High Court would have agreed to this in view of its evident reluctance to accept the far stronger claim of Raymond of Tripoli to the regency a few months later. It seems possible that Rohard, a man who had stood high in the esteem of King Amalric,<sup>13</sup> was appointed personal guardian of the young king. During the minority of Baldwin V in 1185 the positions of regent and guardian were kept distinct and there would thus have been nothing contrary to the custom of the kingdom in such an arrangement had it been made in 1174.<sup>14</sup> In such a case Rohard would indeed have had what William of Tyre calls "a title which sounded good but conferred

6 Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Amsterdam, 1979), vol. A, p. 152, n. 28, suggests that Miles was descended from the Monthlérays, the family of Baldwin II's mother. Cf. A. Roserot, *Dictionnaire historique de la Champagne méridionale (Aube) des origines à 1790*, publié par J. Roserot de Melin, 4 vols. (Langres, 1945), 2:1129-1136.

7 Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 409.

8 WT21,4, p. 964. Miles is first mentioned as lord of Montréal on 18 April 1174: Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 463.

9 Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre 271*, RHC Lois 1:422.

10 WT21,4, p. 964.

11 WT21,4, pp. 964-965.

12 J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London, 1973), p. 101.

13 E.g., he formed a member of the king's suite when Amalric visited Constantinople in 1171, WT20,22, p. 940.

14 *Cont. WT*, p. 21.



no power," while Miles, who had power but no special title, would have given the appearance of being guided by Rohard, who controlled access to the king's presence.

The chief complaint made against Miles was that he excluded other barons from the work of government and tried to rule autocratically.<sup>15</sup> This was the kind of temperamental luxury which the kingdom could not afford in its executive head and its consequences were soon apparent. Amalric and his advisers had planned to mount a land attack on Egypt in the summer of 1174 which was timed to coincide with a Sicilian naval attack and with a revolt inside Egypt by pro-Fāṭimid elements against the Sunnite government of Saladin.<sup>16</sup> When Amalric died there was not time for the court of Jerusalem to contact Palermo and seek a postponement, so on 28 July, less than a fortnight after Baldwin IV's coronation, the Sicilian fleet anchored off Alexandria. Within a day of their arrival the Sicilians had established a land-base and driven the Egyptian garrison back inside the walls while to compound Saladin's troubles a pro-Fāṭimid revolt broke out in Upper Egypt.

His spies had informed him of Amalric's plans and he was expecting the Frankish army to invade and therefore stationed his own main army to the east of the Nile delta, but the threat from Jerusalem did not materialize, and so when the garrison of Alexandria sent him an urgent appeal for help, he was able to march his main army to their relief. At his approach the Sicilians abandoned the siege, the revolt in Upper Egypt was rapidly put down and by September peace had been restored throughout Saladin's dominions.<sup>17</sup> Bahā al-Dīn, the Sultan's biographer, called this victory "one of the greatest mercies ever showed by God to the Muslims," and since he did not enter the Sultan's service until many years later, he was probably representing Saladin's own view about the events of 1174.<sup>18</sup>

The Franks had undoubtedly lost an excellent opportunity for attempting to unseat Saladin from power in Egypt. Moreover, such favorable circumstances would prove hard to replicate since the Sicilian attack came only a few months after the death of Nūr al-Dīn which had produced political instability throughout much of western Islam. Miles of Plancy cannot be held directly responsible for the Frankish lack of initiative on this occasion, since his office conferred no military powers, but there seems little doubt that the episode reflected adversely on his government. In the absence of a king or regent military powers were vested solely in the constable.<sup>19</sup> In Baldwin IV's minority this was Humphrey II of Toron, who had held the office for more than twenty years<sup>20</sup>

15 WT21,4, p. 965.

16 Ibn al-Athīr in *RHC HOr.*, 1:599-602.

17 M.C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin. The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 76-81.

18 Bahā' al-Dīn, *The Life of Saladin*, c. 12, trans. C.W. Wilson in PPTS 13 (London, 1897), p. 67.

19 Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre*, 257, *RHC Lois* 1:411.

20 Baldwin III appointed him in 1152, WT17,14, p. 779.

and whose bravery and loyalty to the crown were undoubted, for he was later to be killed in an ambush while defending the Leper King.<sup>21</sup> But the feudal host of Jerusalem would not have undertaken an attack on Egypt without the support of the Military Orders over whom Humphrey had no authority. Jobert, the Master of the Hospital, may have been reluctant to commit his Order to a course of action which had overstrained its resources six years before, led to the abdication of the former Master, Gilbert d'Assailly, and left a legacy of debt which Jobert was still striving to clear.<sup>22</sup> The Master of the Temple, Odo of St. Amand, was noted for his independence of mind and his cooperation with the constable could not be taken for granted.

Had Miles been discharging his role as executive head of state satisfactorily he would have summoned a *curia generalis*, attended among others by the constable and the two Masters, to ratify the plans for the Egyptian campaign now that the king was dead. Miles lacked the gifts of persuasion which were needed to secure the adhesion of the commanders to a common plan. In particular he almost certainly found it very difficult to work harmoniously with the Master of the Temple, who is said by William of Tyre to have been a man of imperious temper with little taste for conciliating opponents,<sup>23</sup> faults of character which were very similar to Miles' own. It seems likely in view of what subsequently occurred that Humphrey of Toron deliberately refrained from using his own influence with the Masters of the Military Orders to make the campaign take place, fearing lest should he do so and the attack on Egypt prove successful, Miles' government would gain the credit and the seneschal would be established firmly in power, whereas a failure to attack could be used as a lever to challenge his authority. Certainly a similar policy was followed with great success by the baronage in 1183 in order to break the power of the unpopular regent, Guy of Lusignan.<sup>24</sup>

It is a fact that Miles' power was challenged very soon after the Egyptian fiasco by Count Raymond III of Tripoli, who appeared before the High Court and laid formal claim to the regency with the support of the constable, and of Reynald lord of Sidon, Baldwin of Ibelin, lord of Ramla, and his brother, Balian.<sup>25</sup> When it is remembered that Walter of St. Omer, the Prince of Galilee, had recently died,<sup>26</sup> this meant that all the greatest feudatories in the kingdom had publicly declared their lack of confidence in the seneschal's conduct of affairs of state. Raymond based his claim chiefly on the closeness of his relationship to the young king, for he had been King Amalric's first cousin, but he was not the only member of the royal family with a right to be considered, although William of Tyre tries to make it appear that that was the case. In

21 WT21,26 (27), p. 999.

22 J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050-1310* (London, 1967), pp. 60-63, 71-73.

23 WT21,28 (29), p. 1002.

24 WT22,28 (27), p. 1054.

25 WT21,3, pp. 963-964.

26 He died before King Amalric: Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 459.

addition to the descendants of King Fulk who were living in the West, whom I have already mentioned, Prince Bohemund III of Antioch had arguably a better claim to the regency than Count Raymond.<sup>27</sup>

It was therefore quite reasonable for Miles to reply that as only a few members of the High Court were present consideration of the count's claim should be deferred until a plenary session could be convoked.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, this delay appeared sinister to some of Miles's critics. It was known that he had sent Balian of Jaffa, the brother of Rohard the castellan, to the West with letters and gifts from the king.<sup>29</sup> Almost certainly this mission was intended merely to inform Western rulers about King Amalric's death and Baldwin IV's succession. It is known that messengers from Jerusalem reached Flanders in the autumn or winter of 1174-75, because Count Philip, another of the Leper King's Western cousins, took the cross at Easter 1175.<sup>30</sup> Yet so great was the antipathy in Jerusalem to Miles' autocratic methods of government that rumors began to circulate there that Miles had sent this embassy to the West in order to seek the help of his friends and kinsmen in France to enable him to seize the throne. Such gossip was unfounded, for Miles had no claim to the throne, but it indicates the degree of hostility with which he was viewed.

William of Tyre relates how "certain men" were suborned to make an attempt on Miles' life and how, though warned about this, the seneschal refused to take any precautions. Yet the danger was real enough and one evening in October 1174 he was murdered while walking through the streets of Acre.<sup>31</sup> William does not name the killers and could not have done so even if he had known who they were, for they were never brought to justice, and if he had named them he would have been bringing a charge of murder for which he could have offered no satisfactory legal proof. However, the *Brevis historia*, the Genoese source which was written in about 1200 when all the principals were dead, does name Miles' murderers as the lords of Beirut.<sup>32</sup> This statement merits serious consideration for the following reasons.

In 1174 Beirut formed part of the crown lands and was therefore under Miles of Plancy's control during the king's minority.<sup>33</sup> The lords of Beirut to whom the Genoese writer refers must have been members of the Brisebarre family, who held the fief in the early years of King Amalric's reign. The strange circumstances in which they lost Beirut are recounted in the late-thirteenth-

27 Baldwin IV, Bohemund III, and Raymond III were all descended from Baldwin II in the female line. Baldwin IV was the grandson of Baldwin II's eldest daughter, Queen Melisende; Bohemund III was the grandson of Baldwin II's second daughter, Alice of Antioch; Raymond III was the son of Baldwin II's third daughter, Hodierna of Tripoli. [Cf. the diverging considerations of H.E. Mayer, "The Beginnings of King Amalric of Jerusalem," above. Ed.]

28 WT21,3, p. 964.

29 WT21,4, p. 965.

30 *Sigeberti continuatio Aquicinctina*, MGH SS 6:415.

31 WT21,4, p. 965.

32 *Brevis historia*, p. 135.

33 Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre* 256, RHC Lois 1:408.

century *Lignages d'Outremer*. This relates how Walter Brisebarre and two of his brothers were captured by the Saracens and how their mother, being unable to raise the full price of their ransom, offered herself as a hostage in their place until the outstanding sum had been paid. The crown forbade anyone to lend the brothers money and so they were forced to accept the royal terms: they must exchange the fief of Beirut for the crown-fief of Blanchegarde and the sovereign would then pay the outstanding ransom so that their mother might be set free. They had no alternative but to accept, but their mother only lived for a month after regaining her freedom. The *Lignages* date this episode to the reign of Queen Isabella I (1192-1205) but that is impossible.<sup>34</sup> At the beginning of her reign Beirut was in Muslim hands and when it was recovered from the Ayyūbids in 1197 the queen gave it to her half-brother, John of Ibelin, who held it until his death in 1236 and was, for that reason, known as "the Old Lord of Beirut."<sup>35</sup> As Mary Nickerson pointed out, contemporary documents show conclusively that the exchange of Beirut for Blanchegarde took place in King Amalric's reign, before 1168.<sup>36</sup> The compilers of the *Lignages* appear to have confused two incidents: the exchange of Beirut for Blanchegarde by the Brisebarres in the reign of King Amalric and the granting of Beirut to the Ibelins in the reign of King Aimery, Isabella I's consort. In mitigation it should be said that they are not unique in confusing the names of these two kings.

Walter III Brisebarre had succeeded his father as lord of Beirut in 1157.<sup>37</sup> He had two younger brothers called Guy and Bernard,<sup>38</sup> and the exchange of the fief cannot have occurred until after 1164 for their mother, the Lady Mary Brisebarre, was still alive then,<sup>39</sup> but it had happened before 1167 when King Amalric granted Beirut to Andronicus Comnenus.<sup>40</sup> Even after the ransom money has been taken into account, the exchange was not advantageous to the Brisebarres, for Beirut was one of the great fiefs of the kingdom, owing service of twenty-one knights to the crown, whereas Blanchegarde was a comparatively minor fief owing only nine knights.<sup>41</sup> Yet at first the Brisebarres did not suffer any loss in wealth or prestige.

Walter III Brisebarre had married Helena, the elder daughter of Philip of Milly, lord of Montréal, or Oultrejourdain.<sup>42</sup> This was an even greater fief than Beirut, owing service of forty knights to the crown: indeed, in Amalric's reign

34 *Les Lignages d'Outremer* 20, RHC Lois 2:458.

35 Philippe de Novare, *Mémoires*, c.27, ed. C. Kohler (Paris, 1913), p. 16; J.L. Lamonte, "John d'Ibelin, the Old Lord of Beirut, 1177-1236," *Byzantion* 12 (1937), 424-425.

36 M.E. Nickerson, "The Seignury of Beirut in the Twelfth Century and the Brisebarre Family of Beirut-Blanchegarde," *Byzantion* 19 (1949), 166-167.

37 Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 258.

38 The *Lignages*, c. 20, record a fourth brother, Hugh, mentioned in no other source: RHC Lois 2:458.

39 A. de Marsy, "Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'Ordre de Saint-Lazare en Terre Sainte," *AOL* 2 (1884), No. 23, p. 141.

40 WT20,2, p. 914.

41 Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre* 271, RHC Lois 1:425-426.

42 de Marsy, "Fragment," No. 24, p. 142.

there were no other fiefs in the kingdom which were more important except for those of Sidon and Galilee.<sup>43</sup> At the end of 1165 Philip of Milly, who was a widower, entered the Order of the Temple, of which he later became Master.<sup>44</sup> His only son, Rainier, is not mentioned in any source after 1161<sup>45</sup> and had presumably died without heirs; Philip's only surviving children were his two daughters, Helena, who had married Walter Brisebarre, and Stephanie, the wife of Humphrey III of Toron, the son of the constable of the kingdom.<sup>46</sup> The law of Jerusalem at this time enacted that in the case of female heirs the eldest daughter should have the same rights as an eldest son and should inherit the entire fief.<sup>47</sup> This practice was only changed in 1171 when, with reference to the lands of Henry the Buffalo, Count Stephen of Sancerre persuaded the High Court to alter the law, so that in future when cases of female inheritance arose, all daughters should divide a fief equally between them, the eldest should receive the homage of her sisters and should herself do homage for the whole fief to the king.<sup>48</sup> In 1166, however, the old law was still in force and the fief of Montréal therefore passed in its entirety to Helena of Milly and her husband Walter Brisebarre. This may explain why Amalric forced Walter and his brothers to accept the exchange of Blanchegarde, for this would prevent one man from holding two great fiefs simultaneously.

Walter's position became less secure when his wife died. This happened some time before 18 November 1168 when, as lord of Montréal, he made a gift of forty bezants a year to the Order of St. Lazarus for the repose of her soul. This money is stated to be part of "the exchange of Beirut," presumably part of the money received in compensation in addition to the ransom money. Walter made this gift with the consent of his brother Guy and of his own daughter, Beatrice.<sup>49</sup> There is no evidence that Walter and Helena had any other children. Although he remained the lord of Montréal, Walter was now, by the law of the kingdom, really the *bailli* for his daughter until such time as she married, but if she were to die while a minor the fief would then pass to her mother's closest kin.

Beatrice is mentioned in no later source and, because of the way in which the fief was subsequently transmitted, it must be assumed that she died while still a

43 Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre 271*, RHC Lois 1:422.

44 In January 1166 King Amalric confirmed to the Templars the fief of Ahamant which Philip of Milly had given their Order when he was professed: J. Delaville Le Roulx, ed., "Chartes de Terre Sainte," *ROL* 11 (1905-1908), No. 2, pp. 183-185.

45 E. Strehlke, *Tabulae Ordinis Teutonici* (Berlin, 1869), No. 3, p. 4.

46 In 1155 Amalric count of Ascalon confirmed a gift made to the Order of St. Lazarus by Philip of Milly "et Rainerio filio suo, Helena etiam et Stephanica filiabus suis": de Marsy, "Fragment," No. 14, pp. 133-134. For Stephanie's marriage see WT21,4, p. 964.

47 Philippe de Novare, *Livre 71*, RHC Lois 1:542.

48 Philippe de Novare (*Livre 71-72*, RHC Lois 1:542-543) records the judgment but does not name Stephen of Sancerre. He is credited with this reform in *Documents relatifs à la successibilité*, 6, RHC Lois 2:408. See H.E. Mayer, "Die Seigneurie der Joscelin," in J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann, eds., *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, Vorträge und Forschungen 26 (Sigmaringen, 1980), p. 183, note 29.

49 de Marsy, "Fragment," No. 24, p. 142.



child. Beatrice had certainly died before 24 February 1174 when King Amalric confirmed a gift by Walter Brisebarre to St. Lazarus of income granted to him from the port dues of Acre. In this charter Walter is styled simply "Walter of Beirut, lord of Blanchegarde."<sup>50</sup> The fief of Montréal must by then have passed to Philip of Milly's younger daughter, Stephanie. Her husband, Humphrey III of Toron, died at some unknown time between August 1168 and April 1174<sup>51</sup> leaving two children, a son, also called Humphrey, and a daughter, Isabella.<sup>52</sup> Humphrey III never used the title of Lord of Montréal so far as is known, and this suggests that Stephanie did not inherit the fief during his lifetime. Presumably at King Amalric's bidding she married Miles of Plancy sometime between 24 February and 18 April 1174.<sup>53</sup>

Bernard Brisebarre is not mentioned in any source after 1165<sup>54</sup> and had presumably died by 1174, but both Walter and Guy were alive then and were much reduced in power and wealth since they now had to share the revenues of the minor fief of Blanchegarde. Miles of Plancy could obviously not be held responsible for the decline in the Brisebarre fortunes, but the brothers had some cause to feel resentment towards him after he became effective ruler on the accession of Baldwin IV. Miles was the chief beneficiary through his marriage from the death of Walter Brisebarre's only daughter, the heiress of Montréal. He could have used his powers to help the Brisebarres to recover their lost fortunes, for example by restoring the fief of Beirut to them, for it had reverted to the crown when Andronicus Comnenus had abducted the dowager queen Theodora and sought political asylum at the court of Nūr al-Dīn in 1168.<sup>55</sup> Alternatively Miles could have used his power to arrange a marriage for Walter Brisebarre, who was still a widower, to a suitable heiress, and such a marriage was possible because Eschiva, princess of Galilee, the greatest heiress in the kingdom, had herself been widowed shortly before the king's death.<sup>56</sup> The Brisebarre brothers had some reason to feel aggrieved about Miles of Plancy's conduct towards them

50 Ibid., No. 27, pp. 145-146.

51 He is last mentioned in a charter of 9 August 1168: H.F. Delaborde, ed., *Chartes de la Terre Sainte provenant de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 19 (Paris, 1880), No. 36, p. 84. Stephanie had married again by April 1174.

52 WT21,4, p. 964.

53 de Marsy, "Fragment," No. 27, pp. 145-146 of 24 February 1174 is witnessed by Miles of Plancy who does not use the title; Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 463 of 18 April 1174 is witnessed by Miles as lord of Montréal.

54 Ch. Kohler, "Chartes de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la vallée de Josaphat en Terre Sainte (1108-1291). Analyses et extraits," *ROL* 7 (1899), No. 36, p. 145. Mary Nickerson's identification of him with Bernard of Blanchegarde who owned a house in Jerusalem in 1186 (Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 803), is based on insufficient evidence; see Nickerson (note 36 above), p. 169.

55 WT20,2, p. 914. B. Hamilton, "Women in the Crusader States: the Queens of Jerusalem," in D. Baker, ed., *Medieval Women* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 161-162.

56 Her gift to the Hospital of St. John for the repose of her husband's soul was made in 1174 while King Amalric was still alive: Delaville *Cartulaire*, No. 459. This implies that Walter of St. Omer had recently died, since otherwise the king would have arranged a new marriage for the heiress of so important a fief as soon as possible.

and they may have murdered him, as the *Brevis historia* states they did, perhaps having been incited to do so by Miles's more powerful enemies, as William of Tyre implies. If this were so, it would explain William of Tyre's comment that some people held that Miles was murdered "because of the loyalty which he faithfully showed towards the lord king."<sup>57</sup>

Those who praised Miles for his loyalty to the Leper King were certainly right to do so. He had been a faithful steward and had not succumbed to the besetting temptation of guardians for infant kings, that of dissipating the royal demesne, even though to do so would have seemed an easy way of allaying the hostility of his opponents as well as a sure way of building up a clique of loyal supporters. Yet loyalty to the king was not enough in a state like Jerusalem where the survival of the kingdom depended on the ability of a small number of powerful men to work together harmoniously. Miles of Plancy was an autocrat by temperament and was therefore unsuited to have charge of the government in a state built on a tradition of devolved power.

His death left the kingdom without a leader and the fief of Oultrejourdain without a lord, and this occurred at a critical time in Jerusalem's history when Saladin was marching his Egyptian army through the lands beyond Jordan in a bid to seize power in Damascus. The safety of the Crusader Kingdom depended on the existence of a divided Islam whose leaders could be played off against each other, and that situation had been produced by the death of Nūr al-Dīn in May 1174, leaving only a minor heir, which led to the dismemberment of his empire between rival kinsmen and generals, of whom Saladin was one. The Franks could severely have hampered Saladin in his attempts to reunite the dominions of Nūr al-Dīn because they virtually controlled the lines of communication between Egypt and Syria through their military presence in the Sinai and Transjordan. However, they failed to take effective action in 1174 because of their internal disputes and on 28 October Saladin reached Damascus in safety with his army and assumed control there.<sup>58</sup>

It was the knowledge that this had happened which led the High Court to accept Raymond of Tripoli's claim to the regency for Baldwin IV after Miles of Plancy's death. They did so with some misgivings<sup>59</sup> which were perhaps occasioned by the fact that 60,000 bezants of the count's ransom still remained unpaid and that the regents for Nūr al-Dīn's son were holding Frankish hostages in the citadel of Ḥimṣ as surety for this sum.<sup>60</sup> It is never a desirable situation to have a head of state who is open to pressure by a foreign power. If the Brisebarre brothers did murder Miles of Plancy, then Raymond owed his appointment in

57 "...dicentibus aliis quia pro sua fidelitate, quam domino regi devotus exhibebat, hoc ei acciderat:" WT21,4, p. 965.

58 Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin* (note 17 above), pp. 81-83, cite a letter from Saladin to his nephew Farrūkh-Shāh relating how during the journey from Cairo to Damascus "we camped [in the land of the Franks] like those who have authority."

59 William of Tyre reports that Raymond was only accepted as regent after a debate which lasted for two whole days: WT21,5, p. 966.

60 WT21,8, p. 972.

part to them, yet he did nothing to improve their fortunes after he became regent. This would have been in character, for even William of Tyre who approved of Raymond admitted that "he was generous to strangers but not to his own men."<sup>61</sup>

No attempt was made to bring Miles' murderers to justice. If Walter and Guy Brisebarre had been suspected of the crime they could have been charged with murder in the High Court and the case would then have been determined in trial by battle between them and their accusers, or their respective champions. Yet as John of Ibelin explained in his treatise on the laws, a plea of murder was very difficult to sustain because if the correct technical procedures were not followed the case would go by default and severe penalties could then be exacted from the plaintiffs.<sup>62</sup>

When Baldwin IV came of age and began his personal rule the Brisebarres still did not receive the fief of Beirut back: that remained part of the royal demesne.<sup>63</sup> Despite this, Walter and Guy enjoyed an honorable position at court, and continued to be called "of Beirut" even though they no longer held the fief, presumably because nobody else had a right to the title. In 1178 Walter "de Beryto" witnessed a royal diploma in favor of the Hospital and took precedence over all those present except for the seneschal, Joscelin of Courtenay, Reynald of Sidon, the king's stepfather, and Baldwin and Balian of Ibelin.<sup>64</sup> In the following year Walter and his brother Guy witnessed another royal diploma in favor of Joscelin of Courtenay, and on that occasion were ranked immediately after Reynald of Châtillon, Reynald of Sidon, and Balian of Ibelin.<sup>65</sup> This is the last time in which Walter is mentioned in any source, while Guy is last recorded in 1182,<sup>66</sup> so presumably neither of them lived until the end of the reign.

According to the *Lignages* Walter Brisebarre married a second time and had a son and four daughters. There is no reason to doubt this, for when the *Lignages* were drawn up there were families in Cyprus who traced their descent from him. His second wife was well born, but not herself a great heiress, for she was Agnes, the niece of Eschiva the princess of Galilee.<sup>67</sup> Raymond of Tripoli almost certainly can be credited with arranging that marriage, for as soon as he became regent, being himself a bachelor, he married the widowed Eschiva and gained control of her fief of Galilee.<sup>68</sup>

It was perhaps as well that the Brisebarre brothers did not live to see Raymond of Tripoli become regent for the child king Baldwin V in 1185, for he was then assigned the fief of Beirut from the royal demesne to defray the

61 WT21,5, p. 967.

62 Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre* 82-90, RHC Lois 1:130-147.

63 In 1182 it still had no lord and the bishop and the castellan took charge of its defense when it was besieged by Saladin: WT22,19 (18), p. 1035.

64 Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 550.

65 Strehlke, *Tabulae* (note 45 above), No. 11, pp. 11-12.

66 Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 621.

67 *Les Lignages d'Outremer* 20,21, RHC Lois 2:458-459.

68 WT21,5, p. 967.

expenses of government.<sup>69</sup> If, as I have argued, the Brisebarres did indeed murder Miles of Plancy, they would have had equal cause to feel resentment towards the count of Tripoli who owed his advancement in part to their action but who had done nothing to restore their fortunes when it had been within his power to do so, and had acquired the greatest heiress in the kingdom and later their former fief of Beirut for himself.

<sup>69</sup> *Cont. WT*, p. 21.

# Aqua Bella: The Interpretation of a Crusader Courtyard Building

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## INTRODUCTION

Throughout the area covered in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, there exist today remains of a class of non- or semi-fortified Frankish rural buildings which consist of a series of vaulted ranges set around a central courtyard. These complexes are often interpreted as “manorhouses” or “farmsteads,”<sup>1</sup> though for reasons that will shortly become apparent I now prefer to call them by the more prosaic but neutral term of “courtyard buildings.” The best preserved of these courtyard buildings is a structure known as Dayr al-banāt (Convent of the Maidens), at Khirbat Iqbāla/‘Eyn Hemed (the crusader Aqua Bella). This still survives two stories high and is now in the care of the Israel National Parks (see fig. 1). Although identified at one time as a convent, more recent interpretations (including my own) have preferred to see in it the rural residence of a secular lord, similar in most functions save defense to the smaller types of crusader castle that sprang up in the countryside around Jerusalem in the twelfth century. Closer inspection of the building in 1986, however, now makes such an explanation impossible to sustain. What follows may therefore be taken as a cautionary tale for would-be interpreters of Frankish rural buildings. From it two morals may be drawn: The first of these is that similarity in general layout does not necessarily denote a similarity of function. Among Frankish courtyard buildings, for instance, may be identified a monastery (quite possibly Cistercian) at ‘Allar al-Sifla/Horvat Tannūr,<sup>2</sup> estate centers belonging to the canons of the Holy

\* I am grateful to C. Maier and J. Metcalf for their assistance in surveying the Dayr al-Banāt, and to Peter Leach for drawing up the plans. Our work has been made possible through the support of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

1 See M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 233-245.

2 Grid reference 1545.1245. Benvenisti, *Crusaders*, pp. 235-236; idem, “*Bovaria-babriyya*: A Frankish Residue on the Map of Palestine,” in *Outremer*, p. 152 with fig. 22. Survey by the British School of Archaeology in 1981 shows Benvenisti’s “hall” to have been a chapel, not dissimilar to the Cistercian chapel of St. John in the Woods (today called the Visitation) in ‘Eyn Kerem. ‘Allar al-Sifla/H. Tannūr therefore seems a likely candidate for the “lost” Cistercian house of *Saluatio*, founded in 1161; cf. B. Hamilton, “The



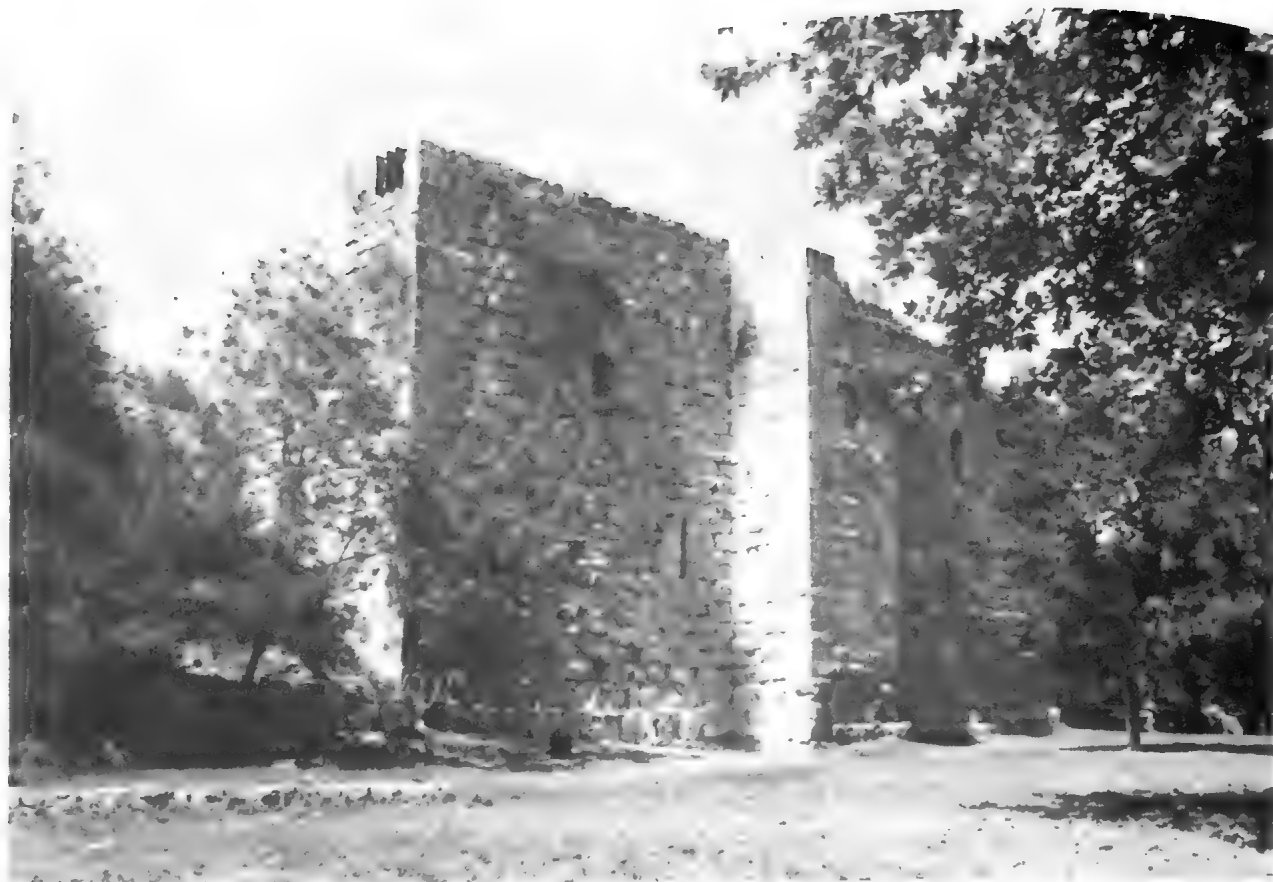


Fig. 1. Aqua Bella: Dayr al-banāt from the southeast (this and other photos by author)

Sepulcher at al-Rām<sup>3</sup> and al-Qubayba,<sup>4</sup> and the inner wards of concentric castles at al-Ṭayyiba,<sup>5</sup> near Rāmallah, and *Belmont* (Šūba/Zova).<sup>6</sup> Some courtyard buildings, however, may indeed have been “manorhouses” of the type described. One likely candidate is Umm Khālid in the suburbs of Netanyah, which a document of 1135 refers to as the “Castle of Roger the Lombard.”<sup>7</sup>

Cistercians in the Crusader States,” in *One Yet Two: Monastic Tradition East and West*, ed. M.B. Pennington, Cistercian Studies, 29 (Kalamazoo, 1976), pp. 405-407.

- 3 Grid ref. 1721.1402. D. Pringle, “Two Medieval Villages North of Jerusalem: Archaeological Investigations in al-Jib and ar-Ram,” *Levant* 15 (1983), 160-174.
- 4 Grid ref. 163.138. B. Bagatti, *I Monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio maior, 4 (Jerusalem, 1947); L.H. Vincent, “Les monuments de Qoubeibeh,” *Revue biblique* 40 (1941), 57-91; Benvenisti, *Crusaders*, pp. 224-227; D. Pringle, “Magna Mahumeria (al-Bīra): The Archaeology of a Frankish New Town in Palestine,” in *CS*, pp. 163-164.
- 5 Grid ref. 178.151. Benvenisti, “*Bovaria*,” pp. 147-150, figs. 19-21. Although Benvenisti finds its character difficult to determine, it seems clear from the existence of an outer *glacis* that this was a castle, very probably that of “St. Elias” at Effraon that was granted to William of Montferrat on the accession of his grandson, Baldwin V, in 1185 (*Eracles* 23, 10, pp. 14-15).
- 6 Grid ref. 162.132. Benvenisti, *Crusaders*, p. 229; R.P. Harper, “BSAJ Excavations 1985-1986,” *Levant* 19 (1987), 219-220; R.P. Harper and D. Pringle, “Scavi al Castello di Belmont (Suba), Israele, 1986,” *Notiziario di archeologia medievale* 45 (1987), 6.
- 7 Grid ref. 1375.1929. Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 115; RRH No. 159; D. Pringle, *The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar): Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamluks, A.D. 1099-1516*, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Monograph Series, 1 (London, 1986), pp. 18-20, 73-75, fig. 19. pls. XXXII-XXXIII.

Secondly, before attempting to determine the function of any Frankish rural building, a first requirement is to carry out a detailed inspection and survey (ideally accompanied by clearance and excavation), from which a full picture of the monument's layout and the relative dating of its constituent parts may be obtained. Only when the archaeological evidence is understood in its own terms should any attempt be made to relate it to whatever documentary evidence there may be (if any), and suggest a historical interpretation. And even then, it has to be admitted, the result may still be inconclusive.

### THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The documentary evidence for Aqua Bella is minimal. The place is mentioned only once in Crusader sources when, between 1163 and 1169, the Hospitallers offered its income and that of Castellum Emaus (Qaryat al-'Inab, Abū Ghōsh), Belueer (Qaṣṭal) and Saltus Muratus (Qalūniyya?) on a temporary basis to Béla, Duke of Hungary (later King Béla III), in return for 10,000 bezants, so that the duke and his wife might support themselves while in the Holy Land.<sup>8</sup> As it happened, the duke never came to Palestine and the arrangement fell through. The document nevertheless serves to indicate that the village of Aqua Bella and

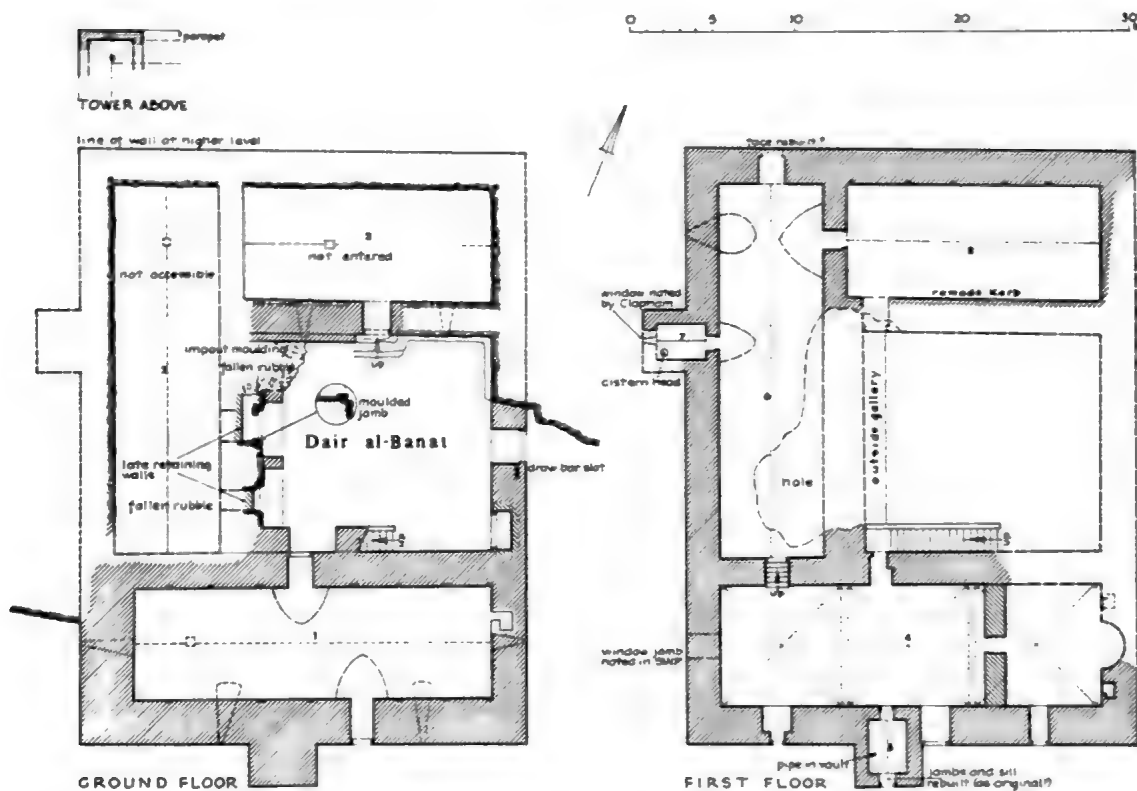


Fig. 2. Plan of Dayr al-banāt (drawn by Peter Leach, after BSAJ Survey, 1986)

<sup>8</sup> Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 309, RRH No. 458; cf. G. Beyer, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete von Jerusalem und St. Abraham," *ZDPV* 65 (1942), 180-181.

its lands belonged to the Hospitallers by 1163/69, when it would probably have been among their properties west of Jerusalem administered by the castellan of Belmont.<sup>9</sup>

#### THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The remains known as Dayr al-banāt lie just below the spring of 'Eyn Hemed in the bottom of a small valley, forming a tributary to the Naḥal Kesalon (grid reference 1621.1337). The building forms a rectangular block, 27 m. (WSW-ENE) by 36 m. (NNW-SSE), two stories high, with projecting rectangular turrets on the west (WSW) and south (SSE) sides (see fig. 2). Because it is built into the side of the valley, the first floor on the northern side is at the same level as the ground outside, while the "ground floor" is cut here into the natural rock.

Some minor additions apart, the building appears to be of a single period, a conclusion supported by the evidence of the masonry marks.<sup>10</sup> It is constructed of rough blocks of the hard local limestone, laid in fairly regular courses, with finer ashlar of a softer freestone used for the quoins, doors, windows, stairs, and other details. The wall-faces are pointed with white mortar (sometimes charcoal-flecked and containing ground pottery), which is spread smoothly over the joints and then impressed with a trowel in a fish-scale pattern, apparently so as to receive a plaster render.<sup>11</sup> Whether this render also extended to the areas of freestone is uncertain, though the false voussoirs incised on some of the dressings above the windows and doors (see figs. 11 and 12) suggest that it may have covered them partially at least. Many of the inside surfaces are still coated with hard fine white plaster. The core of the walls and vaults, however, consists of rubble set in friable light yellow or creamy orange earth mortar, containing some lime.

A plain pointed-arched gateway on the east (fig. 3), 2 m. wide with a low-pointed rear-arch, leads directly into the central court (c. 13 × 14 m.), around which two-storied ranges are set on the north, west, and south. The gate was apparently two-leaved, at most 8 cm. thick, and with a draw-bar operating from a slot (12 × 12 cm.) in its southern jamb. Just south of the gate on the inside, the wall contains a rounded-arched alcove (fig. 5), which, from the rough appearance of its voussoirs, seems likely to date from after the Frankish occupation. On the south of the courtyard, a flight of steps, carried on a half-arch, leads up to the first floor (figs. 5, 7); while the remains of two piers (0.70 × 1.35 m.) on the west suggest that a first-floor balcony also led from the

9 Cf. Benvenisti, *Crusaders*, pp. 229, 349-350; J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050-1310*, A History of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, I (London, 1967), pp. 320, 429. See also note 39 below.

10 D. Pringle, "Some Approaches to the Study of Crusader Masonry Marks in Palestine," *Levant* 13 (1981), 179, fig. 2.

11 A feature noted in other 12th-century Frankish buildings. Cf. Pringle, *Red Tower*, pp. 102-104.



Fig. 3. Principal east gateway



Fig. 4. West range, from southeast



Fig. 5. View looking southeast across courtyard



Fig. 6. North range from south





Fig. 7. South range from north



Fig. 8. Stairs to first floor of south range. Note springer of arch that formerly carried balcony, just to right of stair-arch



Fig. 9. Ground floor of south range (1) looking east



Fig. 10. Left-hand jamb of central door into ground floor of west range (2) cut from rock and flanked by a colonnette



Fig. 11. Room 4; east window in south wall. Note line incised on one of the voussoirs to create a false impression of symmetry

head of the stairs across the front of the west range to the northern one. The remains of a springing on the south indicates that the arches carrying the balcony were segmental (fig. 8); and a cyma-recta molding ornaments the impost of the corresponding springing on the north (fig. 2).

The entrance to the ground floor of the south range (1) lies beneath the staircase arch. A pointed-arched doorway, 1.41 m. wide with a low-pointed rear-arch, leads into a barrel-vaulted room, 21.8 m. by 6.65 m. (fig. 9). It was lit by rounded-arched splayed slit-windows on the west, south (two), and apparently on the east, though the latter has now gone. The south wall also contains a door similar to the first, 1.17 m. wide, giving access from outside the building. At present the room also contains the circular stone base of an olive-press, but it is uncertain whether this dates from crusader times or later.



Fig. 12. Room 3; window facing courtyard. Note false voussoirs incised on the lintel-arch, and fish-scale trowel impressions in mortar

The ground floor of the west range (2) is at present inaccessible, owing to the partial collapse of its barrel-vault (fig. 4). The principal entrance to it was a door, 1.56 m. wide, situated below the central arch supporting the balcony. Only the footings of this doorway remain, cut from the natural rock; and the base of a colonnette flanking the left-hand jamb indicates a degree of architectural refinement unusual in this building (fig. 10). There appears to have been a second opening below the south balcony arch; and a third may possibly have existed beneath the northern one.

The ground floor of the north range (3) is approached up a short flight of rock-cut steps from the level of the courtyard. The door and door-passage have low-pointed arches. The walls of this room are mostly rock-cut, and it is covered by a barrel-vault pierced by two round-arched splayed slit-windows on the side facing the court. One of these has a row of false voussoirs incised on the face of the single ashlar block forming the arch (fig. 12).



Fig. 13. Room 4 looking east

The stair on the south of the courtyard gives access to the first floor of the south range, which is occupied by the principal room of the complex (4) (fig. 13). This room fills the entire length of the range, measuring internally 22.86 by 7.25 m.; and unlike all the other rooms, which are barrel-vaulted, it was roofed with three bays of groin-vaults springing from molded imposts and separated from one another by shallow transverse ribs (fig. 14). Only the south and adjacent parts of the east and west walls survive to any height; but it is evident that the system of vaulting not only made this the most elaborate room in the building, but also the most light and airy. Each bay is lit by a spacious window on the south, and the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine noted in 1874 the jamb of another on the west.<sup>12</sup> No two windows are exactly alike. The western one in the south wall (recently restored) now has a rounded arch and rear-arch; it may originally have been more like the eastern one, with a slightly pointed profile and a low-pointed rear-arch. The bay of the central window, however, is large enough to walk into. It is 1.73 m. wide and covered by a low-pointed arch. The outer facing has been damaged, though the profile of the arch appears to have been similar, and the jambs continue down to floor level (fig. 15). Two cyma-recta moldings form imposts for the arch, while another molding (similar to

12 C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs*, 3 vols. (London 1881-83), 3:115.



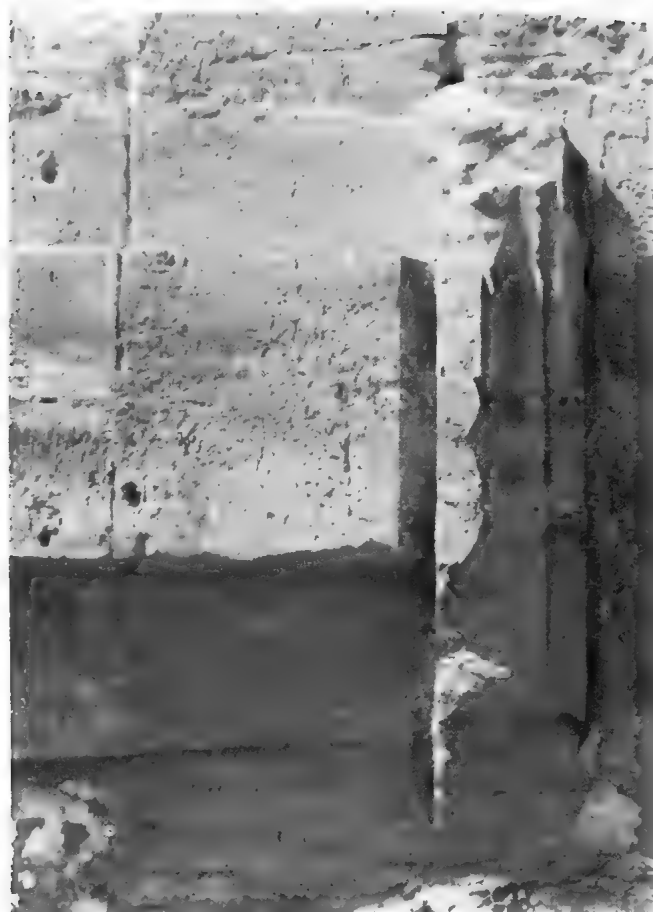


Fig. 14. Room 4; spring of vaulting and transverse arch from south wall. Note masonry mark, and chamfer on lower edge of *tas-de-charge*

those of the vault-springings inside the room) formed the sill. Although we know of at least one case in crusader Acre of someone accidentally stepping backwards through an open window,<sup>13</sup> it may be assumed that this type of window would normally have been closed by timber fittings of some kind to prevent such occurrences. The arrangement in this case, however, is far from clear.<sup>14</sup>

Just to the right of the central window (see fig. 7), a narrow (0.73 m.) door with a rounded arch and low-pointed rear-arch leads into a small barrel-vaulted turret-chamber (5), measuring 3.2 by 2.3 m. (fig. 1). The sill and sides of a window in its south wall are modern, perhaps replicating original features; but there is no opening on the west, nor on the east. Clearly the turret served no defensive function at this level. A ceramic pipe built through the western side of the vault may have been intended to channel rainwater from the roof to a suitable collecting point below; the lower part of the turret, however, is solid, and there does not appear to have been any continuation of the pipe through the floor of the chamber.<sup>15</sup>

13 Henry of Champagne in 1197: see Runciman, *Crusades*, 3:93.

14 Enlart reconstructs this as a two-light window with a central column. He may not even have visited the site, however, and he incorrectly locates this window in the adjacent turret. Cf. Enlart, *Monuments*, 2:105-106.

15 I am grateful to Mr. Y. Minsker of the Israel Dept. of Antiquities for this information.



Fig. 15. Room 4; central window in south wall, which Enlart reconstructed with a central column

Most of the east (i.e., ENE) wall of Room 4 has collapsed. What little survives of it, however, holds the clue to the interpretation of the complex (see figs. 16, 17). The center of this wall seems to have had set into it a rounded apse, 2.6 m. wide, of which only two courses of a 1.25 m. section of the right-hand arc remain. As is normal in crusader (and in Byzantine) church buildings in Palestine, the apse would have described slightly more than a semi-circle. The dressings on the ashlar and a star-shaped masonry mark on one of them show that it belongs to the same period of construction as the rest of the room, for the same masonry mark is found on the eastern window in the south wall.<sup>16</sup> To the

16 Type 19-20. Pringle, "Some Approaches to the Study of Crusader Masonry Marks," figs. 2 and 4.



Fig. 16. Room 4; detail of southeast corner, showing spring of vault and remains of apse and aumbry in east wall

right of the apse are the remains of an aumbry built into the wall; quite possibly there would have been a corresponding one on the other side.

In a secondary phase, the east end of the room was partitioned off by a wall, 1.24-1.31 m. thick, which now survives only two courses (about 60 cm.) high (see figs. 7 and 13). If this had been intended to block the room to ceiling height, however, it would more probably have been set on the line of the transverse arch. The fact that it is not therefore seems to reinforce the view that it represented no more than the base for a screen, possibly of wood, separating the east end of the room from the rest. In the center was a rebated doorway, 0.90 m. wide. The single V-shaped masonry mark represented on one of its jambs is of a type not found elsewhere in the building.<sup>17</sup>

A doorway in the north wall of the west bay of Room 4 leads up six steps into

17 Type 12-3. Pringle, "Masonry Marks," figs. 2 and 4.



Fig. 17. Room 4; remains of apse and aumbry in east wall



Fig. 18. Room 6; looking north, with Tower 9 above and door to Turret 7 to the left

the first floor of the west range (Room 6). This consists of a single barrel-vaulted room, measuring 6.30 by 22.80 m. (figs. 4 and 18). The wall that faced on to the courtyard has collapsed. It seems very possible, however, that the room would have communicated on this side with the external balcony overlooking the court. Only one window survives in the west (outward) wall, a splayed slit-window piercing the vault towards its northern end. In the north wall, a low-pointed arched alcove, 1.53 m. wide, is blocked with crude masonry 1.41 m. back from the inner wall-face. The idea that it once may have formed an external door is possibly supported by the recording in 1874 of a corbelled machicolation on the outside wall at or near this point,<sup>18</sup> but there is no obvious sign today of any opening in the external masonry.

Roughly midway along the west wall of Room 6, a rounded-arched door (0.75 m. wide) leads into the western turret-chamber (7). This measures 2.97 by 2.13 m. internally and was covered by a pointed barrel-vault. On the plan made by A.W. Clapham,<sup>19</sup> a splayed window is shown in its west wall; but most of this and the south wall have now collapsed. A rock-cut void below the turret may, as Clapham suggested,<sup>20</sup> have been a latrine pit; but it could perhaps more plausibly be interpreted as a rainwater cistern.

From the northern end of Room 6, a door on the east leads into the north range (fig. 6), which consists of another barrel-vaulted room (6.9/7.0 x 15.00/15.20 cm.). The connecting door has a pointed arch (damaged) and a low-pointed passage. The only other opening noted was the right-hand (i.e., west) reveal of what appears to have been a door in the south wall, communicating with the north end of the balcony. Nothing remains of the south and east walls above foundation level, however, and any features that they may have exhibited are therefore unknown.

Finally, above the northwest corner of the building there projects the north wall and part of the east and west walls of a small tower (9), built at roof or second-floor level. This measured about 4 m. east-west, with walls about 0.60 m. thick (fig. 18). The interior was groin-vaulted and the north wall contains a rounded-arched splayed slit-window. A corbel projects from the east wall, though its purpose is unclear. There does not appear to have been any means of internal communication with this tower; access would therefore seem to have been from the terrace roof. Nor is its function very clear. Since it does not project beyond the building's northwest corner, it could have had only a limited defensive purpose, though with a machicolated parapet it might have been able to provide some flanking fire for the otherwise exposed up-hill side of the building. The tower, however, is the only part of the Dayr that is clearly visible from the Hospitaller castle of *Belmont* (Šūba/Zova). The possibility that it was intended as a signaling position is therefore quite plausible.

Across the wadi to the south, a small quadrangular building (10), measuring

18 Conder and Kitchener, *Survey*, 3:115.

19 Enlart, *Monuments*, 2, fig. 240.

20 Enlart, *Monuments*, 2:106, fig. 240.



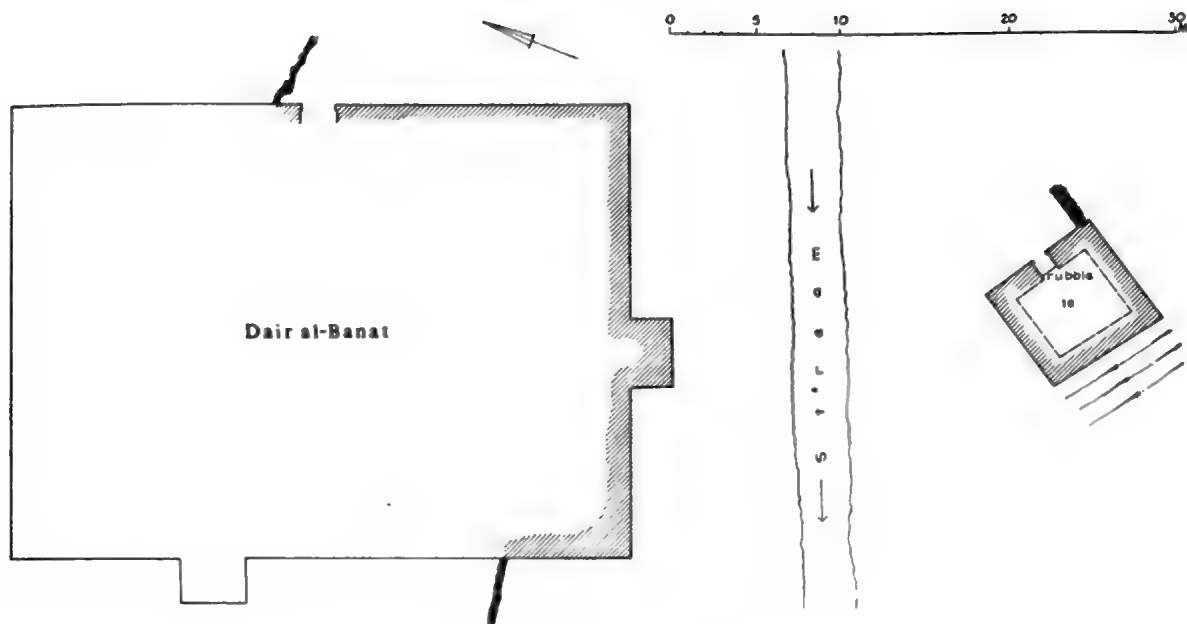


Fig. 19. Aqua Bella: Plan showing Building 10 and its relationship to Dair al-banāt (drawn by Peter Leach, after BSAJ Survey, 1986)

6.92/7.40 by 7.42 m. and of similar construction to the Dayr is built into the side of the valley (fig. 19). Its west wall is 1.30 m. thick, but the interior is choked with rubble and vegetation. On the east is a rounded-arched door, 0.86 m. wide, on one of whose voussoirs is a masonry mark (reversed *S*) of a type also found in the Dayr.<sup>21</sup> It is clear, therefore, that the Dayr was not an isolated building.

Masonry marks appear throughout the Dayr on the finely dressed ashlar used for the quoins and other details. As a group they correspond more closely with those of the Premonstratensian abbey church of St. Samuel (Nabī Ṣamwīl) and the Benedictine convent buildings at Bethany than with any other sites. Their distribution about the building also suggests that, except for the cross-wall in Room 4, the Dayr was built in a single campaign.<sup>22</sup>

## INTERPRETATION

The ruins of Dayr al-banāt have been variously interpreted. Many writers, including V. Guérin,<sup>23</sup> the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine,<sup>24</sup> C. Enlart,<sup>25</sup> and Father E. Hoade,<sup>26</sup> have taken the Arabic place name as evidence

21 Type 10-13. Pringle, "Masonry Marks," figs. 2 and 4.

22 Pringle, "Masonry Marks," pp. 179, 181-183, figs. 1-2, 7.

23 *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine, 1, Judée*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1868-69), 1:278-279.

24 Conder and Kitchener, *Survey*, 3:114-115.

25 *Monuments*, 2:103-106, pl. 78.

26 *Guide to the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1978), pp. 601-602; cf. S. Langé, *Architettura delle crociate in Palestina* (Como, 1965), pp. 106, 178; fig. 54; M. Provera, "'En Hemed: Aqua Bella o Fonte Speciosa dei Crociati," *Terra Santa* (1978), 27-31.

that it was a crusader women's convent, either Augustinian or Benedictine, even though none of them appears to have known of the existence of a chapel. Enlart, however, whose plan of the building with its incorrect orientation<sup>27</sup> was derived from Clapham, was led to suggest that the main room (4) might have been the infirmary hall of a hospital, of which the small turret-chamber (5) was the chapel. The orientation of the smaller room, however, is to the SSE and not to the east as Enlart thought; and the elaborately decorated window which he describes belongs not to the turret but to the hall.

The traditional interpretation of the building as a nunnery has more recently been challenged by M. Benvenisti,<sup>28</sup> who finds the place-name evidence unconvincing, and notes that fantastic names such as *Dayr bint malik Fanīs* (Convent of the Daughter of the King of Phoenicia) have often been attributed in Palestine to ancient structures whose origins were unknown. He points out secondly that no mention of any nunnery or monastery is made in Frankish sources; and the fact that the Hospitallers were prepared to offer Aqua Bella to a secular lord would seem to imply that it was not a religious house. Thirdly, the building appeared to have had no chapel. Benvenisti therefore concludes that Dayr al-banāt was, like other comparable crusader buildings, simply "a Frankish farmstead or manorhouse."<sup>29</sup>

Up till now my own interpretation of this building has tended to correspond more with Benvenisti's than with the earlier identifications as a nunnery or hospital.<sup>30</sup> I have elsewhere drawn attention to the essentially domestic character of the main room (4), identifying it as a hall, while admitting the possibility that its eastern part (containing the aumbry) might have been partitioned off later for use as a chapel.<sup>31</sup> It was only when I looked more closely at the building in August 1986, however, that I noticed the remains of the apse and discovered that all of the published plans (except that of the Survey of Western Palestine) were incorrectly orientated. Room 4 is in effect oriented roughly east-west, and the apse is in the center of its "east" wall. With this realization, a purely secular interpretation of the room, and thus of the complex as a whole, is no longer possible.

The interpretation of the whole building would seem to hinge on that of its principal room (4). As we have noted, the character of the apse's masonry and its masonry mark show that it is an original feature of the room and not a later insertion. And before the insertion of the partition separating off the east end, the room seems to have been open along its whole length.<sup>32</sup> The room was also independently accessible from both of the other large rooms of the first floor.

27 Followed by Benvenisti, *Crusaders*, fig. on p. 243; and Pringle, "Masonry Marks," fig. 1.

28 *Crusaders*, pp. 241-245.

29 *Crusaders*, p. 244.

30 Pringle, "Masonry Marks," pp. 181-183; "Two Medieval Villages," p. 172.

31 D. Pringle, "A Thirteenth-Century Hall at Montfort Castle in Western Galilee," *Antiquaries Journal* 66 (1986), 74 and pl. XIIIb.

32 Unless, of course, there had been an earlier partition entirely of wood.



Fig. 20. Building 10 from east

From a functional viewpoint, it could therefore be interpreted quite easily as a conventual chapel, and the partition wall as the base of a chancel screen.<sup>33</sup> Against this explanation, however, can be set not only the internal elevation, which is rather cramped for a chapel, but more particularly the surviving windows, especially the central one, which are of a type more usually found in domestic buildings.<sup>34</sup>

We are therefore led back to Enlart's suggestion that the room may have been an infirmary hall. With the clear evidence for a liturgical arrangement at the east end, this interpretation now seems very attractive. Some twenty beds could have been fitted into the remaining part of the room with ease, while the small turret-chamber (5) could have been used for ablutions in much the same way as the wall-closets in the surviving late fifteenth-century Hospital of St. John at Rhodes.<sup>35</sup> Rooms 6 and 7 could have served similar respective functions, either as overflow capacity for the main hall or as a dormitory for the serving community; while Room 8 might have been yet another dormitory or possibly the refectory. The ground floor of the west range, with its elaborate portal sited

33 Compare the example in the small Latin chapel whose remains lie just west of the church of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor.

34 Pringle, "Thirteenth-Century Hall," p. 74.

35 Baron de Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights* (Oxford, 1908), pp. 122-129; L.V. Bertarelli, *Possedimenti e Colonie: Isole Egée, Tripolitania, Cirenaica, Eritrea, Somalia*, Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano (Milan, 1929), pp. 81-86; cf. Pringle, "Thirteenth-Century Hall," pp. 72, 80, notes 64-65.

directly opposite the main entrance, might possibly have been a chapter house; while the flanking wings could have been used for kitchens and storage. Other ancillary buildings would certainly have existed outside the main block.

Benvenisti's arguments against interpretation as a convent may now be reconsidered. The place-name evidence would indeed seem unreliable, and in this instance can probably best be disregarded.<sup>36</sup> The fact that no crusader source mentions a nunnery or convent at Aqua Bella, however, need hardly surprise us, since only one document refers to the place at all. This relates simply that the Hospitallers in 1163/69 were offering the income from the village and its lands to the Duke of Hungary, while making no specific mention of any Frankish buildings. It may be assumed that if the offer had been taken up, the Hospitallers would have continued to administer the land (and its native peasantry) as they had done before, simply turning over the profit to the Duke. The same is also likely to have happened at Castellum Emaus, offered in the same document, where it is quite inconceivable that the Hospitallers would have contemplated allowing the pilgrimage church and road-station to have passed out of their hands.<sup>37</sup> The documentary evidence, or lack of it, does not therefore rule out an ecclesiastical interpretation for the building at Aqua Bella. Benvenist's third point, that the building had no chapel, is also now shown to be unfounded.

The courtyard building at Aqua Bella seems likely therefore to represent the remains of a conventual building of some kind, built by the Order of St. John between c. 1140 and 1160, at about the same time as their nearby establishments at Castellum Emaus<sup>38</sup> and Belmont.<sup>39</sup> Whether the community was male or female cannot be established with certainty. If one chose to follow the local Arab tradition that it included women, it might be possible to interpret them as Sisters of St. John, either attached to a hospital or organized as canonesses regular under a prioress. Such houses were already being established in Europe in the late 1170s and 1180s, and it might seem reasonable to assume, despite a lack of documentary evidence before 1219, that a house could have existed in the Holy Land before 1187.<sup>40</sup> But Aqua Bella would seem a rather isolated spot for such a

36 It may be noted, however, that the surviving local traditions surrounding the Dayr al-banāt do clearly identify the "maidens" as Franks, and not as mythical Phoenicians. But the antiquity of these traditions is uncertain.

37 On this complex, identified in the 12th century as the Spring of Emmaus, see R. de Vaux and A.M. Steve, *Fouilles à Qaryet et-'Enab, Abū Gôsh, Palestine* (Paris, 1950); cf. D. Pringle, "The Planning of Some Pilgrimage Churches in Crusader Palestine," *World Archaeology* 18.3 (1987), 357-358; A.M. Weyl-Carr, "The Mural Paintings of Abu Ghosh and the Patronage of Manuel Comnenus in the Holy Land," in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda, British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 152 (Oxford, 1982), pp. 215-243.

38 See preceding note.

39 See note 6 above. A Hospitaller knight (possibly the castellan), William of Belmont, is mentioned in 1157 and 1162 (RRH Nos. 329, 370b), and an unnamed castellan in 1169 (RRH No. 480).

40 See Riley-Smith, *Knights of St. John*, pp. 240-242. The house of the Sisters of the Hospital in Acre is mentioned in August 1219: Delaville, *Cartulaire*, No. 1656.

house; and although one could point to the houses of Benedictine nuns at Bethany (1140s) and Jacob's well (1170s) as examples of female convents established in remote localities, the houses of the Sisters of St. John seem more usually to have been located in towns. In this light and in view of the general unreliability of the place-name evidence, it would appear more likely that the building at Aqua Bella represented a house for Hospitaller brothers, rather than sisters.

There remains the question of the character and function of the house. Located as it was a mile or two from the main Jerusalem to Jaffa road, Aqua Bella would have been an unlikely place for a pilgrim hospice; and in any case, this function could have been served quite adequately by the Hospitaller road-station at Castellum Emaus. Nor would the Hospitallers have had any great need for an administrative center for their agricultural estates in the area, for this function could have been performed by the castle of Belmont, which, to judge from its size and location, would have been their principal military and administrative center in the region. The character of the building at Aqua Bella suggests, as has been shown, an infirmary hall (containing a chapel) associated with other residential accommodation and space for storage. But with a hospital in Jerusalem that could hold over a thousand beds,<sup>41</sup> it may also be doubted whether the Order would have had any need of further hospital accommodation which was both so restricted in size and isolated geographically. This difficulty can be resolved if the infirmary at Aqua Bella is seen not as a hospital for pilgrims, but rather as a monastic infirmary for sick, aged, or wounded members of the Order, who could have lived there in community under a prior. Aqua Bella, with its shaded groves and running waters, could have provided a welcome retreat for knights in need of quiet recuperation. As with most other rural Frankish buildings, however, such an interpretation rests on a balance of probabilities, rather than on solid documentary or archaeological proof.

41 Cf. Theodericus, ed. Bulst, c. 13, p. 21.



# Construction Methods in Frankish Rural Settlements

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"All who may have travelled in Palestine or Syria," wrote Charles Clermont-Ganneau in 1896, "know how difficult it often is to pronounce authoritatively that any building is a Latin work of the Middle Ages. [There is] no doubt when the building is in more or less good preservation, and is an architectural work in the aesthetic sense of the term... But when we have to deal with a building possessing no distinctive style, without any characteristic details ... in short when one has to be guided by what is called the dressing of the stones, then upon what principle is one to act, what clue can one follow?"<sup>1</sup>

This question has yet to be answered. Most of the comprehensive studies of crusader construction in the Levant deal with buildings whose Frankish character is indisputable, such as churches, fortresses, and a few large "manor-houses."<sup>2</sup> However, with regard to the Frankish countryside the lack of definitive criteria for identifying Frankish structures has thus far made it difficult to assess the extent of building activities. Although contemporary sources mention by name more than 1,200 places which were inhabited or cultivated,<sup>3</sup> it is not always possible to identify these sites. Even in those villages

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1 Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the Years 1873-4*, 1 (Paris, 1896), p. 2.

2 Among the many studies dealing mainly with monumental crusader architecture, the following deserve special attention: E.G. Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des croisés en Syrie et dans l'île de Chypre* (Paris, 1871); Enlart, *Monuments*; P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des croisés en Terre Sainte*, 2. *La Défense du Royaume de Jérusalem: Étude historique, géographique et monumentale* (Paris, 1939); R. Fedden and J. Thomson, *Crusader Castles* (London, 1957); P. Deschamps, *Terre Sainte romane* (Yonne, 1964); W. Müller-Wiener, *Castles of the Crusaders*, trans. J.M. Browwnohn (London, 1966); T.S.R. Boase, *Castles and Churches of the Crusading Kingdom* (London, 1967); Idem, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria, Part A: Architecture and Sculpture," in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, 4:69-116; Idem, "Military Architecture in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria," *ibid.*, pp. 140-164.

3 For the map of Frankish Palestine see J. Prawer and M. Benvenisti, "Crusader Palestine: Map and Index," in *Atlas of Israel*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem and Amsterdam, 1970), and the

which have been definitely pinpointed there have been problems in determining whether buildings from the Frankish period remain there.

The works of Abel,<sup>4</sup> Bagatti,<sup>5</sup> Benvenisti,<sup>6</sup> and Pringle<sup>7</sup> provide evidence that Frankish rural buildings did exist, and allow for the hypothesis that the number of structures erected in the Frankish countryside was larger than hitherto assumed. With that in mind one of the aims of this study is to establish criteria for the identification of crusader buildings based on construction methods employed by the artisans rather than on the general appearance of the structures alone.

Construction work is a complicated process requiring the expertise of architects and designers as well as the labor of skilled builders, masons, and carpenters, and the unskilled labor of ordinary workmen. Hence every building possesses features which reflect not only the architectural and artistic fashions of the day but also the technological skills and financial resources available.

In order to define the characteristics of twelfth-century Frankish masonry I carried out a field study of 103 sites throughout Palestine: 63 sites contain well-known twelfth-century crusader buildings, with the remaining 40 from earlier and later periods. In examining all the definitely dated structures I tried to determine sufficiently distinct characteristics to help establish, unaided by written sources, whether other, previously undated buildings had also been constructed in the twelfth century.

Clermont-Ganneau, who was the first to maintain that the difficulties in

studies by R. Röhrich, "Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens," *ZDPV* 10 (1887), 195-344; G. Beyer, "Das Gebiet der Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Caesarea in Palästina siedlungs- und territorialgeschichtlich untersucht," *ZDPV* 59 (1936), 1-91; Idem, "Neapolis (*nāblus*) und sein Gebiet in der Kreuzfahrerzeit: Eine topographische und historisch-geographische Studie," *ZDPV* 63 (1940), 155-209; Idem, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete von Jerusalem und S. Abraham (Hebron)," *ZDPV* 65 (1942), 165-211; Idem, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Akko und Galilaea," *ZDPV* 67 (1944-45), 183-260; Idem, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Südwestpalästinas," *ZDPV* 68 (1946-51), 148-192, 249-281; D. Barag, "A New Source Concerning the Ultimate Borders of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal* 29 (1979), 197-217.

- 4 F.M. Abel, "Yazour et Beit Dedjan ou le Chastel des Plains et le Chastel de Maen," *Revue biblique* 36 (1927), 83-89; Idem, "Notes sur les environs de Bir-Zeit," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 8 (1928), 49-55; Idem, "Attarah et Nasbeh au Moyen Age," *ibid.*, 11 (1931), 141-143; Idem, *Géographie de la Palestine*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1933-1938); Idem, "Afrabala-Forbélet et l'Ophra de Gédeon," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 17 (1937), 31-44; Idem, "Jaffa au Moyen Age," *ibid.*, 20 (1946), 6-28.
- 5 B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria* (Jerusalem, 1979); Idem, *I monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni* (Jerusalem, 1947); Idem, *Antichi villaggi cristiani della Giudea e del Neghev* (Jerusalem, 1983).
- 6 M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1970); Idem, "Bovariababriyya: A Frankish Residue on the Map of Palestine," in *Outremer*, pp. 130-152.
- 7 D. Pringle, "Two Medieval Villages North of Jerusalem: Archaeological Investigation in al-Jib and ar-Ram," *Levant* 15 (1983), 141-177; Idem, "Magna Mahumeria (al-Bīra): The Archaeology of a Frankish New Town in Palestine," in *CS*, pp. 147-168; Idem, *The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar): Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamluks, A.D. 1099-1516*, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Monograph Series, 1 (London, 1986).

identifying crusader buildings prevent scholars from learning the real extent of such construction, went on to suggest criteria for identifying them. He noted that one of the most distinctive characteristics of many crusader buildings from both the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries is a special method of stone-cutting not found in buildings erected in Palestine before the arrival of the crusaders, nor in those built after their departure. The stone was dressed in such a way as to leave parallel, diagonal, serrated marks stretching from one end of the stone to the other.

In my opinion, this type of stone-cutting could not have been accomplished with percussive implements such as hammers or chisels since they leave short marks on the stones, each resulting from a single stroke. By contrast, the marks discernible on our stones extend diagonally over their whole width. A comparison of these typically Frankish marks with contemporary methods employed in France<sup>8</sup> suggests that the tool used for dressing the stones was serrated—either the serrated comb known in France as the *chemin de fer*, or the *chasse* used by skilled masons in the mountainous areas of France. For dressing corners and rough surfaces, the *chemin de fer* is more convenient than the finer *chasse*.<sup>9</sup>

The field study has shown that only a few Frankish buildings were constructed in their entirety with stones displaying the characteristic diagonals. These were such prominent edifices as the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the cathedral of Sebaste, and the Armenian convent in Jerusalem. In fact, many crusader buildings totally lack this type of masonry. In only 36 of the 63 sites acknowledged by all authorities to be of the twelfth century were stones found cut in the elaborate manner noted. In some of these 36 buildings, all the stones used in the interiors were so dressed, while in others only the stones for specific

- 8 For descriptions of stone-cutting methods used in contemporary Europe, see K. Friederich, *Die Steinbearbeitung in ihrer Entwicklung vom 11. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Augsburg, 1932); A. Chauvel, "Étude sur la taille des pierres au Moyen Age," *Bulletin Monumental* 93 (1934), 435-450; E. Nogy, *La Formation et le développement des métiers au Moyen Age (V<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Budapest, 1977), pp. 107-119; P. Varène, "La Taille de la pierre," *Les dossiers de l'Archéologie* 25 (1977), 34-43; Idem, *Sur la taille de la pierre antique, médiévale et moderne*, 3rd ed. (Dijon, 1982); J.-Cl. Bessac, *L'Outillage traditionnel du tailleur de pierres de l'Antiquité à nos jours* (Paris, 1986).
- 9 A. Orlandos (*Les Matériaux de construction et la technique architecturale des anciens grecs*, 2 [Paris, 1968], pp. 53-54) is of the opinion that smoothing tools were in use in the Greek cities of France. Scholars of the University of Dijon's *Centre de recherches sur les techniques gréco-romaines* appear to concur: R. Martin, *Manuel d'architecture grecque, matériaux et techniques* (Paris, 1965), pp. 182-183. Martin and Varène found indications of the use of these tools in structures excavated on 2nd-century Roman sites; see, e.g., R. Martin et P. Varène, "Le Monument d'Ucuetis à Alésia," *XXVI<sup>e</sup> supplément à Gallia* (Paris, 1973), p. 135, pl. 53; P. Varène, *Sur la taille*, p. 53, maintains that the smoothing tools continued to be used in the Middle Ages too. On the other hand, J.-Cl. Bessac, *L'Outillage traditionnel*, pp. 154-170, contends that smoothing tools were not used before the 18th century. He gives no explanation for the existence of smoothed stones in France and elsewhere in the Middle Ages. For the tools in use of Arab masons in the early decades of the present century see T.A. Canaan, "The Palestinian Arab House: Its Architecture and Folklore," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 12 (1932), 223-230.

architectural details (such as door frames, windows, etc.) were cut in this manner.

The selective use of this type of high-quality masonry undoubtedly derives from aesthetic considerations, though not entirely so. From the descriptions and construction accounts of thirteenth-century churches and forts in France, England, and Italy, it would appear that the wage paid to expert masons—who accounted for 25 percent of all building workers—was one-third higher than that paid to most other artisans, and that expert masons accounted for 25 percent of all building workers.<sup>10</sup> Clearly, then, the costs of construction could be considerably reduced by dispensing with the services of these highly skilled masons. Likewise, it stands to reason that only the very rich could afford to employ experts to cut all the stones of their main edifices; the less wealthy had to content themselves with employing these skilled artisans only for the interiors of their buildings, or merely for some architectural details of the exteriors. Most probably, the poor could ill afford to employ expert masons, and were constrained to hire instead the least skilled construction workers. In fact, even many well-known crusader buildings, such as Mirabel, M'ilyā, and al-Rām, show no evidence that skilled masons were employed in their construction. It can be assumed, therefore, that simpler crusader constructions, too, were built without their assistance.

In the less impressive buildings one finds other characteristics. One of these, the marginal drafting of cornerstones, was even more common than the crusader diagonal tooling first noted by Clermont-Ganneau. In 51 of the 63 twelfth-century buildings examined, only the cornerstones were marginally drafted, with the rest of the external walls being constructed of roughly cut local stones held together by large quantities of cement. The coarse appearance of these buildings, along with the marginal drafting of the cornerstones, was typical of Frankish masonry of small churches, manor-houses, walls, and fortifications of the twelfth-century. Marginal drafting did not demand highly developed skills or expertise, but had distinctly functional and economic advantages. First and foremost, it eliminated the need to dress the central boss, thus saving much skilled labor. At the same time, the stones could be laid accurately on top of each other with the aid of a plumbline and spirit level once the margins had been drafted. The marginally drafted stones also helped strengthen the corners of the buildings, a function especially important in simple structures consisting of cemented, partially hewn stones.<sup>11</sup>

10 For wages earned by medieval masons and builders, see M. Aubert, "La Construction au Moyen Age," *Bulletin Monumental* 118 (1960), 297-301; P. Du Colombier, *Les Chantiers des cathédrales* (Paris, 1973), pp. 54-59; J. Gimpel, *Les Bâisseurs de cathédrales* (Paris, 1980), p. 56; D. Knoop and G.P. Jones, "The First Three Years of the Building of Vale Royal Abbey, 1278-1280," *Trans. Quatuor Coronati Lodge* 44 (1931), 5-47; Idem, *The Medieval Mason* (Manchester, 1967), pp. 85-90, 98-115; B. Geremek, *Le Salarial dans l'artisanat parisien aux XIIIe-XVe siècles* (Paris, 1982), pp. 89-90.

11 Deschamps attributes the marginal drafting of the stones to military considerations. In his opinion the margins were intended to deflect the stones catapulted by the enemy. This

Although marginally drafted stones had been used in Palestine since the Bronze Age, the combination of coarsely built walls and marginally drafted cornerstones is typical only of the twelfth century, and, when appearing together with other features described below, constitute a reliable criterion for the dating of buildings to that century. This combination was replaced later by a more costly technique based on the marginal drafting of all the stones on the facing of the walls, as can be seen in the thirteenth-century castles of Château Pèlerin and Montfort.

Another aid for distinguishing between crusader buildings and earlier or later ones is the last remaining evidence of the system used by Frankish builders for erecting vaults.

The technology employed in the construction of vaults has been studied exhaustively at several European sites.<sup>12</sup> All the scholars stress the importance of the strong wooden structures called *centering* on which the stones of the arches or vaults rested during the building process. The construction of the vaulted roofs was in fact dependent entirely upon the ability of the builders to erect absolutely stable temporary wooden scaffolding. The larger and higher the arch, the greater the difficulties involved in its construction. In order to construct a vaulted roof, architect and carpenter had to plan not only the construction of the wooden centering with great care, but also its dismantling. For not only did the roof have to remain undamaged, but the centering itself had to be preserved since scaffolding was too expensive for a single use. This was especially true in the Levant where wood for building was scarce, and the only trees which were suitable for the strong wooden centering had to be brought from great distances.<sup>13</sup>

Many rural Frankish buildings were roofed with very wide barrel vaults. All have square holes called *putlog holes* at an equal distance and height from the springing of the arches. Where the putlog holes were not preserved, there was a "step" in the same place under the beginning of the vault. According to Fitchen, in buildings in Europe, similar putlog holes supported the centering for the arches above them.<sup>14</sup> The fixed distances between these holes and the uniform height of the steps found instead of them indicate careful planning. The builders were aided by reusable stable supports which were kept in position by means of holes and moved as the building progressed. In the grander buildings these holes were blocked up after the roof and the building were completed, but in the simpler structures they were left open. Significantly, putlog holes are not found

theory is not valid for buildings of the 12th century in which only the cornerstones were so drafted. Deschamps, *Défense* (note 3 above), pp. 228-229.

12 J. Fitchen, *The Construction of the Gothic Vault* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 26-41; J.H. Acland, *Medieval Structure: The Gothic Vault* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 38-64.

13 For prices of timber in the Mediterranean basin and for the import of timber from Europe and even from Asia, see E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval* (Paris, 1969), pp. 87-90, 183, 355-360.

14 Cf. Fitchen, *Construction*, pp. 26-30.



in contemporary or later Muslim buildings.<sup>15</sup> Hence it was the technical skill of their builders and carpenters which enabled the crusaders to build, even in the rural areas, large halls with barrel vaults, which can be seen to this day.

Another feature of crusader architecture which testifies to the employment of Frankish artisans is the presence of masons' marks. The widely accepted explanation of these marks is that they were the signs of individual masons whose pay was calculated according to them. Another explanation offered is that the architect ordered these marks so as to inform the construction workers where to place each stone.<sup>16</sup>

My study of masons' marks led to the conclusion that only expertly cut stones were marked in this way. Also, all marked stones were brought to the building sites from distant quarries. The stones of three Frankish sites—two of the twelfth, the third of the thirteenth century—illustrate this finding.

(1) *Belvoir*. Stones from three different quarries were used by the builders. They were: first, from the layer of basalt on which the fortress itself was erected. No masons' marks were found on stones from this layer. Second, from a quarry of soft *nārī* stone situated about five kilometers from Belvoir—masons' marks were found on all stones from this quarry. Third, a fine limestone, quarried some 20 kilometers from the fortress and apparently used for building the church—on some of these stones more than one mark was found.

Thus, the very hard basalt stones, which were the most difficult to cut, have no masons' marks, although some of them were expertly dressed, and the amount of labor invested in them must have been greater than that required for the soft limestone and *nārī*. Had the marks served the purpose of calculating the pay due to the masons, one would have expected that the basalt stones would have been so marked. This, however, is not the case. At Belvoir, only stones which were brought from some distance bear masons' marks.<sup>17</sup>

15 Burgoyne is of the opinion that this type of centering must have been used by most of Muslim builders, who concealed the putlog holes more successfully: M.H. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem, an Architectural Study*, Buckerst Hill, Essex, 1987, pp. 89-91.

16 Studies on masons' marks in Europe include G.F. Fort, *A Historical Treatise on Early Builders' Marks* (Philadelphia, 1885), p. 115ff.; H. Déneux, "Signes lapidaires et épures du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à la cathédrale de Reims," *Bulletin Monumental* 84 (1925), 99ff.; Friedrich, *Steinbearbeitung*, pp. 13-25, 93-103; L.F. Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540* (London, 1952), pp. 126-129; G.G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 143-165; R.H. Davis, "A Catalog of Masons' Marks as an Aid to Architectural History," *The Journal of the British Architectural Association* 39 (1954), 43ff.; M. Aubert, "La construction au Moyen Age," *Bulletin Monumental* 119 (1961), 319-321; E. Nicolas, "Les signes lapidaires: approche methodologique," in O. Chapélot & P. Bénéoit, eds., *Pierre et métal dans le bâtiment au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1985), pp. 185-195. For masons' marks in crusader buildings in Palestine see Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, "Introductory Remarks on the Distinctive and Specific Character of Crusading Masonry, A. Masons' Marks," in *Archaeological Researches in Palestine During the Year 1873-4*, 2 (London, 1899), pp. 1-38; D. Pringle, "Some Approaches to the Study of Crusader Masonry Marks in Palestine," *Levant* 13 (1981), 173-199.

17 For the relation between quarries and sites chosen for erecting cathedrals in the Paris

(2) *The Carmelite monastery in Naḥal Sīah* (grid reference 1477 2453).<sup>18</sup> This edifice, too, consists of three different kinds of stones. Those quarried at some distance from the building-site were marked with short, vertical lines evidently indicating the height of the stone. Stones with two lines are 29-30 cm high, those marked with three lines are 32-33 cm high, and those with four lines are 39-40 cm high.

The likeliest explanation appears to be that the stones quarried far from the building site were cut into various sizes at the quarry with the height marked there on each stone. This enabled the builders to place the stones in courses of uniform height without wasting time rolling heavy stones around in order to match one to another.<sup>19</sup> Stones quarried close to the site, on the other hand, required no such marking, since the master-mason or architect could instruct the quarrymen on the spot how to sort the stones by size into appropriate piles. But probably the main reason for cutting the stones to exact size at the quarry was that it reduced transportation costs, as the excess bulk and weight of the wastage was eliminated at the source. According to my observations, even today, the manual stone-cutting methods of Arab masons produce wastage of more than thirty percent.<sup>20</sup>

basin, see J. James, "An Investigation into the Uneven Distribution of Early Gothic Churches in the Paris Basin," *Art Bulletin* 66 (1984), 15-46.

- 18 On the history of the site see E. Friedman, *The Latin Hermits of Mount Carmel* (Rome, 1979); See also D. Pringle, "Thirteenth-Century Pottery from the Monastery of St. Mary of Carmel," *Levant*, 16 (1984), 91-111; Eugenia Nitowski (Sister Damian OCD), *The 1987 Preliminary Season in the Wadi es-Siah* (Salt Lake City, 1987).
- 19 Already in the previous century, L. Lefort, architect and supervisor of restoration work of Rouen Cathedral, proposed that the stones were cut at the quarry and brought directly from there to the building site. L. Lefort, "La sculpture et le travail de la pierre dans les monuments du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Bulletin Monumental* 56 (1890), 236-239. Baron A. de la Grange later published a text which confirms Lefort's view. In a document of 1272, Jean de La Hestre, abbot of Chambron Monastery at Bruges, ordered stones, piers, windows, and other architectural elements from Thierry de Calonne and Henri Paulu, and specified the exact measurements for the masons. The latter were responsible for the stones up to the time of their delivery in Bruges, unless they were damaged as a result of hostilities. A. de la Grange, "La taille des pierres à Tournai, au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bulletin Monumental* 60 (1895), 72-74. Kimpel's study on mass cutting of stones supports this explanation: see D. Kimpel, "Le développement de la taille en série dans l'architecture médiévale et son rôle dans l'histoire économique," *Bulletin Monumental* 135 (1977), 195-220; Idem, "Les Bâisseurs du Moyen Age," *Histoire et Archéologie. Les dossiers* 48 (1980), 40-59.
- 20 In the absence of written evidence, it is difficult to determine the costs of transportation in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. In 13th-century Europe, expenditures on the transportation of building materials made up a substantial part of construction costs. For example, during the first three years of the construction of Vale Royal Abbey, 375 pounds—out of the total expenditure of 1,526 pounds—were spent on the transportation of stones and wood. See Knoop and Jones, "First Three Years" (note 11 above), pp. 1-32; Idem, *Mediaeval Mason* (note 10 above), pp. 50-54. For other examples see Salzman, *Building* (note 16 above), pp. 119-122. If Bulliet is right that carts were not used in the Near East in medieval times (*The Camel and the Wheel*, [Cambridge, Mass., 1975], pp. 216-236), transportation costs of building materials would have been still higher. Bulliet's assertion, requires however further study. The Frankish settlers certainly knew about carts from their native Europe, and they made use of them at least in the construction of

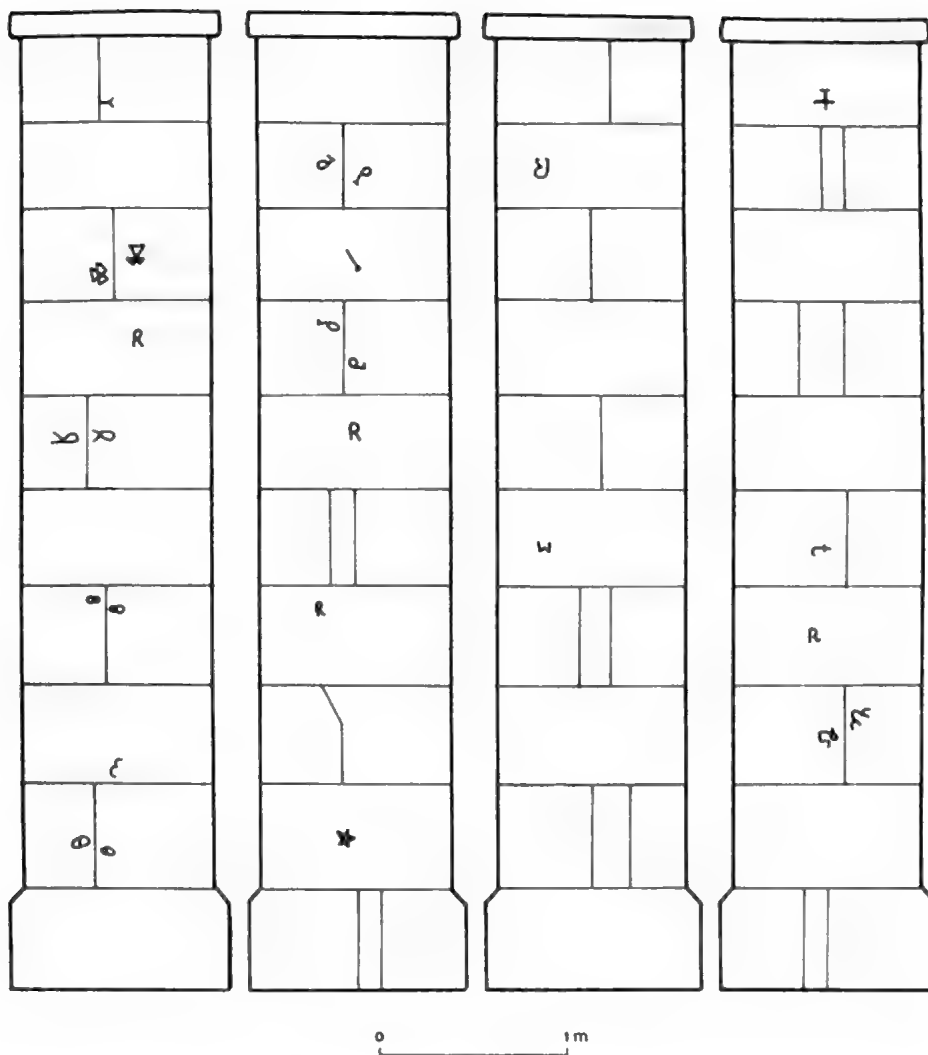


Fig. 1. Double masons' marks on a pier in Abū Ghūsh (drawn by Tamar Sofer)

(3) *Abū-Ghūsh*. The church at Abū Ghūsh consists of two types of stones. Those quarried near the building-site were used for the outer walls, whereas stones used for interior walls, portals, and windows were transported from a distant quarry. Masons' marks were found only on those stones which were quarried far away. In addition we observed that stones placed contiguously on the piers of the church were double-marked. That is, one mark is engraved in the center of each facet and the other on the edge. On the adjacent stone there are similar marks, but facing the opposite direction (see fig. 1). The fact that the marks are identical and appear on two abutting stones strongly suggests that they were intended to guide the builders in placing them together. Most likely the stones arrived from the quarry cut and marked, so that all the builders had to do was to fill in the spaces between them with smaller stones which required no marking.

We may conclude, then, that in crusader Palestine several systems of masonry marks were in use. By localizing these different systems we may gain a better

Château Pèlerin: "Duo turres edificabantur ante frontem castris, lapidibus quadris et dolatis tante quantitatis, ut lapis unus vix a duobus bubalis in curru trahatur." *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinalbischofs von S. Sabina, Oliverus*, ed. H. Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894), p. 19.

understanding of the working methods of medieval masons and architects in Palestine.

Beside the above-mentioned criteria other characteristics known of twelfth-century Frankish buildings were examined such as ground plans, portals, embrasure-type windows, and cementing materials, all reminiscent of contemporary European techniques. Some of these features are characteristic of twelfth-century crusader construction only, common to modest as well as more impressive buildings.

With the help of the above criteria, a survey of crusader construction in the area north of Jerusalem was carried out. The Frankish settlement in this area is relatively well documented.<sup>21</sup> As it was under Frankish control only until 1187, every building exhibiting crusader characteristics could be dated with reasonable certainty to the twelfth century. A total of 134 sites, including 60 villages, were surveyed. In 30 of the villages there were buildings which can be ascribed, according to the above criteria, to the Frankish period. In addition, 23 isolated buildings could be tentatively identified as crusader manor-houses (see fig. 2). All 23 are close to sources of water, and most are distant from main roads, located in places devoid of military importance. They exhibit some of the above-mentioned characteristics: vaults built with the aid of complicated wooden centerings, stones with parallel diagonals, marginally drafted cornerstones combined with coarsely built walls. Latin masons' marks appear in some of them. All have fortified gates and windows resembling embrasures, and most are rectangular, with the living quarters in a tower at one corner.

An excavation was carried out at Khirbat Lawza (grid reference 1658 1359), one of the sites tentatively identified as a manor-house. Sections of stones marked with the parallel diagonals characteristic of crusader structures were uncovered just below the surface. The complex was found to consist of a large rectangular building with a three-storey living area and storerooms. From the outside the structure looks deceptively like a fortress. The windows, to be sure, are built like embrasures, but cannot be used for military purposes, since some open onto an enclosed stairway. Outside the fenced-in area there are remains of a large reservoir which served for the irrigation of the cultivated areas. The complex is situated in a wadi through which no main road is known to have passed.

Among the many other examples are the "manor-houses" at Moza (grid ref.

21 Abel, "Notes" (note 4 above), pp. 49-55; Idem, "Attarah" (note 4 above), pp. 141-143; Idem, "Les deux Mahomeries el Bireh et el Koubeibeh," *Revue biblique*, 35 (1926), pp. 272-283; H.E. Mayer, "Sankt Samuel auf dem Freudenberge und sein Besitz nach einem unbekannten Diplom König Balduins V," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 44 (1964), 35-71; B.Z. Kedar, "Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem vom September 1187," *Deutsches Archiv* 38 (1982), 112-122; D. Pringle, "Two Medieval Villages" (note 7 above), pp. 141-177; Idem, "Magna Mahumeria" (note 7 above), pp. 147-168. [It should be noted that the well-informed author of the account of Saladin's conquests mentions in this region *castella et villulas Francorum: De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae libellus*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 66 (London, 1875), p. 233. Ed.]

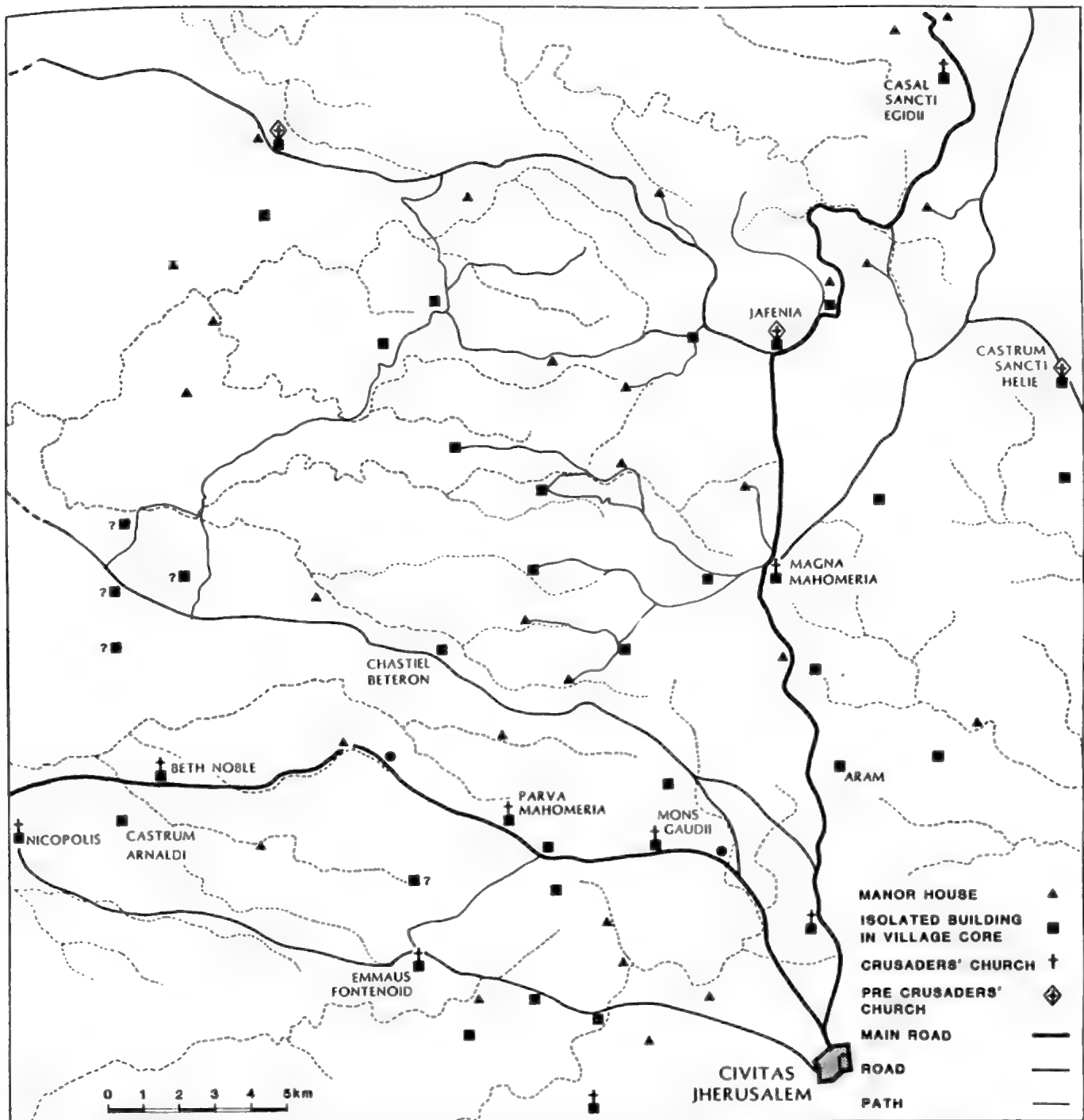


Fig. 2. Crusader settlements north of Jerusalem (drawn by Tamar Sofer)

1662 1342), Horvat Beyt Telem (grid ref. 1663 1346), *Khirbat Kufriya* (grid ref. 1663 1488), *Khirbat Djaryut* (grid ref. 1634 1444), Dayr Sa'ida (grid ref. 1663 1511), Burdj Bardawil (grid ref. 1719 1538). The ground-plan of these sites is similar to that of the complex at *Khirbat al-Lawza*. A "manor-house" of a different type is located at *Khirbat Salmān* (grid. ref. 1627 1411). The large building consists of two units surrounded by a wall facing a wadi. This house, too, is far from any important road.



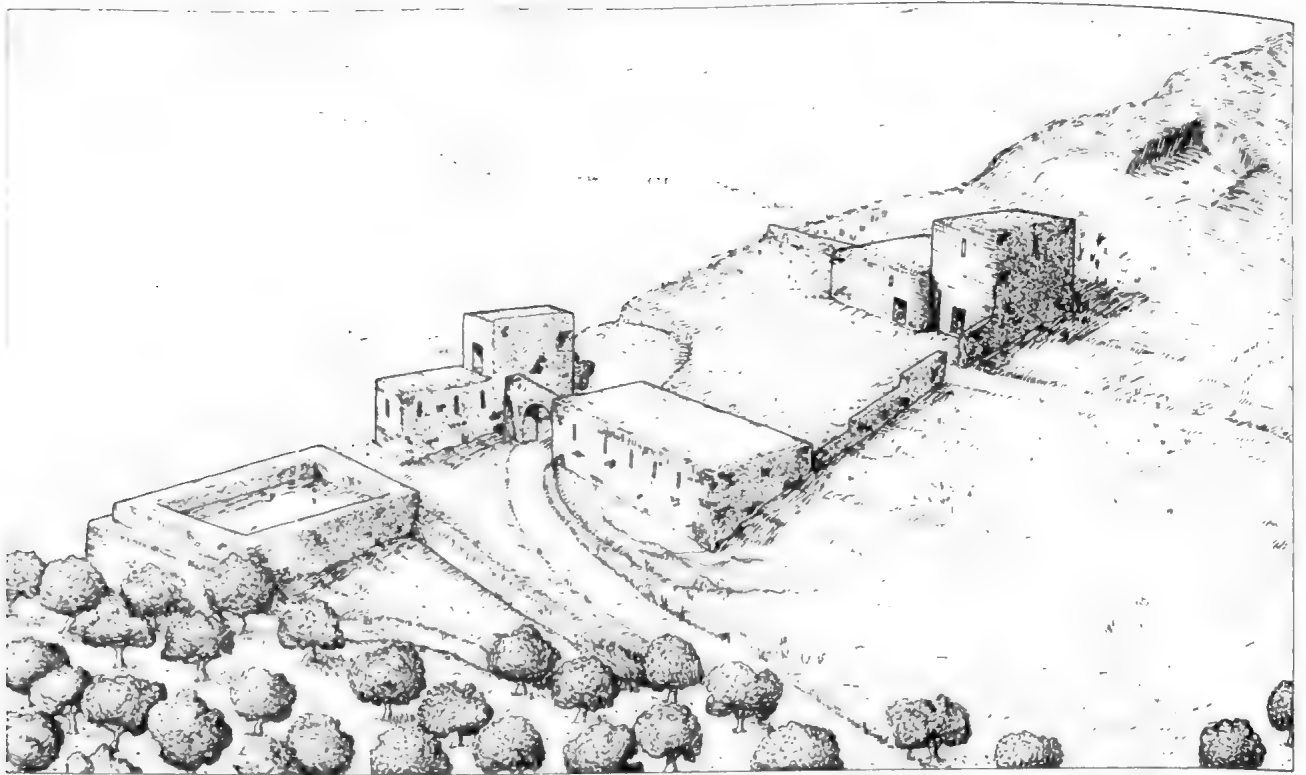


Fig. 3. Proposed reconstruction of manor house at Khirbat Lawza (drawn from aerial photo by David Hully)

The distribution of crusader settlement north of Jerusalem raises several questions concerning crusader rural settlement in general. Was this distribution typical of this area only? Did the Franks themselves inhabit the buildings erected during their rule? To what extent was the Frankish settlement of the thirteenth century different from that of the twelfth? Future field study combined with a reexamination of the documentary evidence may provide answers to these questions.

Table 1: Characteristics of Twelfth Century Crusader Structures

SITE	BUILDING MATERIALS				ROOFING				MASONRY				
	Piers	Embrasure type windows	Two qualities of cement	Three vertical layers wall	A "step" used for the centering	Putlog holes	Cross vaults	Barrel vault	Masons' marks	Hami cutting of the surface stones	Diagonal cutting	Marginal drafting of all stones	Marginal drafting of cornerstones
Name; Grid reference; Identification													
'Ābūd 156/158	+	+	?	+	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
Acre: Hospitaller Complex	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	—
'Allār as-Suflā (H. Tanūr) 155/125	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+
Azor 131/159 <i>Casal des Plains</i>	—	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	—	—	—	+
al-'Ayzariyya 174/131 <i>S. Lazarus; Bethania</i>	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	—	+	—	—	+
al-Baūbariyya 166/186	—	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	—	+
Bayt 'Ūr al Fawqā <i>Vetus Betor</i> 150/143	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	—	—	+
Baytīn 172/148 <i>Bethel</i>	—	+	?	+	?	?	—	+	—	+	—	—	—
Beit-Govrin 140/112 <i>Bethgibelin</i>	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+
Beit 'Itav 155/127 <i>Bethaatap</i>	—	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	—	+



SITE	Name; Grid reference; Identification	MASONRY				ROOFING				BUILDING MATERIALS			
		Marginal drafting of cornerstones	Marginal drafting of all stones	Diagonal cutting	<i>Hami</i> cutting of the surface stones	Masons' marks	Barrel vault	Cross vaults	Putlog holes	A "step" used for the centering	Three vertical layers wall	Two qualities of cement	Embrasure type windows
	Fahma 167/198 <i>Fame</i>	+	—	—	+	—	+?	?	?	—	+	+	?
	'Imwās (church) <i>Emmaus</i> 149/138	—	—	+	—	—	—?	+	—?	—	+	+	+
	Jab'ā 175/140 <i>Gabaa</i>	+	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+	+	—
	Jericho: 193/140 Tahunah al-Hawa	+	—	+	+	—	+	—	—	+	+	+	—
	Jerusalem: Ascension	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	?	?	—	—
	Jerusalem: St. James The Great	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	+	+	+
	Jerusalem: Church of the Holy Sepulcher	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	+	?	+	+
	Jerusalem: St. Mark	?	—	+	?	—	—	+	—	?	?	+	+
	Jerusalem: St. Mary in the Valley of Jehosaphat	—	—	+	—	+	+	—	—	+	?	+	+
	Jerusalem: St. Thomas	+	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	+

SITE	MASONRY				ROOFING				BUILDING MATERIALS				
	Marginal drafting of cornerstones	Marginal drafting of all stones	Diagonal cutting	Hami cutting of the surface stones	Masons' marks	Barrel vault	Cross vaults	Putlog holes	A "step" used for the centering	Three vertical layers wall	Two qualities of cement	Embrasure type windows	Piers
Name; Grid reference; Identification													
Jerusalem: St. Mary of the Germans	+	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+
Jerusalem: St. Mary of the Probatika	—	—	+	+	—	?	?	—	—	+	+	+	+
Jerusalem: St. Anne	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	?	+	+
Jerusalem: St. Mary in Aceldama	+	—	+	+	—	+	—?	?	—	+	+	+	+
Jerusalem: Church in 'Aqabat al-Khālidiyah	?	—	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	+	+
Jifnā 170/152 <i>Jafenia</i>	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	—
Karmil 162/092 <i>Carmel</i>	+	—	—	+	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	—
Khān al-Hatrūra 184/136 <i>Maldoim</i>	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	—
Kokhav Hayarden 199/222 <i>Belvoir</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	5	5	5	5
Latrūn 149/137 <i>Toron des Chevaliers</i>	+	—	+	?	+	—	+	—	—	+	+	+	+



SITE	Name; Grid reference; Identification	MASONRY				ROOFING				BUILDING MATERIALS			
		Marginal drafting of cornerstones	Marginal drafting of all stones	Diagonal cutting	Hami cutting of the surface stones	Masons' marks	Barrel vault	Cross vaults	Putlog holes	A "step" used for the centering	Three vertical layers wall	Two qualities of cement	Embrasure type windows
	Lod 140/151 <i>S. Georgius de Lidde</i>	?	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+	+	+	+
	H. Manot 164/271 <i>Manueth</i>	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	+	—
	Mār Sābā 181/123 <i>St. Sabaa: Tower</i>	+	+	—	—	+	?	?	?	?	?	+	?
	Mazra'a 159/265 <i>La Mezera</i>	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	+	+	+	—
	Merhavia 179/223 <i>La Fève</i>	1	1	+	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	+	?
	Mi'ilya 174/260 <i>Chastiau dou Rei</i>	+	—	—	+	—	+	?	?	+	+	+	?
	H. Migdal Afek 146/165 <i>Mirabel</i>	+	—	—	+	—	+	?	—	+	+	+	?
	an-Nabi-Šamwīl 167/137 <i>Montjoie</i>	+ <sup>2</sup>	+	+	—	+	—	—	—	?	?	+	+
	Qalansawa 149/177 <i>Calansue; Calanson</i>	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+
	Qaluniya 166/133	+	—	+	+	—	+	?	?	+	+	?	?

**THE**

SITE	Name; Grid reference; Identification	BUILDING MATERIALS				ROOFING				MASONRY			
		Piers	Embrasure type windows	Two qualities of cement	Three vertical layers wall	A "step" used for the centering	Putlog holes	Cross vaults	Barrel vault	Masons' marks	Hami cutting of the surface stones	Diagonal cutting	Marginal drafting of all stones
	Qaryat al 'Inab (Abu-Gosh) 160-135 <i>Emmaus Fontenoid</i>	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—	+	+	—	+
	al-Qubaiba 163/138 <i>Parva Mahomeria</i>	+	?	+	+	?	—?	+	—?	+	+	+	+
	Qūla 146/160 <i>Cola</i>	—	+	+	+	—	?	—	+	—	+	—	+
	al-Rām 171/140 <i>Aram</i>	—	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	—	—	+
	Ramla 138/148 <i>Rames</i>	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	?	—	—
	Nofekh 142/161 <i>Rentie</i>	—	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	+
	Sabastiya 168/186 <i>Sabaste</i> ; Latin church	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—	+	+	—	—
	Şafūriya 176/239 <i>Saforie</i> ; Ruined castle	?	+	+	+	?	—	+	—	—	—	+ <sup>3</sup>	+
	Şafūriya 176/239 <i>Saforie</i> ; Church	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—	+	+	—	—

SITE	Name; Grid reference; Identification	MASONRY				ROOFING				BUILDING MATERIALS			
		Marginal drafting of cornerstones	Marginal drafting of all stones	Diagonal cutting	Hami cutting of the surface stones	Masons' marks	Barrel vault	Cross vaults	Putlog holes	A "step" used for the centering	Three vertical layers wall	Two qualities of cement	Embrasure type windows
		+	—	?	+ <sup>4</sup>	?	?	?	?	?	+	+	?
	Sinjil <i>St. Gilles</i>	+ <sup>5</sup>	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	?
	Zova 162/132 <i>Belmont</i>	+	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	+
	Sumāiriya 159/264 <i>Somelaria</i>	+	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—
	Tayyiba <i>Forbelet</i>	+ <sup>(?)6</sup>	—	+	?	—	+	+	—	—	+	+	—
	Tayyiba 178/151 <i>Esfraon</i>	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
	Tel Yokneam 160/230 <i>Caymont</i>	—	—	+	—	—	?	?	?	—	+	+	+
	Kh. at-Tūqu' 170/115 <i>Thecua</i>	+	—	—	+	—	?	?	?	?	+	+	+
	Zabābida 180/199	+	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	+	+	—

1 totally ruined

2 extensively altered

3 many

4 unable to enter the mosque

5 partially

6 ruined

Table 2: Characteristics of Thirteenth-Century Crusader and Medieval Muslim Structures

SITE	Name; Grid reference; Identification	BUILDING MATERIALS				ROOFING				MASONRY			
		Piers	Embrasure type windows	Two qualities of cement	Three vertical layers wall	A "step" used for the centering	Putlog holes	Cross vaults	Barrel vault	Masons' marks	Hami cutting of the surface stones	Diagonal cutting	Marginal drafting of all stones
	Ashdod Yam 114/132 <i>Castellum Beroart</i>	—	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—
	'Atlit 144/234 <i>Chastiau Pelerin</i>	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Banyas 215/294 <i>Belinas</i>	+	+	+	+	—	?	+	?	+ <sup>1</sup>	—	+	+
	Caesarea 140/212 The harbour fortification	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Habonim 144/227 <i>Cafarlet</i>	—	+	—	+	—	+ <sup>2</sup>	+	+	—	— <sup>2</sup>	—	— <sup>2</sup>
	Jericho: Ummayyad bath hall 193/140	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Jericho: Ummayyad palace and mosque 193/140	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
	Jerusalem: Five Ummayyad palaces	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—?	—	—	+	+ <sup>3</sup>
	Jerusalem: Ribāt 'Alā' al-Dīn (built 1267-8)	+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	+ <sup>4</sup>	+	+

SITE	Name; Grid reference; Identification	BUILDING MATERIALS				ROOFING				MASONRY			
		Piers	Embrasure type windows	Two qualities of cement	Three vertical layers wall	A "step" used for the centering	Putlog holes	Cross vaults	Barrel vault	Masons' marks	<i>Hami</i> cutting of the surface stones	Diagonal cutting	Marginal drafting of all stones
	Jerusalem: Ribāt al-Manṣūrī (built 1282-3)	—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	—
	Jerusalem: al-Kubakiyya (1289; reused stones?)	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—
	Jerusalem: Ribāt Kurt al-Manṣūrī (built 1294)	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
	Jerusalem: al-Dawādāriyya (built 1295)	+	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
	Jerusalem: al-Jāliqiyya (built 1307)	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
	Jerusalem: al-Sa'diyya (built 1311)	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
	Jerusalem: al-Tankiziyya (built 1328-9)	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
	Jerusalem: Sūq al-Qaṭṭanīn (built 1336-7)	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	+
	Jerusalem: al-Kilāniyya (built 1352)	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—

al-Manṣūrī



SITE	Name; Grid reference; Identification	BUILDING MATERIALS				ROOFING				MASONRY			
		Piers	Embrasure type windows	Two qualities of cement	Three vertical layers wall	A "step" used for the centering	Putlog holes	Cross vaults	Barrel vault	Masons' marks	<i>Hami</i> cutting of the surface stones	Diagonal cutting	Marginal drafting of all stones
	Jerusalem: al-Argḥūniyya (built 1358)	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
	Jerusalem: al-Ṭāziyya (built 1361)	—	—	?	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
	Jerusalem: al-Ṭashtamuriyya (built 1382)	—	—	+?	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
	Jerusalem: al Lū'lū'iyya (built 1373-4) (former crusader construction?)	+	+	+	+	—	—?	+	+	—	+	—	+
	Jerusalem: al Wakāla (built 1386-7) (reused stones?)	—	+	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	—
	Jerusalem: al Ashrafiyya (built 1482)	+	—	?	?	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
	Montfort 171/272	+	+	+	+	—	+?	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Mount Tabor: 187/232 The Ayyubid fortress	+?	+	—?	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	+

SITE	Name; Grid reference; Identification	MASONRY				ROOFING				BUILDING MATERIALS			
		Marginal drafting of cornerstones	Marginal drafting of all stones	Diagonal cutting	Hami cutting of the surface stone	Masons' marks	Barrel vault	Cross vaults	Putlog holes	A "step" used fo the centering	Three vertical layers wall	Two qualities of cement	Embrasure type windows
	Qal'at aş-Şubayba 217/295	+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	+	—?	—
	Qaqūn 149/196 <i>Caco</i>	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	+	+	+	+
	Ramla: 138/148 The White Mosque (pools)	—	—	+	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+
	Ramla: The White Mosque	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—?	—
	Ramla: "St. Helena's pools"	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	?	?	—

1 reused Crusader masonry  
2 + in the main entrance

3 reused Herodian masonry  
4 secondary use

# The Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn Revisited

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Just fifteen words of his multi-volume *Geschichte der Kriegskunst* did Hans Delbrück, the eminent military historian, devote to the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn, giving the opinion that it yields nothing of importance for the history of warfare.<sup>1</sup> This may well be the case. But a battle's contribution to the art of war is not necessarily commensurate with its political significance and, still less so, with the fascination it holds for posterity. Ḥaṭṭīn, a climax in the history of crusade and *djihād*, is replete with high drama: Saladin's calculated thrust at Tiberias, eliciting King Guy's seesaw reactions at Saforie; the weary Franks encircled on the arid plateau during the night that preceded the final battle; the flight of the thirst-stricken Frankish foot soldiers to the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn overlooking the inaccessible waters of Lake Tiberias; the last Frankish cavalry charges almost reaching Saladin, tugging at his beard in agitation; the encounter between the triumphant Saladin and the captured Frankish leaders, with the victor killing his archenemy with his own hand. Small wonder that historians turn their attention to this battle time and again. During the last twenty-five years no less than three major reconstructions have been put forward. In 1964, Joshua Prawer published his "La bataille de Ḥaṭṭīn," which contributed inter alia to the understanding of the Lower Galilee road system at the time of the battle. In 1966, Peter Herde came out with his "Die Kämpfe bei den Hörnern von Hittin und der Untergang des Kreuzritterheeres (3. und 4. Juli 1187). Eine historisch-topographische Studie," the most detailed account of the events offered to date, based on painstaking scrutiny of the sources and the battlefield. In 1982, Malcolm C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson dedicated a chapter of their book on Saladin to Ḥaṭṭīn, utilizing for the first time an account of the battle written after the capture of Acre on 10 July 1187.<sup>2</sup>

The present attempt is a by-product of the Second SSCLE Conference.

- 1 Hans Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte*, vol. 3: *Das Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1907), p. 421.
- 2 Prawer's article was published in *Israel Exploration Journal* 14 (1964), 160-179; for a slightly expanded English version see his *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 484-500. Herde's article appeared in *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 61 (1966), 1-50. The reconstruction by Lyons and Jackson appears in their *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982), ch. 16. C.P. Melville and M.C. Lyons have edited and translated Saladin's letter in the present volume, pp. 216-220.



Aerial view of Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn from east (photo by Moshe Milner)

Seeking an appropriate site for the session scheduled to take place at the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn, I went over the terrain with Eliot Braun, the archaeologist, who made me aware of Zvi Gal's survey of the ancient walls along the circumference of the horns and Gal's excavations of an isolated medieval structure on the summit of the southern horn; this led to the identification (or rather reidentification) of that structure with the Dome of Victory that Saladin had erected on the horns following the battle. Later, the Lower Galilee Regional Council asked me to provide a brief description of the battle, which was to be placed on a signpost at the horns on the occasion of the SSCLE conference. Attempting to condense the story into a signpost text of some 200 words I became acutely aware of the limits of scholarly consensus on the issue; but I also came upon some new, or hitherto unutilized, facts. First, I gained knowledge of the considerable progress archaeologists have made in recent years with regard to the ancient road network in Lower Galilee, and especially of the discovery in 1983—just south of Khīrbat Maskana and about 1.8 kilometers northwest of Lūbiya / Lubie—of the intersection of two Roman roads. Israel Roll of Tel Aviv University, who was the first to realize the importance of this discovery, was kind enough to put at my disposal the evidence (much of which remains unpublished) that he has gathered about the roads of the region; the roads marked on Figure 1 are largely based on his information.<sup>3</sup> Second, I learned that discharge measurements of the

3 For a survey of Roman roads in Lower Galilee see also Yig'al Tēper and Yūval Shāḥar,

springs in the region, some of which go back to the 1920s, may shed some light on the events of 3 July 1187. Visits to the ruins of Kafr Sabt and Kh. Maskana—under the guidance of Yossi Buchman and Naphtali Madar of the Allon Tabor Field School—also proved helpful. Finally, I came to realize that a description of the battle which ‘Abd Allah b. Aḥmad al-Muqaddasī wrote on 13 Djumāda II 583/20 August 1187, and sent to Baghdad, and which Abū Shāma later included in his *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn*,<sup>4</sup> should be ascribed to the prolific and influential Ḥanbalī jurisconsult Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd Allah b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma al-Ḥanbalī al-Muqaddasī [hereafter al-Muqaddasī]. His father was the Ḥanbalī preacher Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma who lived under Frankish rule in Djammā’īl, a village southwest of Nablus, fled in 1156 to damascus and initiated the exodus of his relatives and disciples to that city. Al-Muqaddasī, born in 1146 in Djammā’īl, was ten years old at the time of that exodus; he studied in Damascus and Baghdad, and took part—together with his much older brother Abū ‘Umar and his cousin ‘Abd al-Ghanī—in Saladin’s expeditions against the Franks, including that of 1187.<sup>5</sup> The battle account by this learned refugee from the Frankish Kingdom stands out for its sobriety and factual detail when compared with the florid effusions of the other Muslim eyewitness, ‘Imād al-Dīn, and should be ranked high among the sources on the battle.

By 1187, experience must have taught Saladin that nothing short of a clear-cut showdown would give him victory over the Franks. In November 1177, his deep but largely unopposed thrust into the southern coastal plain of Palestine had ended in resounding defeat at Montgisard; in July 1182 his advance into the Jordan Valley and Lower Galilee had come to a standstill with the inconclusive battle near Forbelet; in August 1182 his fleet and army had failed to take the crucially important city of Beirut by a well-coordinated surprise attack; in October 1183, with the rival armies encamped near copious springs in the eastern Jezreel Valley, he had not been able to provoke the Franks into battle; and his deep raid into central Palestine in September 1184 had not perceptibly weakened them. Saladin’s moves in June 1187 leave no doubt that this time he was resolved to force a full-scale, decisive battle.

*Jewish Settlements in Galilee and Their Hideaway Systems* (n.p., 1984), pp. 128-139 (in Hebrew).

- 4 RHC HOr. 4:286-287. The letter was sent “from Ascalon”—i.e., from the Muslim army that was besieging that town. Ascalon surrendered on 5 September 1187.
- 5 On the Ḥanbalī exodus see Emmanuel Sivan, “Refugiés syro-palestiniens au temps des Croisades,” *Revue des études islamiques* 35 (1967), 135-147 and Joseph Drory, “Hanbalīs of the Nablus Region in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1988), 92-112. For information on Muwaffaq al-Dīn and his work see Henri Laoust, *Le précis de droit d’Ibn Qudāma* (Beirut, 1950), pp. ix-xlii; and Drory, “Hanbalīs,” p. 104. It should be noted that Abū Shāma refers also to Ibn Shaddād without mentioning his *laqab* (honorific title), Bahā’ al-Dīn: RHC HOr. 4:280. Cf. Dominique Sourdel, “Deux documents relatifs à la communauté hanbalite de Damas,” *Bulletin d’études orientales* 25 (1972), 142-143.



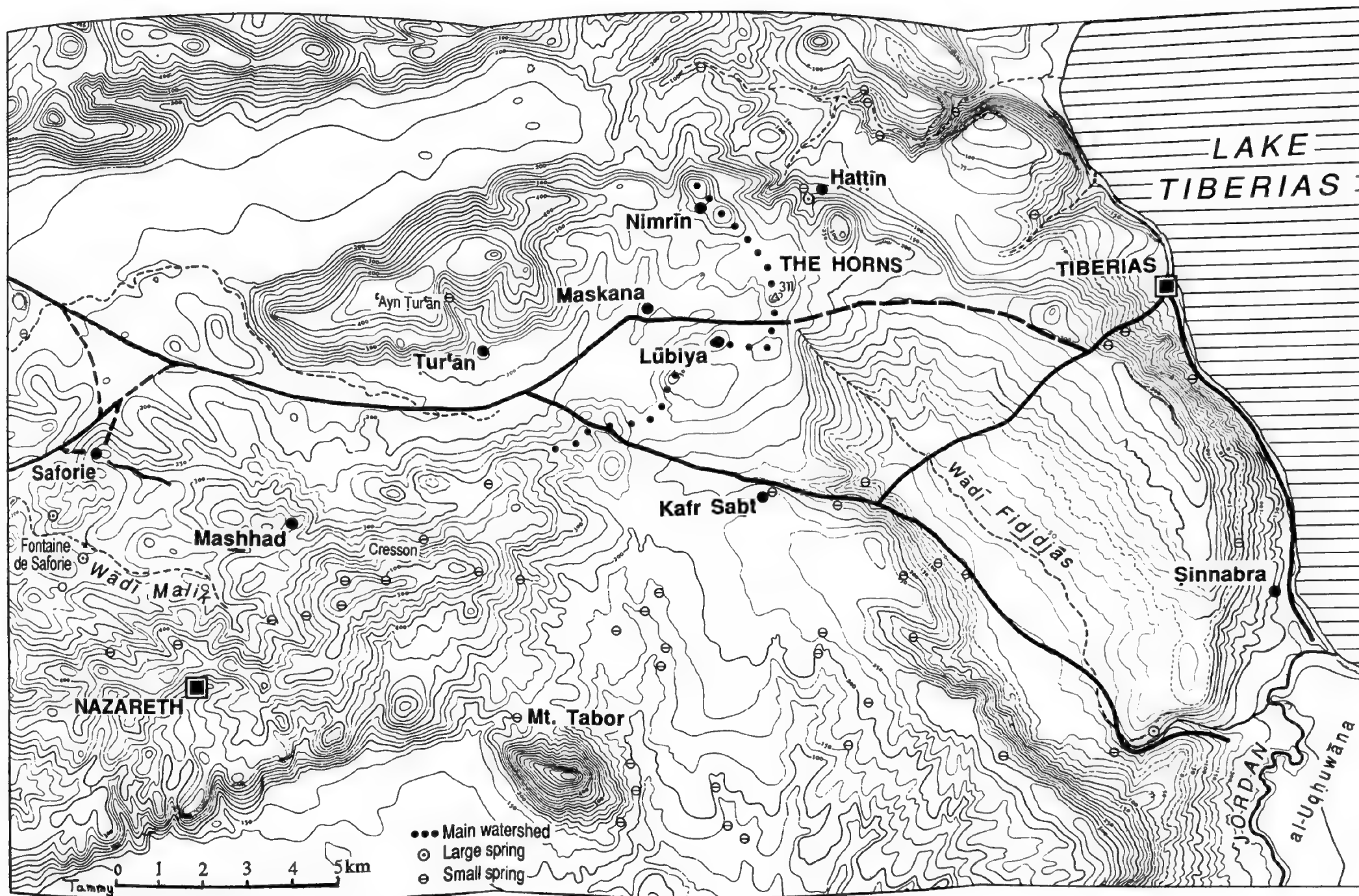
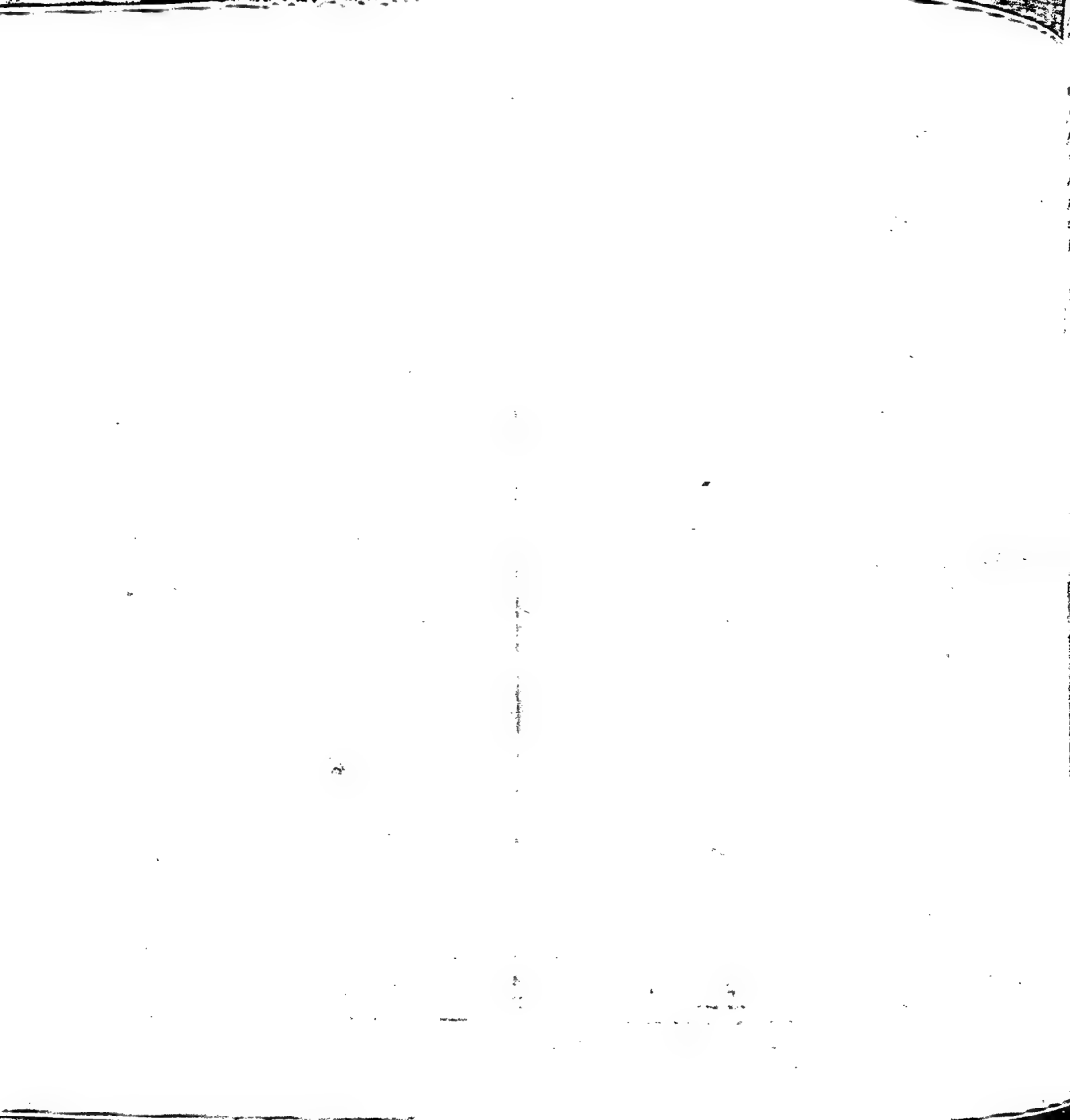


Fig. 1. Roads and springs in eastern Lower Galilee, 1187 (use of countours base by permission of Survey of Israel)



On 18 Rabīʾ II 583/27 June 1187, a Saturday, Saladin reached al-Uḡḡuwāna, at the southern end of Lake Tiberias, and set up camp near the village of Sinnabra, the site of a ruined Umayyad castle. On Tuesday, 21 Rabīʾ II/30 June, he moved northwestward to the village of Kafr Sabt, leaving his heavy baggage in al-Uḡḡuwāna. The first date is derived from the account of ʿImād al-Dīn, the second is given by Bahāʾ al-Dīn, who also mentions the encampment near Sinnabra; the place name Kafr Sabt and the detail that Saladin moved to this village without his heavy baggage are supplied by al-Muqaddasī.<sup>6</sup>

Kafr Sabt—a village that belonged to the abbey of Mount Tabor, and the place of origin of one of its turcopoles<sup>7</sup>—lies near the eastern edge of a sizable plateau, just to the south of the main road that, at least from Late Bronze times onward, linked Acre with the Jordan Valley and Transjordan (see fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> Southeast of Kafr Sabt, this road runs along Wādī Fidjdjās, which provides the most gradual descent to the Jordan in the region. Climbing the road from the Jordan, it is at Kafr Sabt that one gets one's first view of the plateau as well as of Mount Tabor, the mountains northeast of Nazareth, Mount Ṭurʿān, and the Horns of ḤaṭṭĪn. The terrain west and northwest of Kafr Sabt is easy to traverse, with the main road running toward Acre through broad valleys or plains. About 2 kilometers east of Kafr Sabt, a road—possibly a Roman one—branches off the main Acre-Transjordan road and leads northeastward to Tiberias. Saladin most probably advanced to Kafr Sabt by the road ascending along Wādī Fidjdjās; in any case, it could have served him for a speedy retreat to the Jordan Valley. At Kafr Sabt, Saladin had an ample supply of water: the large springs in Wādī Fidjdjās, the waters of which were carried in antiquity to Tiberias by aqueduct, were easily accessible;<sup>9</sup> water could also be hauled from the Jordan; and there is a small perennial spring just northeast of the village. By occupying Kafr Sabt, Saladin controlled one of the roads leading from the Frankish camp

6 ʿImād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, ed. Carlo de Landberg (Leiden, 1888), p. 20, French trans. Henri Massé (Paris, 1972), p. 22; Bahāʾ al-Dīn in RHC HOr. 3:93 and in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:282; al-Muqaddasī in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:286. On the site of the encampment see L.A. Mayer, "Aṣ-Ṣinnabra," *Eretz-Israel* 1 (Jerusalem, 1951), 169-170 (in Hebrew).

7 For the sources mentioning the *casale* Capharseth see Gustav Beyer, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Akko und Galilaea," *ZDPV* 67 (1944-45), 218. The turcopole Petrus de Cafarset (or Capharset) is mentioned in 1163 and 1180: Delaville, *Cartulaire*, 2:905, 909.

8 Aapeli Saarisalo, "Topographical Researches in Galilee," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 9 (1929), 30-36, and 10 (1937), 7; Bustenay ʿOded, "Darb al-ḥawarneh—An Ancient Route," *Eretz-Israel* 10 (Jerusalem, 1971), 191-197 (in Hebrew).

9 See Zalman S. Winogradov, "The Ancient Aqueduct of Tiberias," in D. ʿAmit, Y. Hirschfeld, and J. Patrich, eds., *The Aqueducts of Ancient Palestine: Collected Essays* (Jerusalem, 1989), pp. 123-132 (in Hebrew). Discharge measurements of the springs in Wādī Fidjdjās are available for some dates from 1928 onward. For instance, the discharge measured on 16 July 1946, amounted to 0.061 m<sup>3</sup>/sec.—that is, 219,600 liters per hour. Palestine, Department of Land Settlement and Water Commissioner, Irrigation Service, *Water Measurements 1945/46* (Jerusalem, 1947), p. 162. I would like to thank Mr. Yigʿal Cohen, of Ramat Ha-Sharōn, for his help with matters hydrological.

at Ṣaffūriya/Saforie to Tiberias and could easily strike at either destination.<sup>10</sup> The stretch of the more northerly Roman road to Tiberias which extends from the village of Ṭurʿān via Kh. Maskana to Lūbiya/Lubie is not visible from Kafr Sabt; but Saladin probably sent a part of his huge army to Lūbiya/Lubie, just 4 kilometers of easy ascent northwest of Kafr Sabt, to gain thereby direct control of that road too.<sup>11</sup>

Saladin, so relates al-Muqaddasī, stayed at Kafr Sabt for two days—that is, until 23 Rabī II/2 July. The well-informed, anonymous author of the *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae* reports that the Muslim troops roamed throughout the region, from Tiberias to Bethsan and Nazareth, setting everything on fire; they also ascended Mount Tabor and desecrated the sanctuary at its summit.<sup>12</sup> Saladin himself rode westward to the Springs of Saforie to lure the Franks into battle but, predictably, failed; as in the Jezreel Valley in 1183, the Franks refused to budge. In a letter written about three months later, Saladin claims that he went on to search “in the plain of Lūbiya”—that is, near the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn—for a suitable battlefield that could accomodate both armies.<sup>13</sup> Then, on Thursday, 23 Rabī II/2 July, Saladin descended on Tiberias and laid siege to it, evidently hoping to induce the Franks to leave the Springs of Saforie and come to the rescue of Galilee’s capital. One may surmise that siege equipment from al-Uqḥuwāna was brought up the western shore of Lake Tiberias. Saladin’s men soon breached the wall and occupied the town, and the lady of Tiberias, beleaguered in the citadel on the lake’s shore, sent a messenger to Saforie to call for help. King Guy, who must have remembered that the adoption of a defensive stance under similar circumstances in October 1183 had caused his ousting from office, and who might have needed some large-scale action to justify the hiring of mercenaries with money that Henry II of England had deposited in Jerusalem, finally made up his mind to march to Tiberias.<sup>14</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that the Franks, with their destination some 30 kilometers away, left Saforie early in the morning of 3 July, but the precise hour must remain conjectural. Also unclear is the route of the first part of their march to Tiberias. The layout of the ancient roads in the vicinity of Saforie has not yet

10 Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, p. 256.

11 Since ‘Imād al-Dīn reports that before the assault on Tiberias the Muslims passed the night on the plain of Lūbiya (‘Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, ed. Landberg, p. 105, French trans. Massé, p. 95, German trans. in Jörg Kraemer, *Der Sturz des Königreichs Jerusalem [583/1187] in der Darstellung des ‘Imād ad-Dīn al-Kātib al-Isfahānī* [Wiesbaden, 1952], p. 14), and since Ibn Shaddād writes that Saladin camped on a mountain west of Tiberias (RHC HOr. 3:93), Herde concluded that on 30 June Saladin moved from al-Uqḥuwāna via Kafr Sabt to Lūbiya: Herde (note 2 above), p. 13. The explicit statement by al-Muqaddasī should however be preferred.

12 RHC HOr. 4:286; *De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae libellus*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 66 (London, 1875), p. 219.

13 ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, ed. Landberg, p. 105, trans. Massé, p. 95, trans. Kraemer, p. 14.

14 For reconstructions of Guy’s reasoning see R.C. Smail, “The Predicaments of Guy of Lusignan, 1183-87,” in *Outremer*, pp. 159-176; Hans E. Mayer, “Henry II of England and the Holy Land,” *English Historical Review* 97 (1982), 721-739; Geoffrey Regan, *Saladin and the Fall of Jerusalem* (London, 1987), pp. 110-114.

been conclusively established. The main Roman road from Tiberias westward has been traced to a spot about 3 kilometers northeast of Saforie. Near this spot, the inner width of the road amounts to 10.40 meters; the overall width of the road, including curbstones, to 13.20 meters; and the width of the embankment to 15.80 meters. No other road of Roman Palestine is known to have been that wide. A milestone found at this spot indicates a distance of 2 miles to Diocaesarea (i.e., Zippōrī/Şaffūriya/Saforie) and we may therefore assume that there existed also a road between that milestone and Saforie. In addition, remains have been found of an ancient — possibly Roman — road that by-passed Saforie from the northwest, and of another road that ascended through hilly ground from Saforie east-southeast to Mashhad (see fig. 1). No ancient remains have been spotted along the alternative route from the Springs of Saforie to Mashhad suggested by Prawer, which first follows the dry bed of Wādī Malik/Nahal Zippōrī and then ascends northeastward to Mashhad.<sup>15</sup> In general, one should not overemphasize the importance of roads for Frankish or Muslim field armies, for as R.C. ('Otto') Smail had judiciously remarked, these armies "were not dependent upon supplies brought up by wheeled vehicles from a base, and so were not limited to the use of certain roads."<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the report of the Old French continuations of William of Tyre that the serjeants of the Frankish army captured, tortured and burnt an old Saracen woman at the distance of 2 *liues* from Nazareth apparently supports the view that the Franks did take the more difficult route from the Springs of Saforie to Mashhad, for Mashhad is situated about 2 leagues northeast of Nazareth.<sup>17</sup> However, the distances noted by medieval chroniclers are all too often rough approximations, so the 2 leagues must not be taken at face value. It is at least as plausible to assume that the Franks, with a long march before them, gave preference to the much easier and only fractionally longer route that led from the Springs of Saforie northward to the wide Roman road, and then eastward along it.

In any case, Muslim scouts observed the Frankish advance. Saladin, then directing the siege of the citadel of Tiberias, was notified and immediately moved westward; we do not know whether via Kafr Sabt or Lūbiya. His men began to harass the Franks. In the letter first utilized by Lyons and Jackson, Saladin relates that at noon the Franks "took one of the waters by marching to it and turning aside" but, contrary to their best interests, "left the water and set

15 Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 491.

16 R.C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare (1097-1193)* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 204.

17 *Cont. WT*, p. 47; *Eracles*, p. 54. Ernoul, p. 163, does not mention the distance. A *lieue* (*leuga*) equals 2,222 meters: Albert Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, 2: *L'archéologie du sol: Les routes* (Paris, 1934), pp. 95-96. The Old French passage is discussed by Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 49, note 28, who also mentions that Raymond of Tripoli argued that between Saforie and Tiberias there is only the small spring of Cresson (Ernoul, p. 159). However, this spring is only about one kilometer closer to Mashhad than to the Roman road. If indeed the Franks chose to traverse the broken ground to Mashhad, one may speculate that they did not there turn northeastward to Kafr Kanna but continued north-northeast along a route dotted by several small springs, Cresson being one of them (Yossi Buchman's suggestion).



out towards Tiberias." Lyons and Jackson assume that the spring in question was that of Ṭur'ān.<sup>18</sup> This is indeed plausible, as that spring lies less than 3 kilometers north of the road presumably taken by the Franks; in fact, Prawer, writing before Saladin's letter became known, saw fit to explain why the Franks had passed so close to the spring of Ṭur'ān without taking advantage of its waters.<sup>19</sup> How should we best interpret King Guy's decision to leave the spring and continue the march eastward—a decision that Saladin considered a blatant mistake? Lyons and Jackson believe that Guy's advance eastward was a mere probe; if the Muslims were to attack from their main camp near Kafr Sabt, the Franks would be able to pin them against the north-south ridge situated east of the village of Ṭur'ān; if the Muslims were to stay at Kafr Sabt, and their position would appear to be unassailable, the Franks could return to the spring of Ṭur'ān and neutralize Saladin's threat to the citadel of Tiberias by repeated thrusts in the direction of the main Muslim camp. The probe was tactically sound, but it failed because Guy was not aware of the vastness of the Muslim forces. Numerical superiority allowed Saladin to hold the ridge as well as send his two wings to the spring of Ṭur'ān, seize it, and prevent the Franks from retreating to it. According to Lyons and Jackson, it was this move that won Saladin the battle.<sup>20</sup>

This is an ingenious reconstruction, based almost entirely on an assessment of the terrain and the opportunities it offered the opposing armies. A simpler solution is suggested by discharge measurements of the springs of Saforie, Ḥaṭṭīn, and Ṭur'ān in recent times. Of course, it would be rash to assume that spring yields in Galilee remained constant between the twelfth century and the present, but there are reasons to suppose that the relative importance of the various springs did not change markedly. Thus the Springs of Saforie, at which the Frankish army assembled on several occasions, are the most abounding in Lower Galilee: one of them, 'Eyn Zīppōrī/'Ayn al-Qaṣṭal, yielded no less than 108,000 liters per hour on 7 August 1949, and 86,400 liters per hour on 13 July 1950. The two springs at the village of Ḥaṭṭīn, "ou il a eve de fontaines à grant planté" according to the *Eracles*, and which the Franks presumably attempted to reach at a later stage of their advance on Tiberias, also supply a considerable quantity of water: on 4 July 1949, it amounted to 33,840 liters per hour, and on 20 July 1950, to 17,280 liters per hour.<sup>21</sup> The discharge of other springs in the

18 Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, p. 259. For the text see the article by Melville and Lyons in the present volume.

19 Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 493. Another possibility is that Saladin's letter refers to the springs of Ḥaṭṭīn; but the account in the letter does not tie in with the description of the struggle for those springs given in one of the Old French continuations of William of Tyre, to be discussed below.

20 Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 259-261. The authors do not explain, though, why Guy did not leave behind a force to guard the spring; cf. Hannes Möhring, "Saladins Politik des Heiligen Krieges," *Der Islam* 61 (1984), 325.

21 Israel, Ministry of Agriculture, Water Department, Hydrological Service, *Hydrological Year-Book of Israel, 1947/48-1949/50* (Jerusalem, 1950), pp. 483 ('Ayn al-Qaṣṭal), 526

region is far more limited. Thus Mary's Fountain in Nazareth yielded about 4,000 liters per hour in the spring of 1918, and just one-fourth of that toward the end of the dry season.<sup>22</sup> Yield data for most other springs are not available, since their meager discharges have not been deemed important enough to warrant measurement.<sup>23</sup> This is true of the spring of Cresson, described by Raymond of Tripoli as "une petite fontaine,"<sup>24</sup> and of 'Ayn Ṭur'ān (or 'Ayn al-Balad), situated in the mountains about 1.5 kilometers northwest of the village of Ṭur'ān. On 12 July 1989, Shim'on Mishqal of the Tiberias Bureau of the Israel Hydrological Service kindly agreed to measure for me the discharge of 'Ayn Ṭur'ān, on which no earlier data were available. The discharge amounted to 180 liters per hour, a mere fraction of that of the springs of Saforie or Hattīn.<sup>25</sup> One may surmise, therefore, that the spring above Ṭur'ān, while able to quell the thirst of a number of Franks on 3 July 1187, was insufficient to sustain an army numbering many thousands of men and horses. Whatever King Guy's blunders, the move from Ṭur'ān was hardly one of them.

The bulk of the Frankish army appears to have managed to advance only about 3 or 4 kilometers east of Ṭur'ān. The letter utilized by Lyons and Jackson relates that Saladin sent his nephew Taqī al-Dīn, as well as Muẓaffar al-Dīn, to seize "the water" (presumably Ṭur'ān); and al-Muqaddasī writes that Taqī al-Dīn commanded the Muslim right wing, Muẓaffar al-Dīn the left, and Saladin himself the center. It seems reasonable to assume, then—as do Lyons and Jackson—that the two wings made their way to "the water" around the Frankish army.<sup>26</sup> It follows that from this point the Franks were virtually surrounded. Indeed, this is what al-Muqaddasī explicitly states, adding that the Muslim center was behind the Franks. The *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae* relates that the Templars in the rear came under a crushing Turkish attack.<sup>27</sup> These last two pieces of information tie in to indicate that the Templars in the Frankish rear had to bear the brunt of the attacking Muslim center under Saladin. The clash of Muslim center and Frankish rear suggests that the Muslims were charging from the high ground in the south against the Franks, who were

('Ayn Hattīn), 527 ('Ayn al-Nabī Shu'ayb). Of the measurements available, I chose those closest to 3 July; the original data are in m<sup>3</sup>/sec. For the quotation, see *Eracles*, p. 62.

22 Paul Range, *Nazareth, Das Land der Bibel*, 4.2 (Leipzig, 1923), p. 12. Dr. Range, while serving in the German army during World War I, unearthed a spring in the western part of the town that yielded 500 liters per hour.

23 See Sophia Schmorak and M.J. Goldschmidt, "Springs," in *Atlas of Israel* (Jerusalem and Amsterdam, 1970), Sheet 5.2 (Hydrology).

24 Ernoul, p. 159.

25 The discharge of 'Ayn al-Nabī Shu'ayb does not appear to have changed much between 1949 and 1988: both on 2 September 1949, and on 12 December 1988, it amounted to 18,000 liters per hour. For the first datum see *Hydrological Year-Book* (note 21 above), p. 527; for the second I am indebted again to Mr. Mishqal.

26 For Saladin's letter see pp. 216-220 below; al-Muqaddasī in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:286; Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin* (note 2 above), p. 261.

27 al-Muqaddasī, p. 287 (I would like to thank my colleague Etan Kohlberg for having clarified for me the meaning of this and other Arabic passages). *Libellus* (note 12 above), pp. 222-223.

advancing eastward along the valley of Ṭur'ān — 'Imād al-Dīn indeed reports that, before the attack, the Muslims saw the Franks from above<sup>28</sup> — and that by the time the Muslim center launched its attack, the Frankish van and center were already east of the area where the clash was to take place.

According to the *Libellus*, the van under Raymond of Tripoli advanced close to the steep descent to Lake Tiberias. Raymond urged the king to go ahead swiftly so that the army might fight its way to the water. The king promised to do so but, because of the Turkish pressure on the Frankish rear, suddenly changed his mind and gave orders to encamp on the spot. Raymond considered this decision a fatal mistake: a vigorous push to the lake could have saved the army, encampment on the arid plateau made its defeat inevitable. On the other hand, one version of the Old French continuation of William of Tyre relates that it was Raymond who believed it to be impossible to reach Tiberias on that day and therefore advised the king to turn left, descend to the village of Habatin (i.e., Ḥaṭṭīn) and its springs, and continue to Tiberias on the following day. But the turn to the left brought the Franks into disarray, and the Turks succeeded in seizing the springs ahead of them.<sup>29</sup> Other Old French versions claim that in view of the Turkish pressure, Raymond advised the king to set up camp on the plateau.<sup>30</sup> All Old French versions brand Raymond's advice a *mauvais conseil*, and report that men who had participated in the campaign were of the opinion that if the Franks had gone on the attack at this juncture they could have defeated the Turks. Thus both the *Libellus* and the Old French versions believe that the Franks should have pressed on to Tiberias; they differ in that the *Libellus* holds the king guilty of aborting the attack whereas the Old French versions lay the blame on Raymond. Perhaps neither of these two old rivals acted resolutely enough at the crucial moment and mutual recriminations began immediately thereafter.

The Old French version which reports that the Franks failed in their attempt to reach the springs of Ḥaṭṭīn goes on to relate that they stopped on the summit of a mountain called Carnehatin (i.e., the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn), that Raymond advised setting up camp there, and that the king accepted his advice. This account — which contrasts starkly with all reliable descriptions of the battle that took place the following day — ought to be dismissed. The *Libellus* on the other hand relates that the Frankish advance on 3 July came to a halt at a *casale* called

28 'Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, ed. Landberg, p. 106, trans. Massé, p. 96; see also ed. Landberg, p. 23, trans. Massé, p. 25.

29 *Libellus*, p. 223; *Eracles*, pp. 62-63. The account in this version of the *Eracles* is partially corroborated by the one discovered by Jean Richard in Vat. Reg. lat. 598, which states that "eadem die nostri gessere fortius ubique; aquam preoccupatam ab hostibus perdiderunt": Jean Richard, "An Account of the Battle of Hattin Referring to the Frankish Mercenaries in Oriental Moslem States," *Speculum* 27 (1952), 175; for a different wording see Robert d'Auxerre, *Chronicon*, ed. O. Holder-Egger (1882), MGH SS 26:249. See also 'Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, ed. Landberg, p. 23, trans. Massé, p. 25.

30 *Eracles*, MS C, pp. 60-61; Ernoul, pp. 167-168; *Cont. WT*, p. 52.

Marescalcia;<sup>31</sup> and it stands to reason that the Franks spent the night of 3 July at this place, since in an act drawn up only a few weeks later the remaining leaders of the Frankish Kingdom mentioned that the defeat of 4 July took place *supra manescalciam Tyberiadis*.<sup>32</sup>

Prawer argued convincingly that Marescalcia/Manescalcia should be identified with Talmudic Mashkena and Arabic Maskana.<sup>33</sup> In modern times, Maskana has been a ruin. But the Ottoman cadastral register of 1555-56 lists it as a village, and that of 1596-97 discloses that it was then inhabited by 47 families; accordingly, it was similar in size to Ṭur'ān but much smaller than nearby Lūbiya, which numbered 182 families.<sup>34</sup> There are grounds therefore for believing that the reference of the *Libellus* to Marescalcia as a *casale*, or village, is accurate, and that the place was indeed inhabited in 1187. Prawer assumed that Marescalcia was situated on a secondary road leading northeastward to the village of Ḥaṭṭīn. However, in the early 1980s, a stretch of the main Roman road in the region, linking Acre with Tiberias, was (re)discovered north of the modern highway, just 300 meters south of Khirbat Maskana. The stretch is visible in several aerial photographs—as in that taken on 4 March 1961 (fig. 2). The main Roman road intersects with a local north-south road of the same period (see arrow D on fig. 2); at the crossroads, the inner width of the main road amounts to 5.80 meters, the overall width inclusive of curbstones to 6.60 meters, and the width of the embankment to 10.30 meters. East of the crossroads, the main road contains many basalt plates fitted together (fig. 3). West of the crossroads, between the main road and Khirbat Maskana, is a pool—Birkat Maskana—originally a crater. About 40 by 40 meters in extent, it is surrounded by large basalt stones, with traces of a water inlet at the northeastern corner (see figs. 2 and 4). A Roman milestone, now in the museum of Kibbutz Deganya Beth, was found close to it.<sup>35</sup>

31 *Eracles*, p. 63; *Libellus*, p. 223.

32 Cesare Imperiale di Sant' Angelo, ed., *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1938), Doc. 170, p. 318. Röhrich believes that the act dates from the end of July 1187: RRH 659.

33 Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 489-490.

34 For Maskana in the register of 1555-56 see H. Rhode, "The Geography of the Sixteenth-Century Sancak of Şafad," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 10 (1985), 199; Rhode does not provide details on population. According to the register of 1596-97 there were 47 heads of families (plus one unmarried man) in Maskana, 48 in Ṭur'ān, 29 in Kafr Sabt, 182 (plus 32 unmarried men) in Lūbiya, 86 (plus 24) in Ḥaṭṭīn, and 366 (plus 34) in Şaffūriya: Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century* (Erlangen, 1977), pp. 187 (Lūbiya), 188 (Şaffūriya, Kafr Sabt, Ṭur'ān), 189 (Maskana), 190 (Ḥaṭṭīn). Quaresmius speaks of "Meschina villula, re et nomine." Franciscus Quaresmius, *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*, 2 (Antwerp, 1631), p. 856a.

35 The most detailed description of Birkat Maskana is that by Gustaf Dalman in his "Jahresbericht des Instituts für das Arbeitsjahr 1913/14," *Palästina-jahrbuch des Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem* 10 (1914), 41. I am indebted to Israel Roll for the data on the Roman roads; see also Teper and Şahar, *Jewish Settlements* (note 3 above), pp. 129-130.



Fig. 2. Aerial photo of Roman road near Khirbat Maskana, 4 March 1961 (Survey of Israel, S. 49, photo 0407)

A-C: Roman road; B-C: modern road; D: intersection of two Roman roads; M: Kh. Maskana

It follows that during the night of 3 July the Franks were encamped on or near the Roman road to Tiberias. Birkat Maskana was probably already in existence — Gustaf Dalman assumed that it originated in an “uralte Zeit” — but is it reasonable to assume that it contained water that late in the year? Two guidebooks, compiled at a time when travelers and troopers depended on information about water almost as much as in the Middle Ages, suggest that it is. Baedeker’s guidebook of 1912 refers to “the ruins and water-basin of Birket Meskana”; and the *Handbook on Northern Palestine and Southern Syria*, printed in Cairo in April 1918 by General Allenby’s intelligence officers in preparation for the British drive on Nazareth and Damascus, says: “Birket Meskeneh, large rain-water pool is passed to r.; it generally contains water, which is used only for





Fig. 3. Main Roman road east of crossroads (photo by author)

animals.”<sup>36</sup> Aerial photographs indicate that the pool was full of water on 26 January 1945, and nearly so on 4 March 1961 (see fig. 2), but that on 13 July 1963 it was dry.<sup>37</sup> So it was when visited on 8 June 1989 (see fig. 4). Yet it is possible that when Maskana was still inhabited, the pool was carefully maintained and contained some water even at the beginning of July. The same goes for the six large, rock-hewn cisterns on the northern, northwestern, and southern slopes of Kh. Maskana. In fact, ‘Imād al-Dīn (and Ibn al-Athīr) relate that the Franks emptied the reservoirs of the vicinity.<sup>38</sup> Whatever water they found there certainly did not suffice, for most sources stress the thirst endured that night by the Franks. But, given the constraint of having to set up camp on the plateau, the choice of Maskana appears more sensible than hitherto supposed.<sup>39</sup>

36 Karl Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 252; *Handbook on Northern Palestine and Southern Syria*, first provisional edition (Cairo, 9 April 1918), p. 186; also, p. 202. The *Handbook* mentions also that to the right of the Tiberias-Nazareth road “a stretch of the Roman road is well preserved for two or three hundred yards” (p. 186).

37 Palestine Survey, Strip 19, photo 6133 (1945); Survey of Israel, Strip 49, photo 0407 (1961), and Strip 77, photo 2023 (1963). The photographs are kept at the Aerial Photographs Unit of the Hebrew University’s Department of Geography. I would like to thank Dr. Dov Gavish, who heads this unit, for having repeatedly placed these and other photographs at my disposal, and for having granted permission to reproduce the 1961 photo.

38 ‘Imād al-Dīn in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:267; Ibn al-Athīr in RHC HOr. 1:683.

39 The *Hydrological Year-Book* (note 21 above), p. 481, mentions a spring near Birkat



Fig. 4. Birkat Maskana from southeast (photo by author)

During the night, the Muslims tightened their encirclement. Saladin's main camp appears to have been at Lūbiya, about 2 kilometers southeast of Maskana. Unlike the Franks, the Muslims had at their disposal all the water they needed, hauled on camelback from the lake. Large quantities of arrows were distributed among the archers in preparation for the expected battle.<sup>40</sup>

On the morning of 4 July/25 Rabī' II, a Saturday, the Franks resumed their march. What was their objective? Did they head northeast trying to reach the springs of Ḥaṭṭīn, as they had done the day before according to one of the Old French versions, or did they march eastward to the lake?<sup>41</sup> Three Muslim writers—al-Muqaddasī, 'Imād al-Dīn, and Ibn al-Athīr—state explicitly that the Franks headed for the lake and that Saladin was determined to prevent them from doing so, whereas the Latin sources interpreted as referring to an advance to the springs may also be understood as indicating a march to the lake.<sup>42</sup> True,

Maskana, found dry on 19 July 1950. But Yossi Buchman and Naphtali Madar of the Allon Tabor Field School are not aware of the spring's existence.

40 'Imād al-Dīn in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:266. After the conquest of Tiberias, on his way to Acre, Saladin camped near Lūbiya (ibid., p. 293).

41 For the first view see Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 496-497; for the second, Herde, "Kämpfe," pp. 30-33, and Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, p. 262.

42 al-Muqaddasī in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:287; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, ed. Landberg, p. 107, trans. Massé, p. 96, trans. Kraemer, p. 17; Ibn al-Athīr, RHC HOr. 1:683. See also 'Imād al-Dīn in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:267. The important letter to Archumbald relates that "ivit rex cum exercitu suo a Naim quasi leugam unam:" *Historia de expeditione Friderici*, ed. A. Chroust (1928), MGH Scr. rer. germ., NS 5:2. But even if

the distance from Maskana to the springs is less than half that to the lake, and in view of the thirst of men and horses this difference might have rendered an advance to the springs more attractive. But as noted earlier, an Old French version relates that the Muslims seized the springs on the preceding day; and if that was so, it stands to reason that they continued to occupy the springs and their approaches. Even if we choose to discard this testimony, it is plausible to assume that Saladin would have countered any Frankish move toward the springs by occupying the approaches from the direction of the plateau and by posting a force at the springs themselves. To reach the springs, the Franks would first have had to overcome the Muslims guarding the approaches, then ride down the slope unprotected by their foot soldiers—who would not have been able to keep pace with them—and finally overwhelm the Muslim archers massed around the springs. Most of these hazards might have been reduced by taking the slightly longer route to the springs that leads from Kh. Maskana northward and then skirts Nimrīn from the northwest; but it is clear from the sources that the Franks did not choose this route. The march to the lake, on the other hand, would have denied the Muslims knowledge of the Franks' precise target, as the waterfront could be reached at several points. Besides, the march might have afforded the Franks an opportunity to launch a full-scale charge against the main body of the Muslim army, a charge of the kind that had given them victory on previous occasions. On balance, therefore, the explicit statements of the Muslim writers—two of them eyewitnesses—should be given credence.

Three Old French versions relate that, in the morning, the Muslims drew backward, refraining from battle until the heat became oppressive.<sup>43</sup> It is therefore plausible to assume that Saladin decided to position his men somewhat west of the main Palestinian watershed, which runs, in the area in question, from the heights of Nimrīn to Hill 311 (today the site of Kibbutz Lavī) and then to Lūbiya (see fig. 1). By holding this line Saladin would have blocked the road to Tiberias, covered the approaches to the springs of Ḥaṭṭīn, and compelled the Franks to fight with the Muslims occupying the high ground. Accordingly, the Franks would have been able to advance some two kilometers east, and uphill, of Maskana, with Muslim archers presumably attempting to slow them down. The problem with this reconstruction is that, in order to reach the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn, the main body of the Frankish army must have crossed the watershed at some point, i.e., dislodged the Muslims from their purported position—and none of our sources indicates that the Franks scored such an initial success.<sup>44</sup>

Naim (or Nam) refers to the village of Nimrīn, the sentence would not mean that the king marched one league more *to* Nimrīn; rather, that he marched to a point about one league *from* Nimrīn. A league—i.e. 2.2 kilometers—southeast of Nimrīn brings us to the plateau southwest of the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn: Herde, p. 32, note 172.

43 Ernoul, p. 168; *Eracles*, pp. 62, 64.

44 I would like to thank Mr. Shahar Shapira for having pointed out to me the possible importance of the watershed and the other 'dominating lines' in the area. In the future, we intend to apply his "dominating lines method" to the final stage of the battle.

I believe it is impossible to establish the exact sequence of events during the ensuing battle. Two Latin sources—the letter to Archumbald as well as the less reliable letter of the Genoese consuls—insist that the battle began with a Templar attack that failed disastrously because the other contingents did not support it. If accepted at face value, this would indicate that Frankish coordination was inadequate from the start. However, the author of the *Libellus* mentions a similar event much later in the battle. He relates that while the king and the bishops pleaded with the foot soldiers to descend from the mountain to which they had fled (i.e., the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn), the Templars, Hospitallers, and turcopoles came under unbearable pressure and appealed for the king's support. The king, however, seeing that the knights stood no chance against the Turkish arrows without the foot soldiers' help, ordered the pitching of tents.<sup>45</sup> The similarity between the accounts argues against the possibility that they refer to two distinct events; the difference between them renders questionable the assertion that the battle began with a Templar attack. As for the battle's end, few historians have been able to withstand the temptation to wind up their reconstruction with Ibn al-Athīr's dramatic description of two successive Frankish downhill charges repulsed by two successive Muslim counterattacks that drove the Franks back up to the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn, the second counterdrive culminating in the overthrow of King Guy's tent, which marked the Frankish rout. Ibn al-Athīr relies on the eyewitness account of Saladin's son al-Afdal. But a more mature eyewitness, 'Imād al-Dīn, relates that after their cavalry charges had been repulsed, the Franks dismounted and continued to fight on foot. When the Muslims captured the True Cross, the Franks knew that they were beaten; the king was captured somewhat later.<sup>46</sup>

So much for the battle's beginning and end. Regarding the rest, there is considerable agreement as to the main events—the scrub fire started by the Muslims, the escape of Raymond of Tripoli, the ascent to the horns—but not as to their sequence or cause. Hence the striking divergences among modern attempts at reconstruction. I have chosen to call attention to the range of variance in descriptions of the episodes, and some of their implications, rather than to constrain them into one out of several plausible narratives.

Most sources relate that the Muslims started a heath fire, which added to the hardships of the thirsty and weary Franks. The *Libellus* states that the fire was started during the night of 3 July; one Old French version has it that the fire was started, on Saladin's orders, during the morning of 4 July; the letter of the Genoese consuls mentions the fire occurring after the failure of the Frankish attack; 'Imād al-Dīn places it after the escape of Raymond of Tripoli; and the

45 See the letter to Archumbald referred to in note 42 above, p. 2. The letter of the Genoese consuls has been published twice: *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 49 (London, 1867), 2:11-13; and Karl Hampe, "Ein ungedruckter zeitgenössischer Bericht über die Schlacht bei Hattin," *Neues Archiv* 22 (1897), 278-280. *Libellus*, p. 225.

46 Ibn al-Athīr in RHC HOr. 1:685-686; 'Imād al-Dīn in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:270, 274. See also Saladin's letter, pp. 216-220 below.

letter of Archumbald relates that the Turks set fires around the Frankish army when it attempted to encamp near the horns.<sup>47</sup> It is of course possible that the Muslims set the scrub on fire on more than one occasion. It was certainly a simple and effective means of harassment. Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, the well-known traveler who passed near the horns on 23 June 1812, helps to impart its efficacy:

I was several times reprimanded by my guide, for not taking proper care of the lighted tobacco that fell from my pipe. The whole of the mountain is thickly covered with dry grass, which readily takes fire, and the slightest breath of air instantly spreads the conflagration far over the country, to the great risk of the peasants' harvest. The Arabs who inhabit the valley of the Jordan invariably put to death any person who is known to have been even the innocent cause of firing the grass.<sup>48</sup>

Variance regarding the stage at which Raymond's escape took place is more limited but is compounded by the question of motive. The author of the *Libellus* claims that the men around Raymond decided to escape after they had been cut off from the main force under the king. The Old French versions on the other hand relate that Raymond went on the attack on the king's orders and that the Saracens opened ranks and let him through.<sup>49</sup> As for the ascent to the horns, the author of the *Libellus* accuses the foot soldiers of having made it early in the battle, on the approach of the Saracens. On the other hand, both the letter to Archumbald and an Old French version attribute to Raymond the advice that the entire army should encamp near or on the horns, while the Muslim sources report the ascent as taking place toward the end of the battle.<sup>50</sup>

According to the letter to Archumbald, Raymond characterized the horns as "quasi castellum."<sup>51</sup> Whether originating with Raymond or not, it is an apt characterization. Gal's archaeological survey has revealed that both horns are encircled by an Iron Age wall, and that the southern, somewhat higher horn is surrounded also by a Late Bronze wall.<sup>52</sup> Impressive remains are visible to this day: In 1914, Dalman spoke of a "cyclopean wall" on the southern horn, of

47 *Libellus*, p. 223; *Cont. WT*, p. 52; *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, p. 11; Hampe, "Bericht," p. 279; 'Imād al-Dīn in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:269; Letter to Archumbald, p. 2.

48 J.L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London, 1822), p. 331. Burckhardt also relates that, "mounted [on] a mare that was not likely to excite the cupidity of the Arabs," he made the way from Tiberias via the horns to Kafr Kanna in four and a quarter hours: *ibid.*, pp. 311, 336.

49 *Libellus*, pp. 225-226; *Eracles*, p. 64; *Cont. WT*, p. 53; Ernoul, p. 69.

50 *Libellus*, pp. 224-225; Letter to Archumbald, p. 2; *Eracles*, p. 63; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, ed. Landberg, p. 24, trans. Massé, p. 26; Ibn al-Athīr, in RHC HOr. 1:685. See also Saladin's letter, below.

51 Letter to Archumbald, p. 2. See also the statement attributed to Raymond by Robert d'Auxerre and the account discovered by Jean Richard: "Preoccupanda suggerit esse montana, ut inde securius pugnent et hostes validius impetant." Robert d'Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 249; Richard, "Account," p. 175.

52 Z. Gal, "Tel Rekhes and Tel Qarney Hittin," *Eretz-Israel* 15 (1981), 215, 218 (in Hebrew). See also his article in the present volume.



which a considerable part was 2.30 meters wide and 2 meters high,<sup>53</sup> and it is plausible to assume that in 1187 the remains were still more imposing. Thus, under the difficult circumstances of the final battle, the ascent to the horns made considerable military sense: the ancient walls provided some protection from Muslim arrows and allowed the Frankish archers to shoot at their enemies as if from the ramparts of a castle. It is likely that the Frankish knights regrouped in the large crater between the horns. The two downhill cavalry charges were most probably launched westward, through the only convenient exit from the crater.

Ibn al-Athīr's account leaves no doubt that both cavalry charges were aimed at the point where Saladin himself was.<sup>54</sup> Back in 1952, Jean Richard drew attention to the similarity between these charges and the stratagem that a knight named John suggested to King Guy at the beginning of the battle. According to an account preserved in Vat. Reg. lat. 598 and in the chronicle of Robert d'Auxerre, this knight—who had frequently fought in Muslim armies and was well versed in their mode of warfare—advised the king to attack with all his strength the compact body of Muslims around Saladin's banner, because once it was routed, the other contingents could be easily overcome. The similarity between this advice and the charges described by Ibn al-Athīr is indeed striking. Richard wrote that the plan proposed by the knight John almost gave victory to the Franks.<sup>55</sup> Perhaps; in fact, Ibn al-Athīr writes that the Frankish charges well-nigh succeeded in removing the Muslims from their positions.<sup>56</sup> At any rate, there is ample grounds for believing that arduous fighting continued long after Raymond's escape. The Frankish sources giving a different impression reflect accounts by participants who fled with Raymond or with Balian of Ibelin; the Muslim sources, which stress that the battle raged on until Saladin's men finally succeeded in ascending the horns, should be preferred.

Al-Muqaddasī saw fit to spell out the identity of the captors of King Guy and Renaud de Châtillon: the first, he relates, was captured by Dirbās the Kurd, the second by a servant (*ghulām*) of the amīr Ibrāhīm al-Mihrānī. He does not mention the seizure of the True Cross at all. 'Imād al-Dīn, who does not give the captors' names, exhibits a better understanding of his enemies' sensibilities when he dwells at length on the importance of the Cross for Frankish morale and concludes that its capture weighed with the Franks more than that of the king.

About ten years earlier, on 25 November 1177, the Franks had decisively routed Saladin in the Battle of Montgisard; it was the day of Saint Catherine, and to commemorate their victory, the Franks had established the church of Sainte Katerine de Mongisart.<sup>57</sup> Now, after his own great victory, it was Saladin's turn

53 Dalman, "Jahresbericht" (note 35 above), p. 42.

54 RHC HOr. 1:685-686.

55 Richard, "Account," pp. 169-171, 175; Robert d'Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 249.

56 Ibn al-Athīr, RHC HOr. 1:684.

57 WT 21, 22, p. 922; *Les pelerinaiges por aler en Iherusalem*, in *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en français aux XI<sup>e</sup>, XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. H.

to memorialize. The same Old French version which relates that upon the Christian defeat Saladin “rendi graces a Nostre Seigneur [*sic!*] del honor que il li avoit fait,”<sup>58</sup> tells also that he ordered the building of a *mahomerie* on the summit of the mountain on which King Guy had been captured.<sup>59</sup> The geographer al-Dimashqī (d. 1327) preserved the name of the structure. Having mentioned that the Franks were defeated at the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn, he adds that Saladin built there a dome “which is called *qubbat al-naṣr*” (the Dome of Victory).<sup>60</sup> It did not remain intact for long. The German pilgrim Thietmar, who arrived in Acre in 1217, tells with glee that the temple Saladin had erected “to his gods” after the victory, is now desolate.<sup>61</sup> The very nature of the edifice came to be forgotten: Quaresmius, in the early seventeenth century, saw on the summit ruins believed to be those of a church.<sup>62</sup> The remains were correctly identified by Dalman in 1914,<sup>63</sup> and Gal excavated them in 1976 and 1981. But the few layers of stone, cleared of thistle a few days before the eight-hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn, are barely distinguishable by the untrained eye. Almost like the victory it once commemorated, the dome can be conjured up only by a feat of imagination.

Michelant and G. Raynaud (Geneva, 1882), p. 93; *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, c. 267, in RHC Lois 1:417. The causal link between victory and church was tentatively suggested by Charles Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, 1 (Paris, 1888), pp. 365-366. I believe that the link is obvious.

58 *Eracles*, p. 66, MS C, *ibid.*, p. 67; see also Ernoul, p. 172.

59 *Eracles*, p. 63.

60 *Cosmographie de Chams-ed-Din Abou Abdallah Mohammed ed-Dimichqui*, ed. A.F. Mehren (St. Petersburg, 1866), p. 212; English translation in Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500* (London, 1890), p. 451.

61 “Hinc transivi per campum, ubi exercitus Christianorum victus fuit et crux sancta ab inimicis crucis capta. Ubi in medio campi in eminencia quadam Saladinus pro habita victoria diis suis templum edificavit, quod usque ad hodiernum diem ibi est, sine honore tamen et desolatum; nec mirum, quia non est solidatum supra firmam petram, qui est Christus Jhesus...” *Magistri Thietmari peregrinatio*, ed. J.C.M. Laurent (Hamburg, 1857), pp. 4-5.

62 “Sunt in eius summitate aedificionum ruinae: et creduntur esse alicuius Ecclesiae ad honorem Doctoris Christi aedificatae.” Quaresmius, *Elucidatio* (note 34 above), p. 856a.

63 Dalman, “Jahresbericht” (note 25 above), p. 42, referring to al-Dimashqī and Thietmar.

# Saladin's Ḥaṭṭīn Letter

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*The repetitive patterns of medieval Arabic diplomatic correspondence are colored by metaphor and rhetorical exaggeration. Here, facts are the one half-pennyworth of bread in an intolerable deal of sack, and to this general rule the Ḥaṭṭīn letter is no exception. Not surprisingly, it is a triumph song rather than a battlefield communiqué, but in spite of this it supplies a clue that is essential to an understanding of the battle. The letter tells us that the crusaders occupied "one of the waters" during their advance on Tiberias. If this is accepted as referring to the spring by the site of the village of Ṭur'ān, the detail transforms what is otherwise inexplicably foolish generalship into a militarily acceptable, if unfortunate, tactical plan.*

*What is given here is a transcription of MS. arabe 6024 in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. A full critical study has yet to be made of the manuscript tradition of Saladin's letters and, until this has been done, individual transcriptions must be treated with some reserve. The present state of research, however, suggests that, although individual words or phrases may be subject to alteration in a final edition, it is highly unlikely that the few facts presented here will be altered in any way.*

(fol. 90<sup>a</sup>) كتاب الى الديوان العزيز ايضاً يذكر فتح طبرية

أدام الله أيام الديوان العزيز النبوي ولا زال الاسلام ببقائه ماضي العزائم وجيوش اعدائه اذا عاينت  
جيوش نصره جرت ذبول الهزائم ولا برحت خياله في ابياد الحصون تمام ولا فئتت (fol. 90<sup>b</sup>) اعداؤه  
يتساقون كأس الختوف حيث السيف ازاهر والغمود كرائم وجيشه المنصور يسير من اجنحة العقبان تحت  
غمام متى اضطرمت نار الهجير فطير المنية على جداول السيوف حوام ونصر الله تعالى محيطاً في موقف تحن  
السيف في القوائم اصدر الخادم هذه الخدمة من ثغر عكا حماها الله تعالى وقد تبسم لقدومنا فانمحا ليل  
الكفر عن جانبيه ووردناه فسقانا من رذاب الرضا ما هزله الدين الحنفي عطفيه والاسلام قد اتسع  
بجائه وتصرف انصاره ورجاله والكفر قد ثبتت اوجاله ودنت آجاله والفتح المبين قد خفت اعلامه  
وسيف الله تعالى قد راع اهل الشرك ابتسامه والدولة الناصرية قد تولي الله رفع منازها وارتفاع نارها  
وانخفاض اعدائها بشنارها واقلامها قد خطبت على منابر الانامل بشعارها وذلك ان الخادم برز على جسر  
الخشب في يوم كذا وقد اجتمع (fol. 91<sup>a</sup>) له من العساكر ما ضاق به الفضاء الاكبر وحق لها يوم المسير ان

ثُكِّدَ عَيْنَ الشَّمْسِ بِالْعِجَاجِ الْكَدَرِ وَتَوَجَّهَ إِلَى أَرْضِ الْعَدُوِّ بِجَيْشِ الْهَرَقْلِ وَعَزَمَهُ الْإِسْكَندَرُ عِنْدَمَا ظَهَرَ مِنْ خِذْلَانِ الْقَوْمِصِ لَعْنَهُ اللَّهُ وَنِفَاقِهِ وَنَقَضَهُ الْعُهُودَ عِنْدَ تَنْبِيهِ حَظِّهِ بَيْنَ مَلَاعِينَتِهِ وَنِفَاقِهِ فَصَبَّحَ الْخَادِمُ طَبْرِيَّةَ فَاقْتَضَى غُذْرَتَهَا بِالسَّيْفِ وَهَجَمَ عَلَيْهَا هَجُومَ الطَّيْفِ وَتَفَرَّقَ أَهْلُهَا بَيْنَ الْأَسْرِ وَالْقَتْلِ وَعَاجَلَهُمُ الْأَمْرُ فَلَمْ يَقْدِرُوا عَلَى الْخِدَاعِ وَالْخِتَلِ وَنَهَبَ مِنَ الذَّخَائِرِ وَالْأَمْوَالِ وَالْعُدَدِ وَالْإِنْفَالِ وَالْقَنَاظِيرِ الْمُقَنْطَرَةِ مِنَ الذَّهَبِ وَالْفِضَّةِ وَالْخَيْلِ الْمُسَوَّمَةِ وَالْإِنْعَامِ مَا يَزِيدُ عَلَى التَّعْدَادِ وَيُنْهَضُ خَاطِرُ الشُّكْرِ وَالْإِعْتِدَادِ وَلَمَّا قَامَ قَائِمُ الظَّهِيرَةِ وَقَدْ اغْدَمَ اللَّهُ الْكُفْرَ نَاصِرَهُ وَظَهِيرَهُ جَاءَتْ جُمُوعُ الْفَرَنْجِ حَاشِدَةً وَأَتَتْ لِضَالَّةٍ ضَلَّاهَا نَاشِدَةٌ رَجَاءَ الْمَلِكِ وَمَنْ مَعَهُ مِنْ كُفَّارِهِ وَلَمْ يَشْعُرْ أَنَّ لَيْلَ الْكُفْرِ قَدْ أَنْ وَقْتُ اسْفَارِهِ فَلَمَّا نَظَرَ (fol. 91<sup>b</sup>) إِلَيْهَا وَقَدْ جَعَلْنَا عَلَيْهَا سَافِلَهَا وَاقْبَطْنَا بِقَائِمِ السَّيْفِ نَائِمَهَا وَنَبَّهْنَا غَافِلَهَا نَصَبَ صَلِيبِ الصَّلْبُوتِ وَلَمْ يَعْلَمْ أَنَّ نَاصِرَ الظُّلْمِ مَكْبُوتٌ وَأَنَّ مَا شَاحَدَهُ مِنْ ضَلَالِهِ أَوْهَى مِنْ بَيْتِ الْعَنْكَبُوتِ فَحَامَتِ حَوْلَ الْمَاءِ صَقُورُ رِجَالِهِ وَعَقَبَانِ خَيْلِهِ وَمَلِكٌ أَحَدُ الْمِيَاهِ بِقَصْدِهِ لَهُ وَمِيلُهُ إِلَّا أَنَّ الشَّيْطَانَ سَوَّلَ لَهُ خِلَافَ مَا قَصَدَ وَحَسَّنَ لَهُ غَيْرَ مَا أَرَادَ وَاعْتَمَدَ فَهَضَّ عَنْ الْمَاءِ وَتَوَجَّهَ تَلْقَاءَ طَبْرِيَّةَ وَحَكَمَ بِادْرَاكِ ثَارِهِ لِمَا فِيهِ مِنْ كِبَرٍ وَجَبْرِيَّةٍ فَانْهَضَ الْخَادِمُ ابْنَ أَخِيهِ تَقَى الدِّينَ وَمُظَفَّرَ الدِّينَ إِلَى الْمَاءِ فَلَمَّا كَاهُ وَلَوْ أَدْرَكَاهُ نَازِلًا عَلَيْهِ لَوَرَدَاهُ مِنْ دِمَاءِ الْمَلَاعِينِ وَوَرَدَاهُ وَبَقِيَ مُحْصُورًا لَا يُمْكِنُ الْفِرَارُ وَلَا يُسَوِّغُ لَهُ الْقِرَارُ وَاضْرَمَ عَلَيْهِمْ نَارًا ذَاتَ شَرَارٍ إِذْ كَرَّتْ بِمَا أَعَدَّ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ فِي دَارِ الْقِرَارِ فَلَقِيَهُمُ الْخَادِمُ وَقَدْ اشْتَدَّتْ بِهِمْ نِيرَانُ الْعَطَشِ وَجَازَاهُمْ اللَّهُ بِمَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْ سِيَّاتِهِمْ فَاشْتَدَّ بَطْشُهُ عَلَيْهِمْ إِذْ بَطَشَ فَتَثَّبَتْ سَنَابِلُ الْخَيْلِ (fol. 92<sup>a</sup>) سَاءًا مِنَ الْعِجَاجِ نُجُومُهَا الْآسِنَّةُ وَطَارَتْ إِلَيْهِمْ عَقَبَانُ مِنَ الْخَيُْولِ قَوَادِمُهَا الْقَوَائِمُ وَمَخَالِبُهَا الْإِعْنَةُ وَتَصَوَّبَتْ عُيُونُ السُّمْرِ إِلَى قُلُوبِهِمْ كَأَنَّمَا تَطْلُبُ سَوَادَهَا وَقَصَدَتْ أَنْهَارَ السُّيُوفِ أَكْبَادَهَا فَكَأَنَّهَا أَرَادَتْ أَنْ تُرَوِّىَ كُبَادَهَا فَشَرَبُوا كَأْسَ الْمَنُونِ لَمَّا تَوَرَّدَتْ صَفَحَاتُ الصِّفَاحِ وَغَازَلَهُمُ الرِّمَاحُ وَعَقَدَتْ لَهُمُ الْخَوَافِرُ غَمَامًا مِنَ الْغُبَارِ وَأَنْزَلَ عَلَيْهِمْ قَطْرًا مِنَ السِّهَامِ مُتَطَاثِرَةً الشَّرَارِ وَخَدَّتْهَا رُغُودٌ مِنَ الصَّهِيلِ وَابْرَقَتْ فِي جَوَانِبِهَا بَرُوقًا مِنْ كُلِّ سَيْفٍ صَقِيلٍ فَلَمَّا رَأَى الْقَوْمِصُ لَعْنَهُ اللَّهُ أَنَّ الدَّائِرَةَ عَلَيْهِمْ سَرِيعَةُ الْكُونِ نَكَصَ عَلَى عَقْبِيهِ وَقَالَ إِنِّي بَرِيءٌ مِنْكُمْ إِنِّي أَرَى مَا لَا تَرَوْنَ فَطَحَّتْهُمْ الْخَيُْولُ بِمَنَاقِبِهَا وَدَرَمَتْهُمْ سَاءُ الْعِجَاجِ بِكُوَاكِبِهَا وَفَضَى اللَّهُ نَصْرَهُ إِلَهُهُ الْخَفِيفَةَ وَاسْتَظْهَرَهَا رُؤَاكِبُهَا فَوَضَحَ لِلْمَلِكِ لَعْنَهُ اللَّهُ مَا أَخْفَاهُ عَنْهُ الْبَاطِلُ وَأَرَتُهُ الْمَعْرَكَةُ مَا كَانَ يَسْتَرُهُ عَنْهُ رَايَةُ الْخَاطِلِ فَتَرَجَّلَ هُوَ وَمَنْ مَعَهُ عَنْ صَهَوَاتِ الْجِيَادِ وَتَسَنَّمُوا هَضْبَةً مِنَ الْأَرْضِ رَجَاءً أَنَّ (fol. 92<sup>b</sup>) يَنْجِيهِمْ مِنْ حَيْرِ السُّيُوفِ الْحَدَادِ وَنَصَبُوا لِلْمَلِكِ خِيْمَةً حُمْرَاءَ وَضَعُوا عَلَى الشَّرِكِ عِمَادَهَا وَتَوَلَّتْ الرِّجَالُ حِفْظَ أَطْنَابِهَا فَكَانُوا أَوْتَادَهَا فَنَزَلَ أَصْحَابُنَا عَنْ ظُهُورِ الْخَيُْولِ وَصَبَعُوا إِلَيْهِمْ وَاثْقَيْنَ بِادْرَاكِ الْمَأْمُولِ وَرَدَّتْ طُيُورُ النَّبَالِ أَوْكَارَهَا مِنَ الْجِعَابِ وَتَصَوَّبَتْ عُيُونُ السُّمْرِ إِلَى أَمْثَالِهَا مِنَ النُّجُومِ تَشْكُو ظَمًا الْكَعَابِ وَصَهَلَتْ الْخَيُْولُ غَيْظًا حَيْثُ لَمْ تَخْتَضِبْ بِدِمَائِهِمْ حُجُولُهَا وَاشْتَاقَتْ الْأَرْضُ إِلَى وَقْعِ حَوَافِرِهَا الَّتِي تَكْسُوهَا حُلْيَةُ السَّمَاءِ مِنَ الْإِلَهَةِ عِنْدَمَا تَجُوهَا فَكَانَتْ الدَّوْلَةُ لِلْقَائِمِ وَلَمْ يَتَجَاوَزْ حَدَّهُ فِي الْعَدْلِ الَّذِي هُوَ لَا زِمَ فَأَخَذَ الْمَلِكُ أَسِيرًا وَكَانَ يَوْمًا عَلَى الْكَافِرِينَ عَسِيرًا وَأَسَرَ الْإِبْرَنَسَ لَعْنَهُ اللَّهُ فَحَصَدَ بِذَرَّةٍ وَقَتَّلَهُ الْخَادِمُ بِيَدِهِ وَوَفَّى بِذَلِكَ نَذْرَهُ وَأَسَرَ جَمَاعَةً مِنْ مُقَدِّمِي دَوْلَتِهِ وَكُتَبَاءِ ضَلَالَتِهِ وَكَانَتْ الْقَتْلَى يَزِيدُ عَلَى أَرْبَعِينَ أَلْفًا وَلَمْ يَبْقَ أَحَدٌ مِنَ الدِّيَوِيَّةِ فَلِلَّهِ هُوَ مِنْ يَوْمٍ تَصَاحَبَ فِيهِ الذُّثْبُ وَالنَّسْرُ وَتَدَاوَلَ فِيهِ الْقَتْلُ وَالْأَسْرُ وَبَاتَ (fol. 93<sup>a</sup>) الْكُفَّارُ فِيهِ مُقَرَّنِينَ فِي الْأَصْفَادِ مُمْتَطِينَ الْأَدَاهِمَ إِلَّا أَنَّهَا غَيْرُ الْمُطَهَّمَةِ الْجِيَادِ وَلَمَّا كَانَ يَوْمُ كَذَى نَزَلْنَا عَلَى ثَغْرِ عَكَّا مُقَابِلِينَ وَنَهَضْنَا إِلَى أَهْلِهَا مُقَاتِلِينَ وَلَاذُوا بِالْأَمَانِ فَأَمَنَّاهُمْ عَامِلِينَ بِسُنَّةِ الْإِيمَانِ وَدَخَلْنَا فِي يَوْمٍ كَذَا شَاكِرِينَ لِلَّهِ عَلَى هَذِهِ الْمَوْهَبَةِ الْجَسِيمَةِ عَارِفِينَ لِلَّهِ جَلَّ وَعَلَى عَلَى قَدْرِ هَذِهِ النِّعْمَةِ الْعَظِيمَةِ الْعَمِيمَةِ فَالْحَمْدُ

لِلّٰهِ الَّذِي رَفَعَ كَلِمَةَ الْاِيْمَانِ وَاَعْلَاهَا وَحَفَظَ الْكَلِمَةَ الْعَبَّاسِيَّةَ وَتَوَلَّاهَا وَزَيَّنَ السَّيْرَةَ النَّاصِرِيَّةَ بِهَذِهِ الْمَفَاخِرِ  
وَحَلَّاهَا وَمَحَا آيَةَ الْكُفْرِ بِآيَةِ الْاِسْلَامِ وَحَلَّاهَا وَالسَّلَامَ.

Another letter to the glorious *Dīwān*, giving an account of the capture of Tiberias.

May God perpetuate the days of the glorious Prophetic *Dīwān*; may its continuation ensure that Islamic precepts are fulfilled, while the armies of its enemies, seeing its victorious hosts, trail the skirts of defeat; may its horsemen continue to be amulets hung round the necks of fortresses; may its enemies not cease [90b] from finding the cup of death poured out where swords are flowers, whose calix is the scabbard, while its victorious army travels on eagles' wings under the clouds, with the birds of fate hovering around the streaming swords in the blazing fire of noon, while God's encompassing mercy is found where the sword hilts betray the swords.

The servant has sent this message of service from the outpost of Acre, may Almighty God preserve it, which has smiled at our arrival, as the night of unbelief cleared from around it. We came to it and it gave us to drink from what the Ḥanefite religion had shaken down for it of the saliva of satisfaction. The domain of Islam has expanded; its helpers and its warriors move freely, while the fears of the unbelievers are confirmed and their fate is near. The standards of clear victory are fluttering and the gleam of God's sword has terrified the polytheists. God has seen to the lifting up of the minaret of the Nāṣirid *dawla*, the raising of its fire, and the bringing down of its enemies in disgrace, while its pens have recited its insignia on the pulpits of its fingers.

The servant advanced to the Wooden Bridge on such-and-such a day, having collected armies [91a] for which the vast plain was too narrow, darkening the eye of the sun with their dust cloud when they marched. He set off for the land of the foe with the army of Heraclius and the resolution of Alexander when the desertion of the Count, may God curse him, his hypocrisy and his breaking of covenants became clear, this being when his position became re-established and flourishing amongst his own damned people.

The servant attacked Tiberias in the morning, deflowering it with the sword and assaulting it in a rage. Its people were scattered, being either captured or killed, and they had no time to allow them to use deception and deceit. Stores, wealth, equipment and booty were seized, together with heaped piles of gold and silver,<sup>1</sup> fine horses and luxuries, in quantities past all counting, stirring up thoughts of gratitude and reliance (on God).

At noon, when God had deprived the unbelievers of help and assistance, the massed hosts of the Franks came in search of what had been lost by their misguidedness. The King came with his infidel companions, not knowing that

1 Cf. Qur'ān 3.12.



dawn was about to break on the night of unbelief. When he saw [91b] that we had turned the town upside down,<sup>2</sup> rousing its sleepers by the sword and alerting the heedless, he set up the Cross, not realizing that whoever supports injustice will be cast down and that what he constructs in his error is more fragile than a spider's web.

The hawks of his infantry and the eagles of his cavalry hovered around the water and he took one of the waters by marching to it and turning aside. But the devil seduced him<sup>3</sup> into doing the opposite of what he had in mind and made to seem good to him what was not his (real) wish and intention. So he left the water and set out towards Tiberias, deciding, through pride and arrogance, to take his revenge.

The servant then sent his nephew, Taqī al-Dīn, and Muẓaffar al-Dīn to the water, which they seized, and had they found him camped there, they would have dyed the water red with the blood of the damned infidels and seized him. He remained beleaguered, unable to flee and not allowed to stay. The servant kindled against him fire, giving off sparks, a reminder of what God has prepared for them in the next world. He then met them in battle, when the fires of thirst had tormented them and God had requited them for their past evils, assaulting them with His violence. The hooves of the horses [92a] produced a sky of dust, whose stars were lance points. The eagles of the (Muslim) horse flew at them, their fore-feathers being their legs, and the talons their bridles. The eyes of the spears were directed at their hearts, as though they were looking for their inmost parts. Rivers of swords sought out their livers, as though wanting to water what was diseased there. They drank the cup of fate when the sides of the sword blades came to water and the spears courted them. The horses' hooves massed dust clouds for them; showers of arrows, shooting out sparks, were sent down on them, merged together by the thunder of neighing horses, with the lightning of polished swords flashing alongside them.

When the Count, may God curse him, saw that fortune was revolving swiftly against them, he turned back, saying: "I have nothing to do with you. I see what you do not see."<sup>4</sup> Then the horses pounded them with their shoulders and the dusty sky hurled stars against them. God decreed the victory of the Ḥanefite faith and the triumph of its squadrons.

There now became clear to the King, may God curse him, what falsehood had concealed from him and the battle showed him what his foolish judgement had concealed from him. He and his companions dismounted from horseback and mounted a hill, hoping that [92b] it would save them from the heat of the sharp swords. They set up a red tent for the King, its pole resting on polytheism. Their men undertook to guard its ropes, but became its pegs. Our companions dismounted and climbed up to them, confident of obtaining the goal for which

2 Cf. Qur'ān 15.74.

3 Cf. Qur'ān 47.27.

4 Cf. Qur'ān 8.50.

they hoped. The arrow birds were restored to the quiver nests; the eyes of the spears were directed to the stars (which gleamed) like them, complaining of the drought of their joints. The horses neighed in anger where their legs were not stained with Frankish blood and the earth longed for their hoof prints to ornament it, as crescent moons ornament the sky, by circling over it. Sovereignty belonged to the sword-hilt and its blade did not pass beyond necessary justice.

The King was captured, and this was a hard day for the unbelievers.<sup>5</sup> The Prince, may God curse him, was taken and the servant harvested his seed, killing him with his own hand and so fulfilling his vow. A number of the leaders of his state and the great men of his false religion were taken prisoner, while the dead numbered more than forty thousand. Not one of the Templars survived. It was a day of grace, on which the wolf and the vulture kept company, while death and captivity followed in turns. The unbelievers [93a] were tied together in fetters, astride chains rather than stout horses.

On such-and-such a day we advanced against the outpost of Acre, coming up to fight its garrison. They sought refuge in a (request for) quarter, which we granted them, in accordance with Muslim custom. We entered the town on such-and-such a day, thanking God for this great gift and acknowledging to Him, the Great and Glorious, the extent of this vast and universal benefit.

Glory to God, who has raised up and exalted the word of faith and has preserved 'Abbāsid authority, taking it into His charge, adorning and gilding the career of al-Nāṣir with these triumphs and blotting out the sign of the unbelief with that of Islam,<sup>6</sup> to which He has added sweetness.

5 Cf. Qur'ān 25.28.

6 Cf. Qur'ān 17.13.

# Saladin's Dome of Victory at the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn

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A survey and excavation I carried out in 1976 and 1981 at the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn (Tel Qarney Ḥiṭṭīn) revealed a Late Bronze wall of the 14th-13th centuries B.C.E. on the southern horn, or summit, and a massive Iron Age wall of the 9th-8th centuries B.C.E. enclosing both horns (fig. 1).

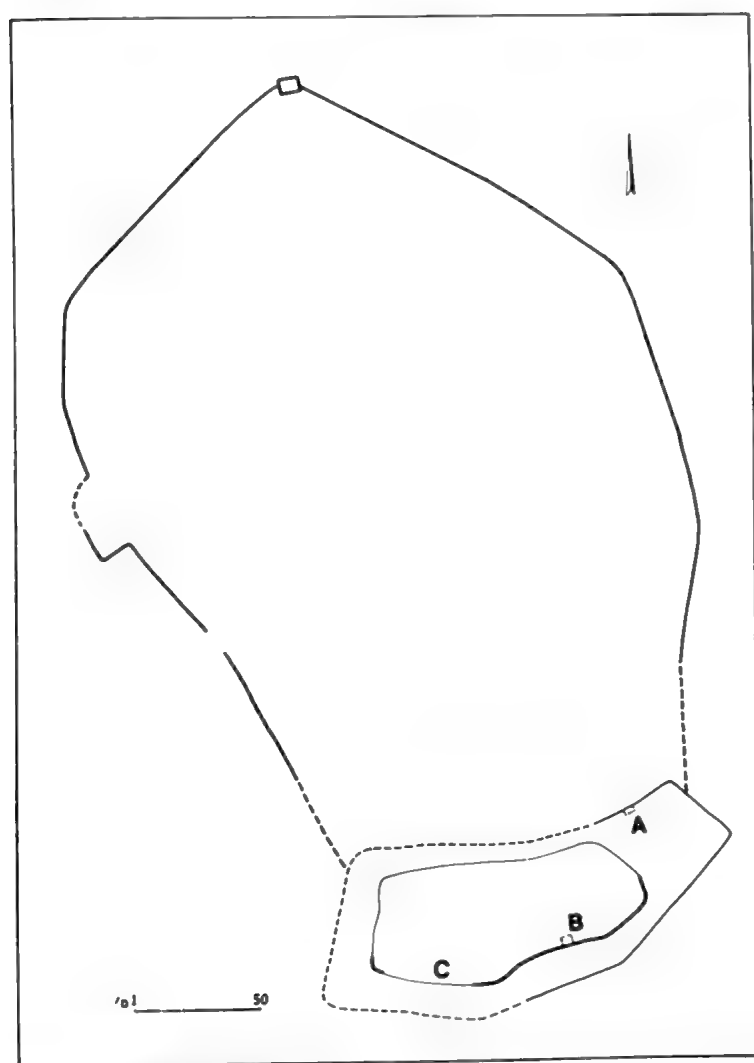


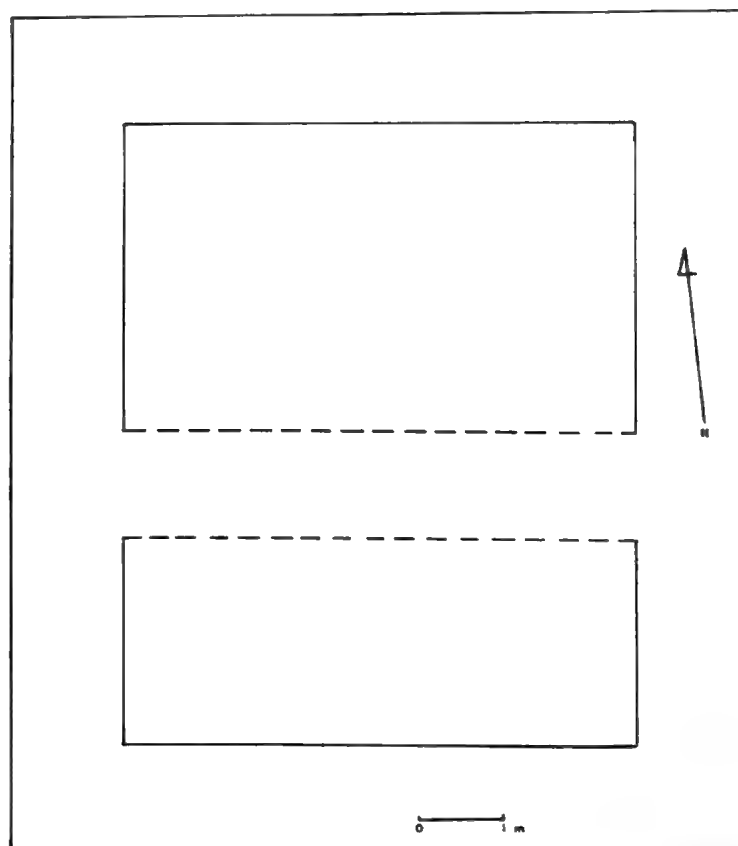
Fig. 1. Tel Qarney Ḥiṭṭīn (A. Sounding at Late Bronze wall; B. Sounding at Iron Age wall; C. Saladin's monument)

Remains of habitation were found on both horns, with the main settlement on the southern one, the higher and the larger of the two, as well as on the volcanic crater which dominates the tell. At first I followed Y. Aharoni's suggestion of identifying the site with Canaanite Shemesh-Edom and Israelite Adama (Joshua 19.36), but later I came to the conclusion that it should be identified with biblical Madon/Marom (Joshua 11.1).<sup>1</sup>

Most of the field work concentrated on the southern horn, which overlooks the rocky plateau to the south and the west. At the highest point of this horn there was uncovered a ruined building of which only the lowest foundation layers have been preserved. Architectural characteristics such as comb-dressed masonry and plaster indicate that the building dates from the crusader-to-Mamlūk period. It is the only medieval structure on the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn.

The building (fig. 2) measures  $8.6 \times 10$  meters and consists of local basalt stones along with some limestone dressed in a number of instances with a comb-chisel. The external walls, 1.3 meters wide, are made of large stones with a fill of field stones between them. The building has two rooms, measuring  $3.75 \times 6$  and  $2.5 \times 6$  meters respectively. Since they are situated below the rocky surface and their walls are plastered, it is possible that they functioned as cisterns.

Fig. 2. Saladin's Dome of Victory



1. Z. Gal, "Tel Rekhes and Tel Qarney Ḥiṭṭīn," *Eretz-Israel* 15 (1981), 213-221 (in Hebrew); idem, *The Iron Age in Lower Galilee* (Unpubl. diss., Tel Aviv University, 1983), p. 33 and Pl. 6 (in Hebrew).

In my study of the ancient settlements on the horns I mentioned this building only briefly, suggesting that it might have been a Mamlūk fort overlooking the road to Tiberias.<sup>2</sup> More recently it was brought to my attention that al-Dimashqī wrote in about 1300 that Saladin erected a Dome of Victory on the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn; that his testimony is corroborated by two thirteenth-century occidental writers, the Old French continuator of William of Tyre and the German pilgrim Thietmar; and that in 1914 Gustaf Dalman found “vaults” on the southern horn and assumed that they belonged to the monument mentioned by al-Dimashqī and Thietmar.<sup>3</sup> Consequently it is quite certain that the above-described medieval remains on the southern horn do belong to Saladin’s Dome of Victory.

2 Gal, “Tel Rekhes,” p. 218.

3 See notes 59-61 and 63 in B.Z. Kedar’s article, above p. 207. I would like to thank B.Z. Kedar for having brought this literature to my attention.



# The Lost Crusader Castle of Tiberias

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On the evening of 2 July 1187 a messenger, sent from Tiberias by Princess Eschiva, arrived on horseback in Saforie, where the Latin Kingdom's army was preparing to encounter the invading forces of Saladin. The messenger informed King Guy of Lusignan, Raymond III of Tripoli—the husband of Princess Eschiva—and the barons that Saladin had laid siege to Tiberias early that morning and that his men were about to storm the town. (The Muslims indeed breached the walls and took Tiberias by midday, with Eschiva and her men taking refuge in the town's citadel.) The king decided, against the better advice of Raymond of Tripoli, to leave Saforie early in the morning and try to relieve beleaguered Tiberias, a decision which led to the disastrous defeat at Ḥaṭṭīn two days later.

Contemporary accounts of Saladin's attack on Tiberias imply that the town's citadel was located within the walls. Otherwise how could the Franks find refuge within, having failed to defend the town's outer fortifications? However, V. Guérin and E. Rey, who wrote in the second half of the nineteenth century on the historical geography of Palestine, claimed that the crusader castle of Tiberias stood outside the walls of the medieval town. According to them, the castle built by Ḍāhir al-'Umar in 1749 on a small hill northwest of the town, had been erected on the remains of the crusader citadel of Tiberias.<sup>1</sup> J. Prawer, in his monumental study of the history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, tended to accept the view of Guérin and Rey as to the location of the crusader castle,

\* I wish to thank Ms. M. Krasin for typing and editing my contribution to this paper, and making it more readable.

\*\* This work would not have been possible without the cooperation and active encouragement of E. Dinur/Braunschweiler. Ms. T. Mazzola's advice on aspects of the architecture and her ink drawings of the plans from originals were invaluable aids. Thanks are also due to Mr. A. Drori, director of IDAM, for permission to publish this material.

1 V. Guérin. *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*, 3: *Galilée*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1880), 1:250-251; E.G. Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie au XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1883), p. 447. [Later research established that the castle was built by Ḍāhir al-'Umar's son in about 1754; cf. U. Heydt (Heyd), *Ḍāhir al-'Umar, Ruler of Galilee in the Eighteenth Century* (Jerusalem, 1942), p. 91 (in Hebrew); Ze'ev Bruck's map of Tiberias in O. Avissar, *The Book of Tiberias* (Jerusalem, 1973), p. 210 (in Hebrew). Ed.]

probably because the remains of this structure were, until recently, hidden beneath later constructions.<sup>2</sup>

While studying the history of the Principality of Galilee in the twelfth century, I found not only that the crusader castle of Tiberias had been built inside rather than outside the town but was able to locate it exactly.<sup>3</sup> Fortunately, the data I obtained from written sources were recently confirmed by the incidental unearthing of the remains of the crusader castle within the medieval part of Tiberias.

In the first part of this paper I present the historical evidence concerning the citadel and in the second part Eliot Braun discusses its archeological aspects.

# [ I ]

The existence of a crusader castle within the walls of Tiberias is manifested not only in the chroniclers' accounts of Saladin's attack on Tiberias on the eve of the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn. The continuator of William of Tyre recounts that in May 1187, on leaving Tiberias to join the crusader camp in Saforie, Raymond III told his wife Eschiva and her bailifs to take to their boats and find refuge in the sea, should they not be able to defend the town against Saladin, and wait there till he came to save them.<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to see how the defenders of the castle were to leave it, under siege, and reach the lake, were the castle located outside the town, far from the lake's shore. This inference as to the citadel's location is further confirmed by a thirteenth-century Syrian historian and geographer, Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī, who used good twelfth-century sources. He wrote that "the Franks built in Tiberias a citadel on the sea shore."<sup>5</sup>

On 5 July 1187, after his great victory at Ḥaṭṭīn, Saladin descended to the Sea of Galilee to complete the conquest of Tiberias. He promised Princess Eschiva safe conduct to Tripoli if she surrendered. She accepted his terms, handed the citadel over to Saladin, and departed for Tripoli with her men.<sup>6</sup>

Saladin thus received the castle of Tiberias undamaged, but it did not remain so for long. In the spring of 1190 the large crusader army of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa approached the south coast of Asia Minor. Saladin received

2 Prawer, *Histoire*, 1:255.

3 Z. Razi, "The Principality of Galilee in the Twelfth Century," (Unpublished MA dissertation, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 99-101 (in Hebrew).

4 "et comanda a sa feme et a ses baillis que se il veissent l'esfors de Salahadin, qu'il fust si grant qu'il ne se peussent defendre, que il se meissent es veissiaus, et se meissent en garnison en la mer, et il les secorroit prochainement." *Cont. WT*, c. 29, p. 43; cf. c. 32, pp. 44-45. M. Baldwin, in his study of Raymond III of Tripoli, notes that this passage indicates that the castle of Tiberias was close to the lake's shore. However, he adds that "the absence of any definite information makes any definite statement impossible:" M. W. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripolis and the Fall of Jerusalem (1140-1187)*, (Princeton, 1936), p. 148.

5 Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī, *al-A'lāq al-Ḥaṭīra fī dhikr umarā' al-Shām wa'l-Djazīra*, ed. S. Dahhān (Damascus, 1963), p. 132.

6 Ernoul, p. 174; *Cont. WT*, c. 44, p. 56; Ibn al-Athīr in *RHC HOr*. 2:687.



Fig. 1. General view of Tiberias, 1679 (Corneille Le Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, [Paris, 1700<sup>8</sup>, pl. 173)

alarming reports as to the size and strength of the emperor's army. He estimated that his forces would not be able to continue the war against the Franks in Tyre and around Acre, and at the same time defend all the strategic strongholds in Palestine. Therefore he ordered his men to destroy several fortified positions in order to prevent the crusaders from using them to their advantage. Among the sites mentioned, one finds the castle of Tiberias.<sup>7</sup>

It appears that the castle suffered severe damage in 1190 and remained in a state of disrepair for the next fifty years. In 1241 the Franks regained control over Galilee as a result of the agreement between Richard of Cornwall and the sultan of Egypt. Odo of Montbéliard received the Principality of Galilee in his wife's right and began to rebuild the castle of Tiberias.<sup>8</sup> The Franks, however, failed to hold Tiberias for long. In 1247 an Egyptian army, led by the emir Fakhr al-Dīn, attacked Tiberias and took it on 17 June.<sup>9</sup>

Medieval written sources provide us with only few details concerning the citadel, yet accounts by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travelers prove quite illuminating. Jean de Thevenot, who visited Tiberias between 1629 and 1634, saw the remains of a large "château" inside the town on the shore of the

7 Abū Shāma in RHC HOr. 4:462. For a fuller discussion of Saladin's reaction to Barbarossa's crusade, see R. Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1936), 3:14-17.

8 *Eracles*, p. 432. See also Runciman, *Crusades* 3:218-219.

9 al-'Aynī in RHC HOr. 2.1:200 (who gives the date of conquest); *Eracles*, pp. 432-433; Abū'l Fidā' in RHC HOr. 1:125; *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders. Selections from the Tārīkh al-Duwal wa'l Mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt*, ed. and trans. U. and M.C. Lyons, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1971), 2:11 (see also 2:1).

lake.<sup>10</sup> Eugène Roger, visiting the town in 1657, encountered the remains of a citadel encircled by a moat full of water coming from the Sea of Galilee.<sup>11</sup> Twenty-two years later, in 1679, Corneille Le Bruyn made detailed drawings of Tiberias and its surroundings. In the first of these drawings (see fig. 1) one can clearly see a substantial citadel inside the town directly on the waterfront and towering above the town walls, while no remains whatsoever are to be seen on the hill north of the town, upon which Ḍahīr al-‘Umar’s son Ṣulaybī built his castle about seventy years later. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that Robinson, who investigated Ṣulaybī’s castle thoroughly in 1838, came to the conclusion that no remains prior to the eighteenth century could be found on this hill.<sup>12</sup>

Le Bruyn’s second drawing (see fig. 2) suggests that the crusader castle of Tiberias was situated inside the town along a small bay. It was at least two stories high and its two towers, at the northeastern and southeastern corners, reached well into the lake, creating between them a kind of a protected anchorage. It seems plausible to assume that this castle was also the palace of the princes of Galilee. Richard Pococke, who visited Tiberias at the beginning of the eighteenth century, found the remains of the crusader citadel still visible inside the town.<sup>13</sup> The earthquake of 1837, however, and the great flood of 1934 probably destroyed a large part of the citadel’s remains. Moreover, after the flood, the British authorities built a straight embankment along the lake’s shore in order to avoid further inundations.<sup>14</sup> This embankment, named the Lido by the British and the Sea Street by the Israelis, covered entirely the area where one should look for the remains of the crusader citadel. Le Bruyn’s drawings suggest that it was situated under the Lido, between the present-day church of St. Peter and the Maimonides Synagogue.

Unfortunately the sources do not inform us about the date of the citadel’s construction. Admittedly, the chronicler Albert of Aachen recorded that when Godfrey of Bouillon came to Tiberias in December of 1099, after its conquest by Tancred, he helped the latter to rebuild a castle. According to Albert, the castle was built on the steep of a mountain and was encircled by a dyke and a strong wall.<sup>15</sup> The small hill north of Tiberias, upon which Ḍahīr al-‘Umar’s son built his castle, cannot possibly fit the location of the castle of 1099 described by Albert of Aachen. Moreover, Godfrey of Bouillon stayed in Tiberias a few days only, and had neither the time nor the manpower to construct a new castle. It is

10 Jean de Thevenot, *Relation d’un voyage au Levant, 1629-34* (Paris, 1665), p. 426 [See also the drawing made in 1517 by Francese Camorid which shows the “castello” of Tiberias about the middle of the town’s shoreline. The drawing is reproduced in Avissar, *Tiberias* (note 1 above), p. 384. Ed.]

11 Eugène Roger, *La Terre Sainte*, (Paris, 1664), p. 70.

12 E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*, 3 (Boston, 1841), p. 329.

13 Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and some other Countries*, 2 (London, 1766), p. 68.

14 Avissar, *Tiberias* (note 1 above), pp. 135-136.

15 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, RHC HOcc. 4:517.



Fig. 2. Tiberias, 1679: Part of the castle, viewed from the North (Corneille Le Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, [Paris, 1700], pl. 174)

therefore more plausible to assume that the crusaders merely restored an existing fortification, one located to the south and not to the north of the eleventh-century town. Southwest of medieval Tiberias rises the steep and high mountain of Berenice, named by the Arabs "Qaṣr bint al-malik." On the summit of this mountain King Herod Antipas built, in the first century A.D., a large fortified palace.<sup>16</sup> Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the Persian traveler who visited the area in 1047, was greatly impressed by its remains, which he called a "castle."<sup>17</sup>

It seems that Godfrey and Tancred decided to look for a fortified place near Tiberias not because the town was unwalled, as Prawer argues,<sup>18</sup> but because of the poor condition of its walls. According to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Tiberias in 1047 had a strong wall which encircled the town and touched the water line in its southern and northern corners.<sup>19</sup> However, in 1071 and again in 1075 the Turkoman general Atsīz conquered Tiberias; on the second occasion he massacred the population and pillaged the town.<sup>20</sup> The local authorities

16 C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine. Memoirs*, 3 vols. (London, 1881-83), 1:412; G. Schumacher, "Researches in the Plain North of Caesarea, 2: Tiberias and its Vicinity," *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement* (1887), 86-88.

17 Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Diary of a Journey Through Syria and Palestine*, trans. G. Le Strange, PPTS 4.2 (London, 1893), p. 18.

18 Prawer, *Histoire* 1:255.

19 Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Diary*, p. 17.

20 See the account by Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī utilized by M.E. Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte et sur quelques contrées voisines*, 2 (Paris, 1881), p.



probably had little time and few resources to repair the walls before the crusaders arrived. This explains, perhaps, why the inhabitants, unlike those of Haifa or Ascalon, vacated the town and fled on hearing that the crusaders were coming.<sup>21</sup> A few years later, the Latin conquerors of Tiberias had managed to repair the walls, which defended them well in 1113 against the invading army of Mawdūd of Moṣul.<sup>22</sup>

It is possible that the citadel was built inside Tiberias by William of Bures, the true creator of the seignior of Galilee and the founder of its princely family, who ruled Galilee between 1120 and 1141/42.<sup>23</sup> Obviously this hypothesis can be tested only by further archeological excavations of the remains of the citadel, which might present us with better insights as to the date of its construction.

## [ II ]

### THE DINUR EXCAVATION

In November and December 1976 E. Dinur, acting on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums (IDAM), conducted a small sounding immediately to the north of the construction site of the Plaza Hotel, some 70 meters from what was then the lakefront.<sup>24</sup> In a limited exposure there was uncovered a segment of a massive wall oriented north-west/south-east, facing west away from the lakefront.<sup>25</sup> Preserved to a height of two to three meters, its upper portion is vertical; below, it slopes steeply to the west, broadening considerably at the base. The facade of the sloping wall is made up of large ashlar and column drums placed horizontally and bonded with a lime mortar.

In researching for the possible identification of this building Dinur came to the conclusion that it was a portion of the crusader castle located, according to Razi, in this area.<sup>26</sup> The present writer fully agrees with this conclusion and finds

430. Also *Ayyubids* (note 9 above), 2:45; M. Gil, *Palestine during the First Muslim Period (634-1099)*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv, 1983), 1:338-339 (in Hebrew).

21 On the flight see Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, RHC HOcc. 4:111.

22 On the siege of 1113 see Albert of Aachen in RHC HOcc. 4:694; Ibn al-Athīr in RHC HOr. 2.2:34-35. Al-Idrīsī, who completed his work in January 1154, mentions the "fortified walls" of Tiberias: G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems. A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A. D. 650 to 1500* (London, 1890), p. 338. But, here as elsewhere, al-Idrīsī may be referring to pre-Frankish conditions: cf. J. Drory, "A Muslim Savant Describes Frankish Palestine," in *The Crusaders in Their Kingdom, 1099-1291*, ed. B.Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1988), pp. 120-131 (in Hebrew).

23 Razi, "Principality" (note 3 above), pp. 78-79.

24 "Tiberias", *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 51 (1977), 5 (in Hebrew).

25 Prior to the initiation of the work of this writer, the site of the Dinur excavation was included in the grounds of a small public park. Only the uppermost 3 courses of the walls are visible and a cemented promenade and garden breach the northwest-southwest line of the wall.

26 Razi, "Principality" (note 3 above), pp. 99-101. I am grateful to E. Dinur/Braunschweiger for placing the unpublished excavation report with the results of her research at my disposal.

further support for it with the addition of similar remains of the same structure found in nearby soundings. Subsequent study of artistic renderings and photographs gives us some idea of the later history of this building and of its rather sad fate.

#### THE BRAUN EXCAVATION

In 1977, at the behest of the late Nethanel Tefilinsky, Antiquities Inspector for Eastern Galilee, the present writer was called to investigate remains of a substantial wall [W 2] of fine ashlar masonry, uncovered by bulldozing activity some 30 meters to the east of the Dinur excavation. Work was to be carried out in a small, open, rectangular space between the Plaza Hotel on the south and some remaining structures of Old Tiberias on the east and north.<sup>27</sup> Actual archeological activity was confined to two smaller triangular plots; the site was, during the excavation, bisected diagonally by the construction of a promenade and a garden c. 7 meters wide. The open space to the north of this passage is called Area A. It is bounded on the east by the wall of the Municipal Museum (formerly the al-Bahrī, i.e., "seaside," mosque, dating from c. 1882),<sup>28</sup> and on the north by a vaulted building of stone masonry [Plate 11, A and fig. 3]. Area B, to the south of the promenade, similarly triangular, is today located within the courtyard of the Plaza Hotel.

It was in Area A that W2, oriented north/south, initially attracted the attention of the Antiquities Inspector. It was found to be preserved to more than 2 meters in height and to extend from W10, its southern facade, to more than 20 meters north of W1 of the vaulted structure.<sup>29</sup>

At its southern end W2 forms a non-bonded corner with the line of W6 but extends beyond this line where it ends in a facade [W10] of the same fine ashlar masonry characteristic of W2. Presumably the corner thus formed is a portion of the southeast tower of this citadel.

The outer faces of W2 and W10 are, to the extent they were exposed, vertical. Walls 6 and 7, perpendicular to W2, form a solid mass of masonry which, in the uppermost courses preserved, is more than 7 meters thick. Wall 6 slopes outward steeply, broadening at its base [see sections A-A, B-B]. A fault in its solid facade suggests earthquake damage; a reminder of the probable reason for the complete

27 During the 1970s much "urban renewal" was undertaken within the old walled city of Tiberias. Most of the buildings were razed to the ground and below, the walls breached at several points, and high-rises and parking lots constructed on the ruins.

28 Cf. Avissar, *Tiberias* (note 1 above), p. 249.

29 Subsequent to the excavation it was possible to investigate within the vaulted building which had previously been filled with rubble. It was verified that W2 continues to the north serving as the western wall of the vaulted hall and extending beyond. In modern foundation pits, several meters further to the north of this vaulted building, was found evidence that this same wall [W2] extended at least to that point. Unfortunately there was no possibility of continuing the excavation nor could the underground portions of the ruins be surveyed before they were reburied.

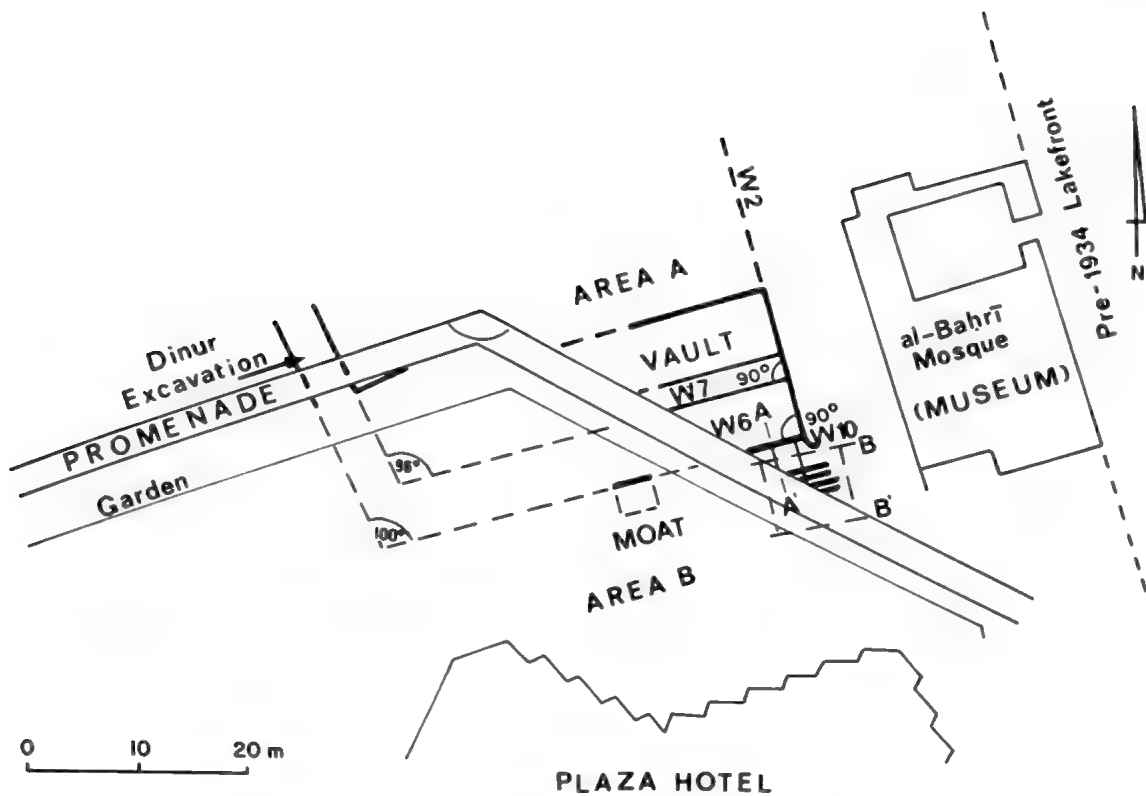


Fig. 3. Crusader Castle—plan of the excavation. Note: The mosque is positioned above the corner tower of the fortress

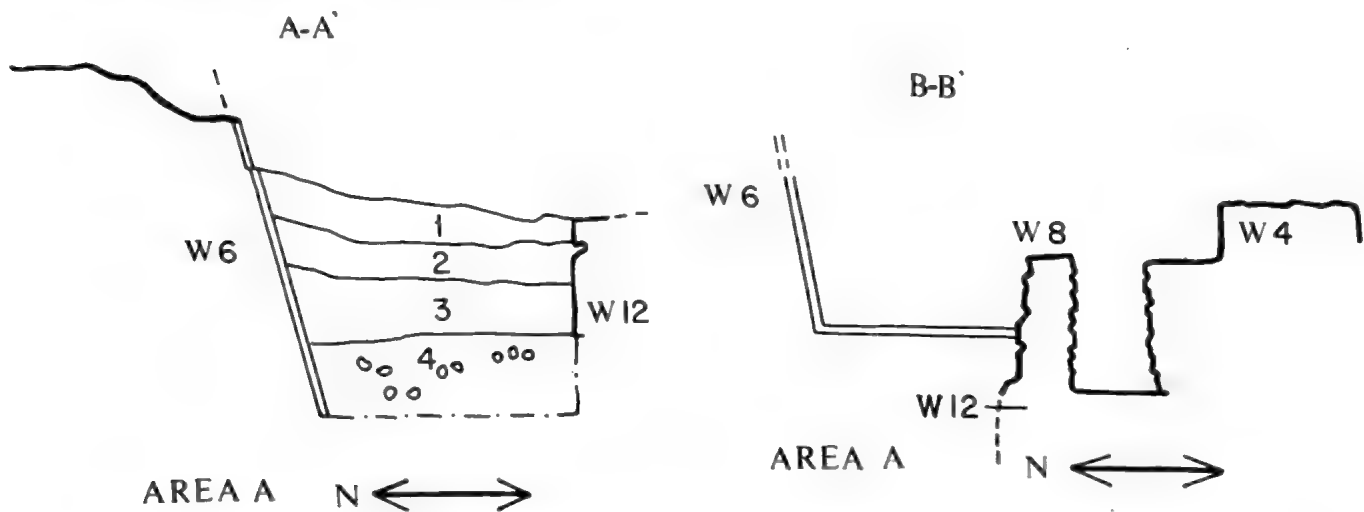


Fig. 4. Sections A-A and B-B showing the fills and walls within the disused moat of the castle

disappearance of the upper portions of so massive a structure. Wall 6 continues to the west into Area B where another portion of its sloping facade was exposed [see plate 4].

The line of W7, clearly visible from the topmost part of this mass, when cleared was also found to have a steeply sloping facade, suggesting that prior to the construction of W6 it was also exposed. In contrast to the facade of W6 with

its fine, smooth ashlar and horizontally placed column drums bonded with lime mortar, the face of W7, where a portion of the fill of W6 was removed, proved to be made up of smaller, roughly hewn stone blocks bonded with a mud-like agent.

Both W6 and W7 are analogous to the major, sloping, lower portion of the external north-west/south-east wall of the Dinur excavation. Continuing the analogy it is obvious that vertical walls should be reconstructed atop W6 and W7 and that these latter served as a glacis.

The actual stratigraphic excavation in Area A was confined to a small plot south of and outside the fortress; indeed this is the only space unoccupied by later structures. It is bounded by the foundations of W6 which extend below the lowest level reached in the excavation. Further digging had to be abandoned because of the high water table; therefore the bottom of the foundations was not reached.

In the upper levels were found a number of post-crusader constructions<sup>30</sup> but beneath them were several layers of fill, the bottommost of which is a deposit of sandy material [indicated in sections A-A and B-B as No. 4] containing large quantities of water-worn sherds. The lack of any sign of a foundation trench for W6 in the sections suggests that this material was deposited after the wall's construction.<sup>31</sup> Clearly this fill is beach material, and it may well be due to lake-water depositions within the moat. Thus W6 was probably a scarp of the south side of the water-filled moat identified by Razi.

The moat would have considerably increased the height of the walls and is entirely consistent with crusader construction. Based on the small exposure of the western fortifications in the excavation, it seems certain that this same moat, debouching into the lake, cut off the landward approaches to the castle.<sup>32</sup>

The interpretation of these remains is rather straightforward. The sheer size of these walls as well as their aspect clearly mark them as fortifications. The

30 Walls 8 and 9 are foundations built of small fieldstones bonded by lime mortar. They are quite fragmentary but can probably be dated by the surrounding matrix to the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. Connected with these levels is also a stone-covered drainage channel. The southern side of this channel is the upper part of another wall, W12, with very deep foundations on top of which W8 was built. There is no evidence to date W12, but clearly it is earlier than the modern walls and its position just outside the fortification places it sometime after the tower ceased to function as such. Just to the east of these walls a patch of recent reinforced concrete (which could not be removed by us) prevented the extension of the probe. Area B, within the courtyard of the hotel (then in its final stages of construction) was covered with a heavy layer of modern debris. No evidence was found beneath this layer other than sandy material with water-worn sherds, suggesting that the upper deposits in section A-A (fig. 3) are phenomena localized in Area A.

31 There are several other possible explanations: [a] the foundation trench was dug in sandy, beach material which filled in the trench without leaving any trace of its excavation; [b] this material is the basal deposit over bedrock, a thesis for which, lacking a control excavation beyond the limits of the moat, there is no proof.

32 It is certain that the moat did not circumvallate the castle which fronted directly on the lake. The exposed rampart is analogous to the east side of Belvoir where the moat debouches on two sides into the deep rift of the Jordan Valley at the summit of a cliff.

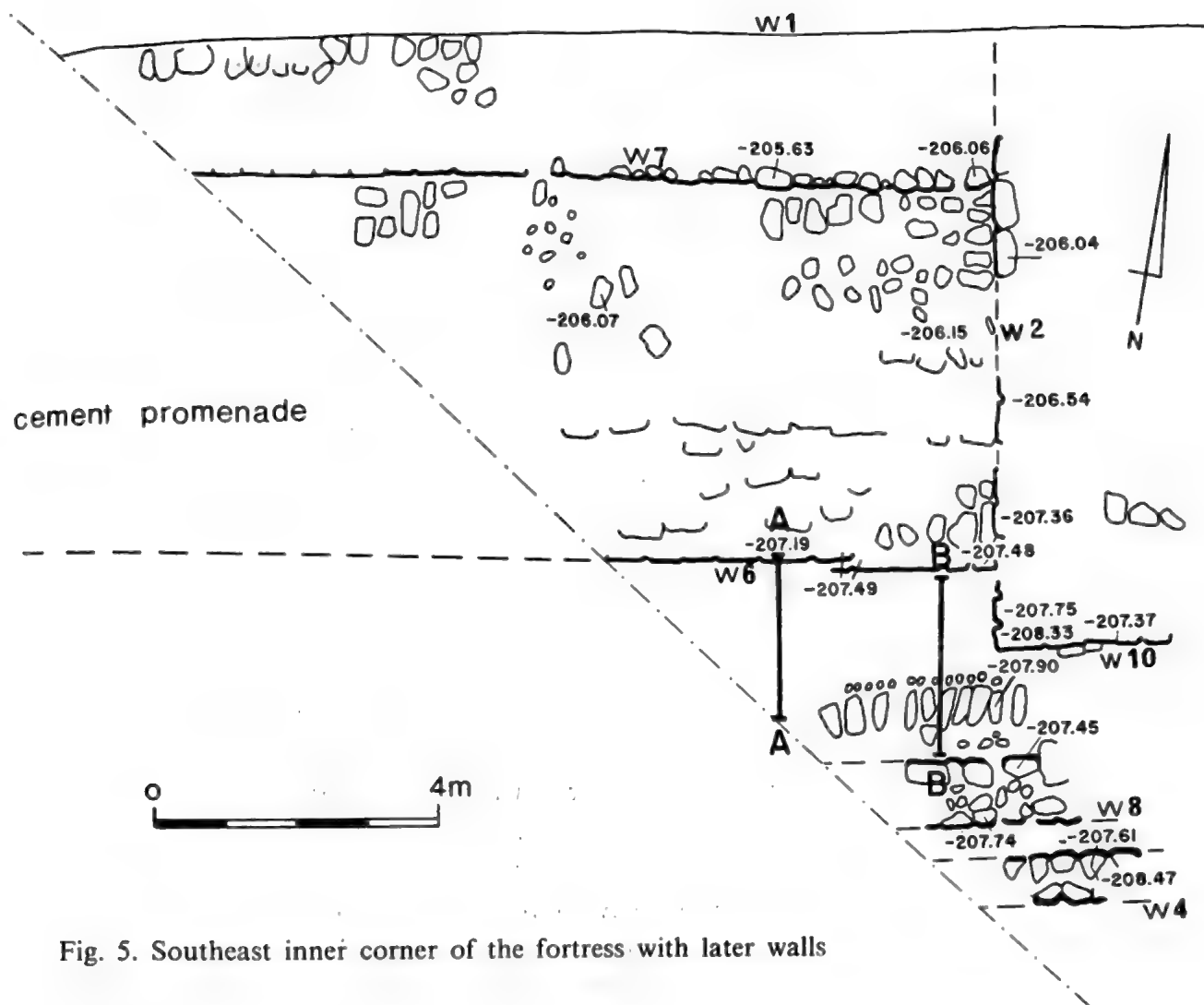


Fig. 5. Southeast inner corner of the fortress with later walls

architectural stratigraphy<sup>33</sup> suggests that W2/W10 is the earliest element encountered, although just what its original function may have been is unclear. It may have been an independent unit or somehow connected to portions of a building hidden beneath the mosque, represented by those vaults clearly visible in Plate 12, B. An equally plausible possibility is that it is simply a construction phase of the citadel. What is clear is that W7, W6, and W1 are not bonded with W2; all were built later, abutting it.

Sometime after the construction of W2/W10 the vaulted building W1 was added, followed by or perhaps contemporary with W7.<sup>34</sup> Wall 6 was the latest

33 Excavation was impossible within the castle compound. The only stratigraphy encountered was in the structural phases and in that small portion of Area A which, although having yielded evidence of occupation, is clearly outside the building.

34 The relationship of W1 to W7 and W6 is unclear. At the topmost preserved portion of their juncture it seems as if W1 might have been placed into a channel cut into W7, thus making it a later addition to the structure. However, this interpretation is not certain. Within the vaulted building the north face of W1 can be observed to descend at least 1.5 meters below the topmost level of the juncture of these walls. The base of W1 has not yet been exposed nor has the inside face of W7. Thus we are left with several options: (a) W1 and W7 are contemporary; (b) W1 and W6 are contemporary; (c) W1 is later than W6; (d) W6 is later than W1.



addition, representing an accretion to the existing fortification. It is not known whether any appreciable length of time passed between these architectural phases or whether they are merely techniques used in the construction of the fortress.

Although very little of the actual plan of the fortress has been brought to light the one extant corner suggests that it may have been an irregularly shaped structure, something along the lines of Belvoir. The latter is a five-sided enclosure, three lengths of which are more or less equal; the two remaining sides are substantially shorter. The angles of its corners are varyingly 96, 97 and 91 degrees, while the angle formed by W6 and W2 is 90 degrees; that which would be formed by the postulated intersection of W6 and the outer north-south fortification of the Dinur excavation is 100 degrees; its counterpart formed by W7 is 96 degrees. The corner tower [W2/W10] is, of course, paralleled at Belvoir and other crusader sites. Thus it may be that the fortress of Tiberias resembles the far better preserved castle of Belvoir although, by extrapolating from the known length of one of its sides, the former would appear to be significantly smaller. By analogy W1 would then be part of a vaulted corridor which may have run the entire perimeter of the castle's courtyard.

Recent discoveries of two contemporary structures underline the centrality of the castle within the crusader town of Tiberias. A monumental crusader church, possibly the cathedral, was found west of the castle; its remains may now be observed in the courtyard of the new River Jordan Hotel.<sup>35</sup> A large public building, dated to the crusader period, was excavated southwest of the castle; its massive remains dominate the rectangle south of the River Jordan Hotel.<sup>36</sup> In addition, the crusader origins of the modern Franciscan church of St. Peter, close to the lakefront in the northern part of Old Tiberias, had been noted long ago.<sup>37</sup> A. Harif has recently suggested that the crusader edifice restored by the Franciscans may have served as the chapel of the crusader castle.<sup>38</sup> This is hardly plausible, as the edifice lies some 210 meters to the north of the southeastern tower of the castle. To include the edifice the castle would have been of truly immense proportions and its plan highly irregular.

#### LATER HISTORY

In an 1837 view of Tiberias, on the eve of the earthquake which destroyed a major part of the town's buildings, a large structure is visible at the location of the crusader castle.<sup>39</sup> The structure no longer dominates the scene as in Le

35 The remains are described by A. Harif, "A Crusader Church in Tiberias," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 116 (1984), 103-109.

36 Y. Stepansky, "Archaeological Research in Tiberias in the Last Decade," *Mi-Tuv Tverya. Journal of the Center for Research on Tiberias* 3 (1986), 26 (in Hebrew).

37 See for example Enlart, *Monuments* 1:48; G. Governanti, *La Chiesa di S. Pietro in Tiberiade* (Jerusalem, 1946).

38 Harif, "Crusader Church," p. 107.

39 Avissar, *Tiberias* (note 1 above), p. 394.

Bruyn's drawing (fig. 1), but whether this is due to the artist's perspective or the actual state of the ruins is not certain. In another drawing, executed after the violent quake of that year by the same artist from the identical vantage point, the buildings in this area appear to have been truncated and large portions of the city walls have been breached or stand in ruins.<sup>40</sup> Obviously the tremor dealt a serious blow to the remains of the crusader castle, destroying most of its superstructure.

By 1850 there appears to have remained only a small portion of the once imposing structure, identifiable in the foundation of a partially preserved, large building with several arches which visibly jut out into the lake on the Tiberias waterfront.<sup>41</sup> By the early part of this century an almost identical view from the south shows no trace of this vaulting. In its place stands the al-Baḥrī mosque.<sup>42</sup> However, a lone, above-surface remnant of the once massive castle could still be discerned by the fourth decade of the present century.<sup>43</sup> In a photograph of the shoreline taken from the lake for the Palestine Department of Antiquities prior to the construction of the Tiberias Lido there are clearly visible the nether foundations of the al-Baḥrī mosque with their large ashlar masonry blocks and a vaulted building which must be identical with that seen from its south side in the lakefront views of the preceding century. Another contemporary photograph of the shoreline (Plate 12, B) shows the minaret of the al-Baḥrī mosque and, to the left of it, a large structure which protrudes into the lake. This structure may have been part of the crusader castle.

It is proposed here that the nether foundations of the mosque seen in Plate 12, A should be identified as the east side of the corner tower W2/W10. Le Bruyn's drawing (fig. 1) and the sandy material in the bottommost part of the sounding in Area A suggest that this tower jugged out into the lake. Nowadays the nether foundations lie below the Lido, which straightened out the waterfront by filling in and adding onto the buildings that protruded into the lake. The present-day waterfront lies at a considerable distance east from its location in crusader and indeed modern times. Consequently, all that is today visible of the crusader castle is a part of the southeastern corner tower and a small portion of the southern wall in Area A.

40 Ibid., p. 395.

41 Ibid., pp. 427, 451.

42 Ibid., p. 455.

43 The vault may have given rise to the notion of a 'sea gate' leading to the mosque. The gate appears on a map of Tiberias drawn up early in this century: Avissar, *Tiberias*, p. 146, No. 14.

# Saladin and Muslim Military Theory

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## INTRODUCTION

Saladin has attracted more attention from modern historians than any Islamic figure save the prophet Muḥammad.<sup>1</sup> Interpretations of this remarkable man are varied, but his biographers are almost unanimous in criticizing at least part of his military strategy following his victory at the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn.<sup>2</sup> Among other things, Saladin has been widely condemned for his delay in attacking the major port of Tyre, and for directing his assaults on weaker Frankish cities and castles, leaving the stronger sites to become centers of resistance during the Third Crusade.<sup>3</sup> Rather than attempting to analyze all of the various factors related to the interpretation and evaluation of Saladin's strategy after Ḥaṭṭīn, I will here focus on one important but neglected source for the study of Saladin's military policy, namely, medieval Islamic military science.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 There have been four major scholarly treatments in the past twenty years: Malcolm Cameron Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982); Hannes Möhring, *Saladin und der dritte Kreuzzug* (Wiesbaden, 1980); H.A.R. Gibb, *The Life of Saladin* (Oxford, 1973); Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin* (Albany, 1972). There are additional recent popular biographies.
- 2 But see Möhring, *Saladin*, pp. 36-37, for his defense of some of Saladin's strategic policies against Ehrenkreutz's criticisms.
- 3 For modern criticism of Saladin's strategy after Ḥaṭṭīn, see for example, Stanley Lane-Poole, *Saladin* (London, 1898), p. 241; Runciman, *Crusades* 2:471, 3:18; Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, pp. 204, 206, 212-213; Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 283, 286, 299.
- 4 For general surveys of extant manuscripts on Muslim military science see George Scanlon, *A Muslim Manual of War* (Cairo, 1961), who refers to most earlier studies; and H. Rabie, "The Training of the Mamlūk Fāris," in V.J. Parry, ed., *War, Society and Technology in the Middle East* (London, 1975), pp. 153-163, who mentions many Mamlūk manuals with a general discussion of their contents. On formal military theory among thirteenth-century Muslims see also: David Ayalon, "Notes on the Furūsiyya Exercises and Games in the Mamlūk Sultanate," in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 9 (Jerusalem, 1961), repr. in his *The Mamlūk Military Society: Collected Studies* (London, 1979), article II; Geoffrey Tatum, "Muslim Warfare: A Study of a Medieval Muslim Treatise on the Art of War," in Robert Elgood, ed., *Islamic Arms and Armour* (London, 1979), pp. 187-201. On Fāṭimid military theory and training in the early twelfth century see William James Hamblin, "The Fāṭimid Army during the Early Crusades," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1985), p. 155 ff. Similar types of Muslim military manuals clearly date back to at least the ninth century, and probably to the eighth. See

As is well known, Saladin and the other early Ayyubids instituted a series of important military reforms.<sup>5</sup> As a part of these reform efforts, Saladin ordered the preparation of at least three manuals on statecraft and warfare. A work of the "Mirror for Princes" genre<sup>6</sup> was written by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Shayzārī, entitled *The Proper Course for the Policy of Kings*, which contains some interesting information on military theory.<sup>7</sup> A second work, dealing mainly with weapons and tactics, is *The Explanation of the Masters of the Quintessence [of Military Knowledge]* by Murdā b. 'Alī b. Murdā al-Ṭarsūsī.<sup>8</sup> The third manual is entitled *Al-Harawī's Discussion on the Stratagems of War*, by Abū al-Hasan 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī, which deals with special stratagems and tricks of warfare.<sup>9</sup> Each of these three works complements the others, with their combination providing a broad overview of different aspects of Islamic military thought in the age of Saladin. Al-Shayzārī's approach is administrative, al-Ṭarsūsī's is technical, while al-Harawī's perspective is more theoretical.

For an understanding of Saladin's strategy the most important work is al-Harawī's *Stratagems*. Al-Harawī was a noted scholar and traveler, whose base of operations was Aleppo, where he died in 1215 at about age 70.<sup>10</sup> He seems to have served as a type of secret agent for Saladin,<sup>11</sup> and is known to have been in

William Hamblin, "Sasanian Military Science and its Transmission to the Arabs," *Proceedings of the International Conference on Middle Eastern Studies* (London, 6-9 July 1986).

- 5 Lyons and Jackson discuss Saladin's reforms at various points throughout their work; Ehrenkreutz, pp. 73-75, 101-105; H.A.R. Gibb, "The Armies of Saladin," in S.J. Shaw, ed., *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (Boston, 1962), pp. 74-90. Later Ayyubid military reforms are described by R. Stephen Humphreys, "The Emergence of the Mamlūk Army," *Studia Islamica* 45 (1977), 67-91, and 46 (1977), 147-182.
- 6 The origins of the Islamic 'Mirror for Princes' (manuals of instruction for rulers) tradition can be traced back to Sasanian sources. For a general introduction see G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel* (Leipzig, 1932); Erwin I.J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam: an Introductory Outline* (Cambridge, 1958). Several works of this type have been translated: Kay Kā'ūs (wrote in 1082), *A Mirror for Princes*, trans. Reuben Levy (London, 1951); Nizām al-Mulk (d. 1092), *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings*, trans. Hubert Darke (London, 1960); al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel for kings*, trans. F.R.C. Bagley (London, 1964), with a useful introduction.
- 7 *Al-Manhaj al-maslūk fī siyāsat al-mulūk*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī and Muḥammad Ruṣḥdī Afandī, (Cairo, 1326 AH). Military matters are discussed on pp. 104-119.
- 8 *Tabṣira arbāb al-lubāb*... This work is described, with selections edited and translated by Claude Cahen, "Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin," *Bulletin des études orientales* 12 (1948), 103-163.
- 9 An edition with French translation was prepared by J. Sourdél-Thomine, "Les Conseils du Shayh al-Harawī à un prince Ayyubide," *Bulletin des études orientales* 16 (1961-62), 205-266. A more recent edition with notes was edited by Maṭī' al-Murābiṭ, *Al-Tadhkirat al-Harawiyya fī-l-Ḥayl al-Ḥarbiyya* (Damascus, 1972). My references are to al-Murābiṭ's edition, with Sourdél-Thomine's French translation referred to as "Conseils."
- 10 Sourdél-Thomine, "Conseils," pp. 205-213, provides a brief overview of al-Harawī's life. See also, especially, Sourdél-Thomine's edition and translation of al-Harawī's *Kitāb al-Ishārat ila ma'rifat al-Ziyārat*, translated as *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage* (Damascus, 1957), introduction, pp. xi-xxv. A concise summary is found in her article on al-Harawī in *Encyclopedia of Islam* (new ed.), 3:178.
- 11 Sourdél-Thomine, "Conseils," pp. 207-208 discusses this. See also the other sources mentioned in note 10.

Syria during at least part of period of the Third Crusade.<sup>12</sup> His military manual was apparently written at the request either of Saladin or his son al-Malik al-Zāhir who ruled Aleppo from 1186 to 1216.<sup>13</sup>

It is not possible to establish the exact date of the writing of *Stratagems*, although the work was not completed before 1192, for al-Harawī mentions "the Muslim knights and monotheist heroes at the city of Acre [fighting] against the kings of the Franks, may God forsake them,"<sup>14</sup> a clear reference to the famous siege of Acre in 1191. Al-Harawī also makes reference to the crusader raids on a Muslim caravan at al-Khuwaylifa in 1192.<sup>15</sup>

Al-Harawī's *Stratagems* is a rather short work of 52 printed pages, or 138 manuscript pages, divided into twenty-four chapters. The first third of the book deals mainly with affairs of state and administration, and is thus a type of "Mirror for Princes."<sup>16</sup> The rest of the work is largely concerned with military matters with chapters discussing ambassadors, spies and scouts, collecting money and supplies for war, marching and encamping, the importance of secrecy, the use of raiders, security, formulating military plans, morale, marshalling troops, besieging fortresses, firmness and clemency as qualities of a ruler, defense against sieges, and persistence in defeat.<sup>17</sup> In general, the military chapters of al-Harawī's manual can be characterized as being concerned in the main with special stratagems—how to win victory by surprise, ambushes, and tricks—rather than standard battlefield practice.

From one perspective al-Harawī's work can be considered a type of military apology for Saladin. It was written after Saladin's major victories, and thus is in part a series of generalizations based on the military successes of the sultan. One of the clearest examples of this is al-Harawī's treatment of Saladin's method of capturing Bourzey castle in August 1188, which will be discussed fully below. On

12 Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 351-352, discuss an incident in 1192 near *Khuwaylifa* where soldiers of Richard Lionheart plundered a caravan with which al-Harawī was traveling (also mentioned in his *Stratagems*, pp. 90-91 = "Conseils," p. 230). Al-Harawī implies also (see note 14 below) that he was at the siege of Kawkab (Belvoir) in Dec. 1188-Jan. 1189. For a full discussion see Sourdél-Thomine, "Conseils," p. 207.

13 There is some question as to who commissioned the work. See Sourdél-Thomine, "Conseils," pp. 205-206, and Maṭī' al-Murābiṭ's introduction, especially pp. 44-45 for a discussion of this problem. The work may have been commissioned by Saladin to be written for the benefit of his young son al-Malik al-Zāhir who became acting king of Aleppo in 1186 at age 14.

14 Al-Harawī, p. 116. He also refers to the fall of Belvoir which occurred in January 1189: "We have seen people whose castle was impregnable, who were valiant fighters; but when they ran out of salt, they abandoned (their castle), leaving it in shame, and surrendered it. That was the Castle of Kawkab (Belvoir) near Tiberias." Al-Harawī, p. 86 = "Conseils," p. 228.

15 Al-Harawī, pp. 90-91 = "Conseils," p. 230.

16 Al-Harawī, Chapters 1-9, pp. 61-74. "Conseils" follows the same chapter divisions.

17 Al-Harawī, Chapters 10-24, pp. 75-118. Specific topics of each chapter are ambassadors (chs. 10 and 11), spies and scouts (ch. 12), money and supplies (ch. 13), marching and encamping (ch. 14), secrecy (ch. 15), raiders (ch. 16), security (ch. 17), plans (ch. 18), morale (ch. 19), marshalling (ch. 20), besieging (ch. 21), firmness and clemency (ch. 22), defense against sieges (ch. 23), persistence (ch. 24).



the other hand, many of the military concepts and stratagems described by al-Harawī have clear parallels in earlier Islamic military science. For example, al-Harawī discusses the standard Muslim military practice of marshalling troops with the sun and wind to their backs,<sup>18</sup> a concept which can be traced back through Islamic military thought to Sasanian, Byzantine, and Classical Greek sources.<sup>19</sup> However, J. Sourdél-Thomine believes that there is a fundamental difference between al-Harawī and earlier Muslim works. She sees al-Harawī as representing a more realistic and perhaps Machiavellian view of war and politics than is found in earlier literature, which is characterized by a more didactic and ethical flavor.<sup>20</sup> Thus the manual can perhaps best be understood as a "modernization" or reformulation of classical Islamic military thought, with the inclusion of examples from the campaigns and experiences of Saladin.

It must be emphasized that before we can obtain a complete understanding of the intellectual military environment of Saladin's day, we must establish the exact relationship of the ideas in the manuals commissioned by Saladin to earlier Islamic writings on military science. This will only be possible when we have a full history of Islamic military thought, a subject still in its infancy. Nonetheless, even lacking this complete background, al-Harawī's manual still provides some fascinating insights into Saladin's strategy. I will now examine two examples of how al-Harawī's work can illuminate the nature of the events of the crusades.

#### SALADIN'S SIEGE OF BOURZEY CASTLE

Judging by length of discussion, the most important topic in al-Harawī's manual is found in chapter 21, entitled "On attacking and besieging fortifications and related ruses and stratagems." This chapter consists of fifteen manuscript pages, or roughly one-sixth of the military portion of the book.<sup>21</sup> Al-Harawī's concern is not so much with the normal tactics of siegecraft as with special stratagems by which cities or castles can be captured without resorting to costly long-term sieges or full-scale assaults.

This chapter includes a description of a method of indirect assault on a fortress, which reads as follows:

[The king] should set up his camp on a high place overlooking the fortress, blockading it, if possible, from supplies and water. He should then go on a tour of inspection around the fortress, ascending to a place from which he can discover a weak position in [the fortifications]. But he must be certain not to tell anyone about [the weak position he has selected], not even his spies.

18 Al-Harawī, p. 97.

19 On Sasanian sources for Islamic military science see William Hamblin, "Sasanian Military Science" (note 4 above). Some Greek antecedents of Islamic military thought are discussed by Tatum, "Muslim Warfare" (note 4 above). "Conseils," p. 210-211 refers to several other instances where al-Harawī used earlier sources.

20 "Conseils," pp. 210-211.

21 Al-Harawī, chapter 21, pp. 102-107 = "Conseils," pp. 234-236.

He should then choose some of his renowned officers and knights whose bravery and strength have been proven, providing them with material and equipment, [including]: *kubūda* armor,<sup>22</sup> mail armor, naphta bombs (*qawāwīr al-naḥī*), [56r] and all types of equipment for fighting, assaulting and mining, such as ladders, ropes, picks, crowbars, lances, pikes, *ṭarīqa* shields, *djanawiyya* shields,<sup>23</sup> grappling hooks, pincers, battering rams (*kibāsh*), and siege towers (*zahāfāt*). The chosen officer should then be positioned near the [weak] site which has been selected as the goal [of the surprise attack]. The [king] must order these officers and soldiers to not be careless or create a commotion, and not allow any of his soldiers to go [directly in front of] the selected [weak] position. Thus the [enemy's] watchfulness of [the weak position] will decrease, and they will leave it [undefended].

The king should then select the strongest places, the reinforced sides, and the well-defended parts [of the fortress], and prepare for battle, ignite the flames of war, and let the [enemy] taste the bitterness of [his] assault [against the strong sections of the walls]. [The enemy] will inevitably shift [his troops] to the site of the fighting, and the place of battle and assault, leaving the rest of the fortification [poorly defended]... In this manner the officer designated [for the surprise attack] will perhaps [be able to] gain possession of the selected portion of the wall, the miners will undermine it, and his men will take control of it in this moment of [the enemy's] carelessness. But let [the officer] be quiet, lest [the enemy] be alerted, and aroused from their slumber. Rather let the [enemy] taste the bitterness of assault and the violence of fighting... Thus they will inevitably ask for a truce, and appeal for safe conduct to the sultan, [who] can then grant the [enemy] a truce or conquer them, as he desires.<sup>24</sup>

Here we are presented a detailed, step by step description of how to capture a fortress by guile, which is clearly related to Saladin's capture of Bourzey castle in 1188.

In the spring of 1188 Saladin mobilized his army to continue his campaign of reconquest which he had begun in 1187 following his victory at Ḥaṭṭīn. In a series of assaults, sieges, and marches, Saladin worked his way up the coast of modern Lebanon and Syria, capturing or sacking nearly every Frānkish city and castle in his path. After the surrender of Latakia on July 24, he moved inland to deal with some of the mountain fortresses. One of these was Bourzey castle.<sup>25</sup>

The castle stood on the summit of a nearly inaccessible mountain spur, 480 meters above the surrounding valleys. It could be effectively assaulted only from the west, being unapproachable from both the north and south sides, and nearly so from the east. The exposed western wall was about 200 meters long and defended by six strong towers and the citadel. Bahā' al-Dīn wrote that "the impregnability [of the castle] was proverbial throughout the lands of both the Franks and Muslims."<sup>26</sup>

22 Al-Murābiṭ's edition reads *kubūda* (p. 105), which he claims is a type of dried (leather?) armor (p. 75, n. 10). Sourdél-Thomine's edition reads *kabūra* (p. 246), which she translates as *cuirasse* (p. 236, referencing p. 227, n. 3).

23 The *ṭarīqa* is a large kite-shaped shield resembling the shield of Frankish knights. The *djanawiyya* is a large shield somewhat like a mantelet. See Murdā al-Ṭarsūsī (note 8 above), Arabic text, p. 114; Cahen's French translation, p. 137.

24 Al-Harawī, pp. 105-107="Conseils," p. 236.

25 On the general course of this campaign see Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 267-291.

26 Bahā' al-Dīn b. Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-sultāniyya wa al-muḥāsana al-Yūsifiyya* (Cairo, 1964), p. 92. For general discussions of Bourzey castle see Gabriel Saade, "Le Château de

Saladin's army arrived at the castle on Saturday, 20 August 1188, setting up their camp in the valley to the east.<sup>27</sup> While his troops were preparing camp Saladin scaled the mountain to survey the terrain. The impossibility of attacking from any direction but the west was quickly recognized, and Saladin ordered mangonels to be set up to bombard the western wall. The bombardment began on Sunday, 21 August continuing until the evening of Monday the 22nd when it had become evident that the crusader mangonels, with the advantages of both height and angle of fire, could keep the Muslim mangonels beyond effective range. Saladin therefore ordered a general assault for the following morning.

The sultan divided his army into four divisions, three of which were marshalled on the west side of the castle for the main assault. A small fourth group, to which I shall return in a moment, was left in the camp in the valley below the eastern wall. The first wave of the assault began early in the morning of Tuesday the 23rd. The Muslim troops advanced in waves establishing a shield wall of *djanawiyya* shields behind which their archers and crossbowmen kept up repeated volleys of arrows. Under the cover of this missile fire assault troops advanced and attempted to storm the walls with scaling ladders and ropes.

By about mid-morning this first wave of the assault was called off, to be immediately followed by the second division composed of Saladin's bodyguard, the *Halqa*, under the personal command of the sultan. The second division also attempted to storm the western wall for several hours but was again unsuccessful, and began to withdraw around noon.

By this time the Frankish position was rapidly deteriorating. As Ibn al-Athīr described it, "the Franks were completely exhausted and unable to continue the battle. They were too weak to wear their armor because of the extreme heat and [their exhaustion from] fighting."<sup>28</sup> Seeing the Franks on the verge of collapse, Saladin ordered a general combined assault with all three of his divisions. This time the Muslims managed to scale the wall, and the Franks began to withdraw into their citadel.

In the meantime the fourth division had begun their surprise attack in precisely the manner described by al-Harawī. In the course of Saladin's first two assaults, most of the Frankish garrison had been summoned to defend the western wall. Ibn al-Athīr tells us that "there was a small band [of Muslim troops] in the tents to the east of the castle. They saw that the Franks had neglected the [east] side since they didn't see any soldiers there, for the [Franks] had [all] reinforced the wall Saladin was attacking. So this band of soldiers climbed [the mountain], overcoming all obstacles, and scaled [the wall] of the castle from the eastern side."<sup>29</sup>

Bourzey," *Annales archéologiques de Syrie* 16 (1956), 139-162. Paul deschamps, "Les Châteaux des Croisés" in *Terre Sainte*, 3 (Beirut, 1973), pp. 345-348.

27 The following description of the siege is based on three independent eyewitness Arabic accounts: Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh* (Beirut, 1966), vol. 12, pp. 14-17; Bahā' al-Dīn b. Shaddād, (note 26 above), pp. 92-93; 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, *Al-Fath al-qussī fī al-fath al-qudsī* (Cairo, n.d.), pp. 248-254.

28 Ibn al-Athīr (note 27 above), 12:16.

29 Ibn al-Athīr 12:16.

The hard pressed Franks attempted to withdraw into their citadel and obtain terms for surrender. But a group of Muslim prisoners who were being held in the citadel, heard the noise of the battle, and began to shout the *takbīr*.<sup>30</sup> Hearing the Muslim war cry within the citadel, some of the Franks thought it had been taken and surrendered a postern door to Saladin's troops, who quickly captured the citadel. Thus Bourzey castle was taken by storm after only about four hours of fighting.

Consequently, Saladin's strategy at Bourzey can be seen as a textbook example of the stratagem described by al-Harawī. In both cases we see that a portion of the fortifications was attacked with such vigor that it drew off all available enemy troops from other posts. A surprise assault was made when the enemy had abandoned the designated section of the fortification.<sup>31</sup>

#### SALADIN'S STRATEGY AFTER ḤAṬṬĪN

Al-Harawī's writings are also useful as a type of military commentary on some of Saladin's policies following the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn, providing some insights into the strategic thinking of the age which lay behind some of Saladin's decisions and actions. I will discuss four main topics as dealt with in al-Harawī's manual. First, the military theory behind Saladin's delay in attacking Tyre. Second, his tendency to focus attacks on weak Frankish centers. Third, his seemingly excessive liberality toward defeated enemies. And fourth, reflections in al-Harawī's work of some Muslim prejudices about the Franks.

The first topic can be formulated as a question: according to Muslim military theory, was Saladin justified in delaying his assault on Tyre after his victory at Ḥaṭṭīn? Al-Harawī states that, "[a sultan] must realize that capturing an impregnable fortress or a well-fortified port... by storm or treaty, will contribute to the disarray of the [enemy's] country through fear of his great [military] strength..." This is essentially the situation in which Saladin found himself after the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn. His great victory had made him the military master of Palestine. How could he best profit from this advantage? Al-Harawī continues, "[In such a situation the sultan] should *not* [immediately] launch an attack on [another] fortress... or a port which he wishes [to conquer]. For it is possible that [if he instead] writes or sends a messenger to its people, they will offer to surrender [the fortress] to him through fear."<sup>32</sup>

In another passage al-Harawī expands upon this concept. "[A sultan should not besiege an impregnable fortress, or a well-fortified port until he has attempted to win over the hearts of its citizens, soldiers, officers, and leaders, by

30 The Muslim war cry, "*Allahu akbar*."

31 I am here avoiding the question of whether al-Harawī composed his general military stratagem based on Saladin's tactics at Bourzey, or whether there existed earlier Muslim military theory which formed the basis for both al-Harawī's manual and Saladin's siegecraft. I will attempt to deal with this topic in a future study.

32 Al-Harawī, p. 103, emphasis added, = "conseils," p. 234.

all possible means. [He should] communicate with [them], and beguile the commanders and the nobles with whatever they desire, guaranteeing them what they request. [He must do] this *before* initiating any [military] activity, and before besieging them.”<sup>33</sup> In other words, the sultan should use the psychological advantage of a great victory to maximize his gains with the least expenditure of time, money, and manpower.

This was, of course, Saladin’s policy. Following Ḥaṭṭīn he immediately sent messengers to Acre, Jerusalem, Tyre, and other cities offering them a chance to surrender.<sup>34</sup> Initially only Jerusalem refused Saladin’s offer. Acre accepted, when faced with the inevitability of an immediate siege.<sup>35</sup> Tyre also accepted Saladin’s offer, but was galvanized into resistance by the fortuitous arrival of Conrad.<sup>36</sup> As it turned out, Saladin did not capture Tyre. But if his initial policy had been successful, he would have taken the city without the expenditure of a dinar, or the loss of a single soldier.

But even after his failure to secure the surrender of Tyre, Saladin did not immediately begin a siege. In view of these two passages from al-Harawī, it is likely that part of the reason for this was that he hoped that the psychological pressure of a continued series of Muslim victories elsewhere in Palestine would culminate in the surrender of Tyre by treaty, thereby avoiding the need for a costly siege.

Let me now turn to the second topic. When Saladin had taken all the cities which were immediately willing to surrender, he was faced with a new strategic decision. Should he attempt to capture strongly defended Frankish cities, and risk becoming bogged down in a long siege, thereby losing the momentum of his victory; or should he take as many weak Frankish centers as possible? As is well known, Saladin chose the latter option, and al-Harawī’s manual provides insights into the military theory behind this decision. “[A sultan] must beware lest he besiege a fortress that is more powerful than he, and stronger than his army,... For [being forced to] retreat from a place after beginning to besiege and attack it, is a disgraceful defeat.”<sup>37</sup> In other words, don’t undertake a siege unless you are certain you will be successful.

A related concept is as follows: “[The sultan] should seek [special] opportunities [to capture a fortress]...; he might receive information from trusted scouts or spies that a fortress is short of provisions, lacks [a sufficient] garrison, has weak fortifications, or has no water. [In this situation] he should... hasten to besiege and storm it. He must overwhelm its people with the strength of his attack, and with the resoluteness of his assaults.”<sup>38</sup>

33 Al-Harawī, p. 102, emphasis added, = “Conseils,” p. 234.

34 Good descriptions of these events can be found in Runciman, *Crusades*, 2:461-473, and Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 267-280.

35 They surrendered on 9 July, the day after Saladin arrived at the gates of Acre.

36 For a discussion of these events, and references to primary sources see Möhring, *Saladin* (note 1 above), pp. 40-46, and Runciman, *Crusades*, 2:471-472.

37 Al-Harawī, p. 102, = “Conseils,” p. 234.

38 Al-Harawī, p. 102, = “Conseils,” p. 234.



The combination of the military ideas of these two passages can be summarized in modern terms as follows. Of cities that refuse to surrender on terms, the sultan should first attack the weak sites which offer the best chance of a quick victory. He should not attack powerful fortresses which have a good chance of withstanding his assault, but rather keep the momentum of victory; take as many cities and castles as possible with the minimum risk of manpower and wealth. When Saladin's post-Hattin campaigns are examined in light of al-Harawī's military theory, it is fair to say that this is exactly what he did.

Now whether Saladin's strategy in this situation was ultimately the best option or not is another question. Personally I believe it can be argued that when all factors are considered, the final outcome of the Third Crusade vindicates Saladin's general policy. After the mobilization of tens of thousands of troops, the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of gold pieces, the deaths of thousands of people, and a campaign of almost two years, the crusaders were unable to destroy Saladin's field army, managing to reconquer only five cities which had fallen to Saladin in less than a month. But be that as it may, what al-Harawī's manual clearly demonstrates is that Saladin's military policies were not capricious or based on poor strategic judgement. Rather they were consistent with at least one school of Islamic military theory of the period.

Al-Harawī's writings provide insights into some of Saladin's other policies as well. Saladin has occasionally been criticized by both his contemporaries and modern scholars for his liberality in freeing so many of the commoners of Jerusalem, and his extravagant distribution of the plunder of Acre and Jerusalem to his followers. It has been claimed that if he had saved the money from the plunder of those cities, he might have had the extra resources necessary to allow him to have been more successful in his future campaigns.<sup>39</sup>

This may in fact be true, but Al-Harawī provides a different perspective on this matter. "When [a sultan] invades a country attempting permanent conquest,<sup>40</sup> he should guarantee the security of the peasants and the poor, sending someone to defend them, and protect them from the evils of the military camp.<sup>41</sup> There are two benefits from this: first, the [peasants] will bring fodder and graciously provide the army with whatever supplies they need. The second is that people of [other] fortresses... will hear about this, and will learn that [the sultan] is not an impoverished ruler;<sup>42</sup> they will thus lose courage and desist,

39 For a discussion of these events see Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 267-268 (Acre), pp. 274-277 (Jerusalem). For a sympathetic account see Runciman, *Crusades*, 1:465-473. On specific criticisms see Ibn al-Athīr, 11:555; Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 266, 283; Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, pp. 206, 211.

40 Literally, "not wishing to relinquish it" (*wa fī nafsihi 'an la yatrukahū*).

41 By this I assume al-Harawī refers to preventing soldiers from plunder and stealing from the peasants.

42 Al-Murābiṭ's edition reads "*malik la mu'ir*," "a king who is not poor" (p. 104), while "Conseils," p. 247 reads, "*malik la mughayyir*," "a king who is not changeable (in his goals)." Neither edition gives variant readings or reasons for their selection.

their resolution will slacken, and differences of opinion will arise [among them]."<sup>43</sup>

According to this passage, kindness towards non-combatants can be used as a demonstration of power, which may help intimidate the enemy. If Saladin could afford to lose several hundred thousand dinars by freeing the poor of Jerusalem and liberally distributing the plunder of the city to his officers and troops, he must have appeared to his enemies as a king of immense economic resources. Generously allowing the garrisons of captured cities and castles to retreat to Tyre or other Frankish centers was another demonstration of power, showing that the sultan had nothing to fear from his defeated enemies. Even if these actions alone would not convince other cities to surrender, it could at least create a more malleable faction. Although al-Harawī's military ideas should not be seen as the only motivation behind Saladin's actions in these incidents, they do offer an important theoretical perspective on the perceived psychological implications of his policies.

Al-Harawī's manual concludes by offering some interesting insights about some Muslim prejudices concerning the crusaders. "[The sultan] should not neglect to write to the clergy (*usūls*) [concerning surrender]...<sup>44</sup> and those who carry out their orders. For they have little religious sentiment and are capable of treachery and disloyalty; they desire the things of this world and are indifferent to the things of the next; [they are] irresponsible, thoughtless, petty, and covetous..., being concerned with rank and status among kings and nobles; [they] have a permissive religious judgement regarding their own [actions]."<sup>45</sup> This prejudice may be related to several notable examples of the clergy absolving crusaders from breaking oaths to Saladin.<sup>46</sup>

On the other hand, al-Harawī's view of the Hospitallers and Templars is quite different: "[A sultan] should beware of [the Hospitaller and Templar] monks..., for he cannot achieve his goals through them; for they have great fervor in religion, paying no attention to the [things of this] world; he can not prevent

43 Al-Harawī, pp. 103-104="Conseils," p. 235.

44 I have omitted the phrase, "and the cooks and their assistants," from this passage because I wish to focus on the Muslim perception of the Christian clergy. Although al-Harawī is certainly saying that it was the cooks and servants who are treacherous and greedy, he is including the clergy in the entire description, for he ends with the phrase, "(they) have liberal religious interpretations of their own actions;" which can only refer to the clergy, as cooks and servants cannot issue a *fatwā*.

45 Al-Harawī, p. 104="Conseils," p. 235. The final phrase in Murābiṭ's edition is "*ittibā' al-rukhas fī fatāwayhim anfusihi*," "they pursue a policy of permission of liberties in their religious decisions (regarding) themselves." Sourdel-Thomine's edition reads, "*ittibā' al-rukhas fī fatā'ihim anfusihi*" (p. 247), which she translates, "*ainsi que la debauchée avec leurs jeunes gens*." Again there are no textual notes in either edition. My translation follows al-Murābiṭ's edition, which I believe makes more sense, but the passage is confusing.

46 For example: Guy being absolved from his oath of not fighting Saladin, (Runciman, 3:20-21, Lyons and Jackson, p. 296); Balian of Ibelin who had sworn not to remain to defend Jerusalem in 1187 (Runciman, 2:463); Reginald of Belfort, who falsely swore to surrender Belfort in the summer of 1189 (Lyons and Jackson, pp. 294, 298).

them from interfering into [political] affairs. I have investigated them extensively, and have found nothing which contradicts this."<sup>47</sup> Here again, al-Harawī's manual and Saladin's military policy are clearly parallel, as witnessed by Saladin's consistent harsh treatment and execution of the monks of the military orders.<sup>48</sup>

In summary, an examination of al-Harawī's military manual offers us important insights into the military mentality of Saladin's age, providing general military principles which parallel several of Saladin's actions and policies in his campaigns following his victory at Ḥaṭṭīn. What is perhaps most interesting is the fundamental concern for psychological factors in al-Harawī's military theory. According to al-Harawī, as a general principle, battles are won as much in the minds of the combatants as on the battlefield. Or, as al-Harawī himself put it, "If the enemies of a [sultan] fear him he has already gained power over them."<sup>49</sup> When we examine the legend of Saladin which has persisted among both Muslims and Europeans to the present day, we can safely say that however one may interpret the ultimate military outcome of Saladin's post-Ḥaṭṭīn campaigns and the Third Crusade, Saladin indeed won the psychological war. In so doing, he became the most famous ruler of his age, renowned from India to England.

47 Al-Harawī, pp. 104-105, = "Conseils," p. 235. Al-Harawī's text simply reads monks (*ruhbān*), which I am here interpreting as referring to the military orders.

48 As described by Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 265-266.

49 Al-Harawī, p. 112, = "Conseils," p. 238.

# The Native Christians of Jerusalem, 1187-1260<sup>1</sup>

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While Saladin was purifying the Temple Mount of its Frankish profanities and otherwise restoring the worship of true believers in the Holy City, expeditions were being planned in Europe to effect in some manner the restoration of the crusader state. The Jews, too, were able to return to Jerusalem under their former terms. "Restoration" was everyone's objective.

But to what were the various Christian sects and communities in Palestine aspiring—the *status quo ante* which prevailed before 1099? As long as the Latin Church did not regain its dominance, the only cause for uncertainty among the Christians remaining in Jerusalem was Byzantium, and the arrangements which the East Roman emperor could obtain from Saladin for the Melkites, that is, the native Chalcedonians speaking Syriac, Greek, or Arabic. Due to the peculiar status and attraction of Jerusalem as a holy city, the local Christian community had always been diverse and, over time, major ethnic and sectarian portions of the faithful had installed bishops for themselves in Jerusalem. Generally, however, only the Greek Orthodox/Melkite bishop bore the rank of patriarch; the Jacobites, Nestorians, Armenians, Franks, Copts, and others had their primates elsewhere. Furthermore, the various treaties in effect for the Christians of Jerusalem, prior to 1099, were those which had been made with the Melkite patriarch or the Byzantine emperor, and which recognized Melkite hegemony (however vague) over the Christian community, its shrines, incomes, clergy, and institutions.

Emperor Isaac Angelus (1185-1195) fully expected to regain for the Greek Orthodox Church the *status quo ante*, and negotiated with Saladin for several years after the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn.<sup>2</sup> The major issues were: (a) the restoration of the

1 The basic sources for this paper are Ch. Papadopoulos, *Historia tēs Ekklesiās Hierosolumōn*, rev. ed. (Athens, 1970), and my unpublished dissertation, *Pluralism in a Medieval Colonial Society: The Melkite Community during the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1187* (Ann Arbor, University Microfilm, 1981).

2 The most detailed account is Charles M. Brand, "The Byzantines and Saladin 1185-1192: Opponents of the Third Crusade," *Speculum* 37 (1962), 167-181. Also Hannes Möhring, "Byzanz zwischen Sarazenen und Kreuzfahrern," in W. Fischer and J. Schneider, eds., *Das Heilige Land im Mittelalter* (Neustadt, 1982), pp. 45-75; and R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (Munich, 1981), pp. 212-233. The spurious decree of Saladin in favor of the Greek Church allows "que la Patriarche des Grecs... soit à la tête de toutes les

Greek clergy to their paramount positions in the Resurrection basilica (the Church of the Holy Sepulcher), and at other shrines such as Gethsemani, Ascension Mount, Mary's Tomb, and St. Lazarus; (b) the return of the Greek patriarchs to Jerusalem, and the continuation of the imperial right of nomination; (c) the return of the relic of the True Cross, captured by the Muslims at Ḥaṭṭīn (although the Greek Church in Jerusalem and in Constantinople possessed many other relics of the True Cross). At some point, Saladin added a counter-proposal, namely, that the mosque in Constantinople be reopened, or rebuilt, to which Isaac seems to have agreed.

However, Isaac's ambiguous relations with Emperor Frederick and other leaders of the Third Crusade, and Byzantium's overriding concern to find allies against the Seldjuqs of Rūm, reduced Isaac's bargaining power with the sultan. As a result, the Melkites were allowed to place some clergy in the shrines which remained in Christian hands in the Holy Land, and to exercise some authority over the disposition of places inside the Resurrection basilica, but they received little consideration when similar privileges were granted to the Frankish clergy during the next decades. Also, no action was taken on allowing the Byzantine rulers and synod to nominate and send a new patriarch to Jerusalem. Finally, Isaac's deposition in 1195 and the disruptions caused by the Fourth Crusade, as well as the concentration of the successor regime in Nicaea on the Frankish Empire and Greece, meant that Byzantium was unable to effect any tangible benefits for the native Chalcedonians in the Holy Land.<sup>3</sup>

When did the Melkite hierarchy return to Jerusalem? The local churches had survived without primates and bishops for brief periods in the past, and in the decades after Ḥaṭṭīn, Greek bishops, monks, and pilgrims found ways to reach Palestine.<sup>4</sup> There were also native Melkites to assume responsibilities within the community; we know of several prominent Melkite laymen who were favored by the Ayyubids.<sup>5</sup> But this period of local church history is very obscure, and has

nations nazaréennes..."—precisely the role which the Greeks wished restored, but which historical circumstances were to deny them, for a time. This translation appears in N. Moschopoulos, *La Terre Sainte* (Athens, 1956), Appendix B. The authenticity of the document is refuted in G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, 5 vols. (Quaracchi, 1906-1927), 1:200. These and other Greek claims are discussed on pp. 197-222.

3 A. Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East, 1192-1237* (Thessalonika, 1981), pp. 180-185.

4 One example is Bishop Isaias of Lydda. This Greek prelate was in exile from the mainland, on Cyprus, when he was elected Metropolitan of Cyprus in 1205. Lydda had been in Ayyūbid hands, from 1187 to 1207, and we assume that Isaias had been resident in Lydda for some time between 1187 and 1205, for the references do not indicate that he had been on Cyprus for a long time; V. Laurent, "La Succession épiscopale des derniers archévêques grecs de Chypre, 1152-1260," *Revue des études byzantines* 7 (1949), 36, and J. Gill, "The Tribulations of the Greek Church in Cyprus, 1196-1260," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 5 (1977), 74. The pilgrim Thietmar gives reliable evidence of the presence of Melkite bishops in Syria and Palestine during his trip of 1217-1218. *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, ed. J.C.M. Laurent (Hamburg, 1857), sect. 6, p. 18, sect. 18, and sect. 27.

5 Three that come to mind are:

(a) Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya'qūb b. Siqlāb, ca. 1161-1228, a Melkite physician in the



been rewritten from three or four viewpoints since the seventeenth century. As a result, we cannot be certain if the patriarchs and bishops of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries were arabophone, hellenophone, or speakers of Syriac, or whether this distinction was important at all among the Melkites. The throne names of the hierarchs have come down to us in their Greek form, but without family names we cannot identify their origin. So, we have little upon which to determine the date that the Greek patriarchs returned to Jerusalem. After the death, in Constantinople, of Patriarch Leontios of Jerusalem (1175-1186)—who visited the Holy Land in 1177-1178<sup>6</sup>—Emperor Isaac appointed his confessor, the Venetian-Greek Dositheos, as patriarch of Jerusalem in 1187. He remained in the Byzantine capital, and when the See of Constantinople became vacant in 1189, Isaac attempted to nominate Dositheos to it. However, a synod was called to investigate some canonical irregularities, and Dositheos ultimately was removed from both Jerusalem and Constantinople.<sup>7</sup> His successor to the throne of Jerusalem, Mark Katafloros, probably also remained at court and did not travel to Palestine.<sup>8</sup> Liturgical diptychs next indicate an Euthymios as patriarch, and they note, tersely, that he had fled to Jerusalem from Constantinople in 1204, and later left Jerusalem for similar reasons. This time, he seems to have gone to Sinai; the inscription on his tomb at St. Catherine's monastery is dated the equivalent of AD 1230, and suggests that he was not a patriarch at the time he left Constantinople, so that he must have assumed the post in Palestine.<sup>9</sup> The

Jerusalem area, and a contemporary of another Melkite physician, Ṣalāh al-Dīn As'ad b. Muṭrān, of Jerusalem: H. Zayāt, "al-Malakiyūn al-Maṣhāriqa," *Al-Machriq* 32 (1934), 275-276, 279-281 [and see now E. Kohlberg and B.Z. Kedar, "A Melkite Physician in Frankish Jerusalem and Ayyubid Damascus: Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya'qūb b. Siqlāb," *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1988), 113-126. Ed.]

- (b) Yūsuf al-Batīt, a Melkite who lived in Jerusalem and Damascus, and was used by Saladin on several diplomatic missions; G. Every, "Syrian Christians in Jerusalem, 1183-1283," *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 7 (1947), 47.
- (c) Abū Sulaymān Da'ūd, of Jerusalem and Egypt, who became physician to King Amalric's son, the leper Baldwin. Abu Sulaymān's son taught horsemanship to the young king; both were sympathetic to the Ayyubid cause: Cl. Cahen, "Indigènes et Croisés," *Syria* 15 (1934), 351-360.

6 R.B. Rose, "The Vita of Saint Leontius and its Account of his Visit to Palestine during the Crusader Period," *Proche Orient Chrétien* 35 (1985), 238-257.

7 *Les Régestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, ed. V. Grumel (Istanbul, 1937-1947), 1.3, No. 1178; Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* 21 (Bonn, 1835), pp. 528-533.

8 Every, "Syrian Christians," p. 49, suggests that Mark was a local, Syrian Melkite candidate, a suggestion opposed by Greek historians. The solution may hinge on the significance of Mark's title "Katafloros," which is usually taken to refer to a monastery in Constantinople. See V. Laurent, "Kataphloros, patronyme supposé du métropolitain de Thessalonique Eustathe," *Revue des études byzantines* 20 (1962), 218-221. "Hagiophlorito" refers to the same monastery, perhaps. In addition to the references on both of these in Laurent's communication, see V.N. Benešević, *Catalogus Codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in Monast. S. Catherinae in Monte Sina servantur* (St. Petersburg, 1911) concerning MS Sin.Gr. 1117, item 54 (p. 280) for the year 6676/1168, which mentions a John, archdeacon "Hagiophloritou."

9 According to Papadopoulos, *Historia* (note 1 above), p. 450, following A. Papadopoulos-

diptychs and some other literary evidence give us Euthymios' two successors, locally elected, but not necessarily of local origins;<sup>10</sup> Athanasius II is said to have come from the West (Thessalonika?), and a Serbian saint's life places a patriarch in Jerusalem between 1225 and 1235.<sup>11</sup> His successor is Sophronius III. According to the diptychs both of these prelates were martyrs, Athanasius having been killed during a Muslim reoccupation of Jerusalem—probably the Khwarizmian attack of July 1244—and Sophronius in prison, traditionally in 1254.<sup>12</sup>

For the period of our concern, 1187-1260 and thereafter, only three or four shadowy persons appear in the patriarchal lists, until Lazarus (between 1334 and 1376, multiple reigns). While we can allow for the loss of other documents which might give another picture, everything that has been collected indicates that the restoration envisioned by the emperors and patriarchs of Byzantium for the Holy Land was a disappointment.

Native, Arabic- or Syriac-speaking Christians, and the Armenians, were the principal groups left in Jerusalem after the Franks evacuated the city. Of even

Kerameos, *Analekta hierosolymitikes stachyologías* (St. Petersburg, 1894), 2:361-362, and reaffirmed in M.K. Karapiperes, "Ho Hellenorthodoxos Charaktér tou Patriarcheiou Hierosolymōn," *Theología* [Athens] 16 (1938), 325. In addition to the references given in Grumel (note 10 below), the tomb inscription is also in *Répertoire chronologique épigraphique arabe* (Cairo, 1941), vol. 11, no. 4152. As an aside, the lists of the archbishops of St Catherine's in Sinai give an Euthymius for the year 1223; L. Cheikho, "Les Archévêques de Sinai," *Mélanges Univ. de Saint Joseph* 2 (1907), 408-421.

- 10 The most recent summation of all the evidence, and critique of previous efforts, is V. Grumel, "La Chronologie des patriarches grecs de Jérusalem au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue des études byzantines* 20 (1962), 197-201. In addition, there are two MSS from the year 1236 with material attributed to a Patriarch Athanasius of Jerusalem, in Benešević, *Catalogus* (note 8 above), vol. 1, Nos. 254, 274. Other references are in Kerameos, *Analekta* 1:133, and Karapiperes (note 9 above), pp. 323-327.
- 11 St. Sabas of Peć made two visits to Palestine, in 1230-31, and 1234-35, the second time via Egypt and Sinai. His *Vita* gives only brief details of these pilgrimages, and mentions that he met with a patriarch in Jerusalem (as also in Alexandria), but gives no names; *Lives of the Serbian Saints*, trans. V. Yanish and C. Patrick Hankey (London, 1921), pp. 12-30. Two medieval versions of Sabas' *Vita*, one by Teodosije and another by Domentijan, have been edited and published in Belgrad, in 1924 and 1938 respectively. I have not been able to consult these texts.
- 12 Recent studies have proposed two occasions for this incident: the Khwarizmian attack in July-August 1244, or the reoccupation of the Holy City by Sultan Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb of Egypt exactly two years later. Grumel (note 10 above) used 1244 for the date of Athanasius' death, assuming he perished alongside the Latin clergy known to have been killed according to the Byzantine historian Metochitos. There is also correspondence between Pope Innocent IV and Sultan Ayyūb about such an incident, for which Ayyūb apologizes while affirming that he was not responsible for the actions of the forces involved. This also leans one towards 1244 rather than 1246. See discussions in R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: the Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193-1260* (Albany, 1977), pp. 275, 289; K.-E. Lupprian, "Papst Innocenz IV und die Ayyubiden: Diplomatische Beziehungen von 1244 bis 1247," in *Das Heilige Land* (note 2 above), p. 82; and P. Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239-1241 and their Aftermath," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 50 (1987), 58 and note 90.

greater prominence for the future were the Georgians, whose homeland of Iberia lay more distant from the Holy Land than Armenia. The increased influence of the Georgian people was linked to that of the Mamlūks, among whom Georgians, Circassians, and related peoples formed a major element. Though Mamlūks were Muslim converts, those of Christian origin often continued to patronize their former coreligionists. It is important to remember that the Georgian Church was also Chalcedonian and associated with the Greek and other Chalcedonian communities, and that Georgian pilgrims and visitors had frequented the Holy Land for many centuries. The latter part of Saladin's career coincided with the reign of Queen Tamar of Georgia (1184-1212). This intrepid lady—like her predecessors in the independent Georgian state—displayed a concern for the welfare of her nationals, and other Chalcedonian Christians, in Muslim lands. She offered a ransom to Saladin for the return of the relic of the True Cross captured at Ḥaṭṭīn (an offer the Sultan did not accept),<sup>13</sup> and sent funds for the rebuilding of monasteries and for charities in the Holy Land.

The combination of an efflorescent Georgian state and an influential Iberian component among the Mamlūk troops used by the Ayyubids encouraged more Georgian visitors and funds to flow into Jerusalem. Soon the Iberian community there had its own hospices, churches, and monasteries, in addition to the Holy Cross Monastery, outside the wall, which had long been their principal establishment in Jerusalem. While Saladin allowed the Georgians to retain all of their institutions in the Holy City, a later Mamlūk sultan, Qalawūn (1279-1290), appropriated the Holy Cross Monastery and turned it into a mosque or *madrassa*. After several missions from Georgia, however, the property was returned to them in 1305, an extremely rare instance of a reversion of a Christian site previously adopted for Muslim use.<sup>14</sup> These factors were sufficiently persuasive

13 The relics of the True Cross, captured by Saladin's forces at Ḥaṭṭīn, were probably lost a short time later. This would account for Saladin's reluctance, or inability, to negotiate with the Franks, Georgians, and Byzantium for their return: A. Frolow, *La relique de la vraie croix* (Paris, 1961) No. 377, pp. 347-348. But other relics of the cross were retained locally by the Greek Orthodox: Frolow, Nos. 386, 404.

14 The Georgian monastery of the Holy Cross, outside the city walls and to the west, was built by St. Peter the Iberian at the start of the 5th century, and rebuilt by Euthymius the Athonite between 980 and 990, under the patronage of Queen Maria of Georgia; Frolow, No. 153, pp. 242-243. On Sultan Qalawūn's actions, see Mujīr al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-Ins al-Djalīl bi-Tā'rīkh al-Quds wa'l-Khalīl*, p. 402 of 19th-cent. printed edition, and pp. 173-174 of J. Sauvaire's translation, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron* (Paris, 1876). The Georgians had good relations with the Latin Church as well; the present Franciscan Church of Saint Savior in Jerusalem had been the Georgian Church of St. John, and passed into Franciscan hands at the end of the 14th century. Also, the incomes from lands in Georgia dedicated to Melkite/Chalcedonian institutions in Jerusalem continued to be sent, during the 12th century, to the new proprietors, the Franks, which endeared them further to the Latin Church; Jean Richard, "Quelques textes sur les premiers temps de l'église latine de Jérusalem," in *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel*, Mémoires & documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes, 12 (Paris, 1955), 2:420-430. Papal letters to the rulers of Georgia, between 1224 and 1233, are very friendly, and confirm Rome's views that the Iberian Church retained the pure apostolic faith, with no taint of heresy: Golubovich, *Biblioteca* (note 2 above), 2:299. The Greek pilgrim John Phocas (ca.

for Saladin to allow Georgian clergy to be the first non-native Chalcedonians to officiate in the Resurrection basilica, in late 1192, before the Greek and Latin clergy were admitted.<sup>15</sup>

Unlike the overlapping jurisdictions of the Egyptian, Syrian, and Armenian Monophysite churches, the Georgians did not require, nor demand, a religious hierarchy separate from the Greeks or Melkites, and continued to share many facilities with them.<sup>16</sup> The Georgians dominated the Melkite community in the Holy City, from after 1187 until Jerusalem came under Ottoman rule in 1516, by which time the Iberian presence had already declined.

While the Georgians bolstered the position of the local Melkites, the seventy years after Ḥaṭṭīn were especially auspicious for the various Monophysite communities—Jacobites, Copts, and Armenians.

Like many of the local Melkites, the Jacobites were not unhappy at the reversal of Latin fortunes, for they had long before come to terms with Muslim administrations. Furthermore, the Jacobites were not warlike (if contrasted to the Armenians, Georgians, or Maronites), and had no external allies or foreign princes, so they were no threat to the Ayyubids. Though they had little to bargain with, the Jacobites were numerous in Palestine, and were able, willy-nilly, to take advantage of the turbulent times between 1187 and 1260 to challenge the Melkite effort to regain the major religious positions left vacant by the Latins. Jacobite clergy acquired more altars inside the Resurrection basilica, and expanded their presence at other shrines, such as Mary's Tomb, and the Church of St. James at the entrance to the Resurrection basilica.

The Jacobite Patriarch Michael the Great (1166-1199) had visited Jerusalem on more than one occasion during the Frankish occupation. He made his brother, Athanasius Salība, bishop in Jerusalem in 1185, but his stay was brief. When Athanasius first arrived, his brother's rival, the anti-Patriarch Theodore bar Wahbūn, was living there, seeking support from the Latins. After the Frankish defeat, Theodore left Jerusalem for Armenian Cilicia, where he died in 1192. Bishop Athanasius left at around the same time for Antioch, where he too died five years later. Unsettled conditions may have caused him to leave, but his

1183) met several Iberian hermits during his tour of the Holy Land: *The Pilgrimage of Joannes Phocas*, trans. A. Stewart, PPTS 5.3 (London, 1896), sect. 16, 24. The Georgian historian Wachtang Z. Djobadze provides numerous examples of royal Iberian patronage for Georgian establishments all over the Middle East and Cyprus: *Materials for the Study of Georgian monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes*, CSCO, Subsidia, No. 48 (Louvain, 1976) and "Observations on the Georgian monastery of Yalia in Cyprus," *Oriens Christianus* 68 (1984), 196-209. For more general accounts, see R. Janin, "Les Géorgiens à Jérusalem," *Echos d'Orient* 16 (1913), 32-38 and 211-219; and Kalistrat Salia, *Histoire de la nation géorgienne* (Paris, 1980), pp. 204-216.

15 Every, "Syrian Christians" (note 5 above), p. 49, based on Bahā' al-Dīn, RHC HOR. 3:345.

16 Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolimitana*, c. 79, in J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanau, 1611), p. 1090 ff., repr. in *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, ed. S. de Sandoli, 3 (Jerusalem, 1983), and trans. by A. Stewart in PPTS 11.2 (London, 1890).

successor, Ignatius IV Sahada, who took office in 1193, had been living in Jerusalem since the 1180s.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, the complexion of the Christian community was altered considerably after 1187, despite Saladin's willingness to allow a return to the status quo which prevailed before 1099. The reimposition of the *dhizya* upon the Christians, and the disappearance of Latin religious hegemony, were about the only pre-crusader features which were restored.

As an example, Saladin favored his Egyptian Christian subjects in the reapportionment of shrines and service schedules. For the first time, the Copts obtained privileges, distinct from their Syrian Monophysite brethren, inside the Resurrection basilica, and with the Copts came the Ethiopians. Probably without thought for the consequences, the Coptic Patriarch Cyril III Laqlaq, in Cairo (1235-1243), appointed a bishop just for the Copts in Jerusalem, this innovation occurring in 1236.<sup>18</sup> The Jacobite Patriarch Ignatius was in the city the following year and expressed, by appointing a bishop for Ethiopia,<sup>19</sup> his displeasure at this usurpation of the Jacobites' long tradition of representing all Palestinian Monophysites. In any event, the conservative nature of churches was to make a tradition of this innovation, and from this time on, leaving the tutelage of the Syrians, the Coptic and Ethiopian communities set about creating their own institutions. The Mamlūk regime after 1260 made the move to Jerusalem more attractive for Egyptian and Nubian monks and pilgrims.

The Armenian community lived in the shadow of the citadel, the only fortified spot in Jerusalem after 1219. Armenian mercenaries, sometimes nominal Muslims, continues to serve in the various Ayyubid armies.<sup>20</sup> But the persistence of the Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia as a sometime ally of Frankish Antioch and independent of its Seldjuq neighbors created tensions for Jerusalem Armenians, especially after the establishment of the Mamlūk regime in 1260. Eventually, in 1311, the Armenian bishop in Jerusalem was encouraged to proclaim his

17 *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad AD 1234 pertinens*, CSCO vol. 354/Syr. 154 (Louvain, 1974); Latin trans., A. Abouna and J.M. Fiey, p. 150, sect. 484. Gregory Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. and trans. J.B. Abbeloos and T.J. Lamy (Paris and Louvain, 1874), sect. 90, pp. 583-598. [For Theodore bar Wahbūn's sojourn in Jerusalem, see his letters, edited and translated by J. Gerber, *Zwei Briefe Barwahbuns* (Halle a.S., 1911), esp. pp. 34-37. Ed.]

18 These are the Coptic bishops for Jerusalem, until the lapse in the 14th century: Basil I (1236-1260), Butrus I (1271-1306), Mikhail (1310-1324), Yuannes (1326-1340), Butrus II (1341-1362). O. Meinardus, *The Copts in Jerusalem* (Cairo, 1960; a pamphlet).

19 Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum* (note 17 above), sect. 94, P. Kawerau, *Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance* (Berlin, 1960), p. 76; J. Massou, "Le Pouvoir législatif du patriarche copte d'Alexandrie," in *I patriarchati orientali*, ed. I. Žužek (Rome, 1968), pp. 91-92, 102.

20 Michael the Syrian mentions the Fātimids' regular use of Armenian mercenaries: *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, Book 16, sect. 7, ed. and tr. J.B. Chabot, 4 vols. (Paris, 1899-1904), 3:240. A thorough analysis is provided by David Ayalon in "The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom," *Islamic Culture* (1951), pp. 81-104, and "The Circassians in the Mamluk Kingdom," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 69:3 (1949), 135-147, both reprinted in *Studies of the Mamluks of Egypt* (London, 1977).



autonomy from the Armenian Katholikos in Sis (Cilicia), after which the Armenian bishops of Jerusalem regularly assumed the honorific of patriarch.

The Armenians were not numerically insignificant; many hundreds, perhaps thousands, were in Jerusalem when the city surrendered to Saladin. Because many of them were officially subjects of other Muslim princes, 1,500 or so were exempted from the levy paid in October 1187 by all Christians who wished to retain their freedom.<sup>21</sup> Like the Jacobites, the Armenians solidified and expanded their presence at the major shrines which were left to the Christians, such as the Resurrection basilica, Ascension Mount, Mount Zion, Mary's Tomb, and Bethlehem.

Thus, for a time in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, all three Monophysite nations in Jerusalem had bishops, even patriarchs, in the city, attesting to the continued impotence of the Melkite church. But this highpoint of Monophysite dominance in the Holy City was to dissipate quickly, due in large part to developments further to the East, in the Monophysite homelands. The Jacobites, in particular, became more isolated during the Mongol period, and a decline in the quality of their leaders brought about rival patriarchates in northern Syria and southern Turkey at the end of the thirteenth century. Thereafter, the Jacobite centers in these regions placed less importance upon maintaining their interests in Jerusalem, and at some point in the fifteenth century, Jacobite bishops were no longer appointed for the Holy City. The Coptic title also lapsed after 1362, until the Ottoman period.

Finally, the (Nestorian) Church of the East, never on amicable terms with the local Chalcedonians and Monophysites, lost its place in the Resurrection basilica at the end of the thirteenth century, the final criterion of rank among Holy Land Christians.

It was not primarily the disappointing level of the Melkite restoration which encouraged the Monophysites to improve their status, but rather the absence of the Latin hierarchy. As is well known, Saladin's occupation of Jerusalem did not permanently banish the Franks from the city. During the 73-year "interregnum" between Ḥaṭṭīn and the beginning of Mamlūk rule over Jerusalem in 1260, the Franks had military control of Jerusalem for twelve and a half years (between 1229 and 1244),<sup>22</sup> and a religious presence there for 65 years (between 1193 and 1260). When Emperor Frederick II's vicar first arrived in 1229, one or two groups of mendicant friars took up residence, and at the same time, Rome's interest in pursuing union talks with the Eastern Churches also increased. But the Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem did not transfer their throne from Acre back to

21 'Imād al-Dīn, in F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. E.J. Costello (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), p. 159. The text suggests that the number of Armenian residents or visitors was considerable.

22 For details on Frankish-Ayyubid relations in these years see Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols* (note 12 above), pp. 108, 134, 136, 266, 269, 274; Jackson, "Crusades" (note 12 above), pp. 32-38, 49-55; also, Lupprian, "Innocenz IV" (note 12 above), pp. 78-80.

Jerusalem after 1229; this was not due merely to the military insecurity of the city (which was fairly secure for a decade), but because the Greek patriarchs themselves had returned, as we have described.<sup>23</sup>

While the extent of the Melkite restoration was tenuous, it was evidently sufficient to restrain whatever hopes the Latin Church had of regaining its authority over the non-Latin Christians in the area. This is confirmed by the new approaches taken by Rome in church union negotiations, from requiring their submission to Roman authority and practices, to allowing a degree of autonomy in these matters. In fact, nothing was really done until the final evacuation of the Franks from Jerusalem in 1244, by which time an experiment had already been effected, not in Palestine but in Antioch. There, in 1242, Da'ūd al-Khūrī (1242-1247), a native Christian prelate, was recognized by the Holy See as Patriarch of Antioch, not just of the Melkites but of the Latin Chalcedonians too; the Latin incumbent, Albert Rizzato, was withdrawn.<sup>24</sup> It was only in 1244, after the Muslims had regained Jerusalem, that the Papacy offered fresh proposals to the Oriental Christians there, now otherwise beyond her reach.

When the Jacobite Patriarch Ignatius III visited Jerusalem in 1237, he met with the local Dominican prior, who transmitted to Rome the patriarch's proposals for inter-communion (which included, inter alia, exemption from paying any tithes to the Latin hierarchy). Another Dominican, André de Longjumeau, visited several Ayyubid courts in 1245-1246 with papal initiatives.<sup>25</sup> The next legate was the Franciscan Lorenzo da Orta who visited Jerusalem in 1247 as part of his tour of the Levant, and there met with members of the non-Latin sects to explain Rome's new irenic formulas. The Melkites were to remain independent of the Latin patriarch while being in communion with Rome. Patriarch Robert (1240-1255), in Acre, objected, and Innocent IV overturned his legate's settlement.<sup>26</sup> But two months later, the pope provided Lorenzo with a new formula, to be used in Antioch, but which could work as well in Palestine, whereby those Greek hierarchs who had in the past been subject to the Latin patriarchs would continue to be so, and those who had not—such as the Greek hierarchy on Cyprus—would be independent of the local Latin ordinary, and answerable directly, *nullo medio*, to Rome.<sup>27</sup> George Every has concluded that "this line left much room for friction over details of

23 Patriarch Gerold (1225-1239) made a grand entry into Jerusalem only in late 1230, after the treaty of San Germano lifted the Emperor's excommunication. Otherwise, Gerold preferred to keep his residence in Acre. Patriarch Robert (1240-1254) also visited Jerusalem only briefly: G. Fedalto, *La chiesa latina in Oriente*, 2nd ed. (Verona, 1982), pp. 137-143; Golubovich, *Biblioteca* (note 12 above), 1:159-160.

24 Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, 1:159, 2:338.

25 Lupprian, "Innocenz IV" (note 12 above), pp. 78-82.

26 *Acta Innocentii IV*, ed. T.T. Haluščynskyj (Rome, 1962), No. 35; Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, 1:215-216, 2:355-356.

27 Every, "Syrian Christians" (note 5 above), pp. 51-52; J. Hajjar, *Les Chrétiens Uniates du Proche-Orient* (Paris, 1962), pp. 165, 178; *Acta Innocentii IV*, No. 39; Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, 2:352.

interpretation," as Romans and Greeks would not agree as to who had been subject to Rome in the past. In fact, there was not much friction at all, for in Palestine this meant that the Latin Church would have jurisdiction over Greeks only where it could do so, inside Frankish territory, and not beyond those borders. By the time, then, that Rome seriously undertook union arrangements in Cilicia (1198, with the Armenians), on Cyprus (around 1220, with the Greeks), Antioch (1240s), and Constantinople, most of Palestine had been recovered by the Muslims, and the small portion of the Greek community which remained under Latin rule was considered a distinct community, no longer in formal union with Rome.<sup>28</sup>

If not a general restoration to the *status quo ante*, how shall we describe the new Jerusalem for the Christians?

The Melkite church was unable simply to step back into the dominant role abandoned by the Latins. Prior to 1099, no other Christian sects or nations appointed primates for Jerusalem. This is reflected in the absence of any Muslim diplomas for Christian leaders of Jerusalem other than the Greek Orthodox,<sup>29</sup> in contrast to Alexandria, Antioch, and the areas around Baghdad, where several Christian denominations were recognized by various Muslim regimes. But by the end of the local "interregnum" of 1187-1260, major changes had come about. While the Melkites had again resident primates in Jerusalem, so did some other churches. Moreover, the ability of the Byzantines to intercede on behalf of the Melkites, to provide funds and appoint patriarchs and bishops for them, was fading away. As a result, all the Christian nations in the Holy City were, for the first time, on an even footing in negotiating with the Ayyubids and the Mamlūks, each forced to bolster its competing claims for access or control of shrines and churches, exemptions and privileges. Under these circumstances, the Jacobites, Copts, and Armenians shifted claims and institutions among themselves, and were able to expand their presence at a few shrines in and around Jerusalem.

On the practical if not on the formal level, the Georgian Kingdom substituted Byzantium as the patron and protector of the Chalcedonian community. It was not by force of numbers that the Georgians dominated the Chalcedonians of

28 Jacques de Vitry, *Historia* (note 16 above), c. 74; S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford, 1955), p. 98, note 3; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord* (Paris, 1940), p. 684. Cahen suggests that Rome's attentions towards the Oriental Churches increased as she learned that unions with the Melkites, Armenians, and Jacobites were a useful counterweight to the stubborn resistance of the Byzantine Church: Cl. Cahen, "L'Islam et la Croisade," in *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*, vol. 3: *Storia del Medioevo* (Florence, 1955), p. 628.

29 The earliest Muslim diploma to a patriarch of Jerusalem, after the "Treaty of 'Umar" with Patriarch Sophronius in 638, is a Fātimid document to Patriarch Nikephoros, for 1020/21 (AH 411): text in Yāḥyā b. Sa'īd, *Annales*, ed. L. Cheikho, Carra de Vaux, and Zayyat, CSCO, Scr. Arab., ser. 13, tome 7 (Paris and Beirut, 1909), pp. 230-231. None are extant from the Ayyubid period, save the dubious document quoted in note 2 above.

Jerusalem for nearly 250 years after Ḥaṭṭīn. Georgian pilgrims, visitors, and clergy remained always a minority in Jerusalem's Christian community; Arabic- and Syriac-speaking Christians formed the majority. But there was no Arabic- or Syriac-speaking Christian prince to intercede for them with the Muslim rulers, an advantage which the Franks continued to have but which the Greeks had effectively lost until the Ottoman occupation. True, the privileges which the Georgian rulers obtained—such as exemption from pilgrim dues—applied only to subjects of the Bagratid kings. But the Georgians were able and willing to assist the Melkites in retaining control of several of their shrines and institutions, and to extend their patronage for the benefit of all Chalcedonian visitors and residents. Consequently the Melkites succeeded in retaining an institutional base among the native Christians, and this allowed them to begin the successful restoration of their version of the status quo once the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople was extended into Palestine after 1516.

# 1187, Point de départ pour une nouvelle forme de la croisade

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Le mouvement des croisades présente dans son ensemble une incontestable unité. Ce n'est pas sans raison que les historiens, et surtout ceux qui se sont attachés à l'institution elle-même, ont analysé les composantes de l'idée de croisade et les modalités de sa réalisation sur toute la période qui commence à Urbain II pour s'achever en 1291. Le phénomène est même antérieur à la première de ces dates et s'est poursuivi après la seconde: les études parallèles de Carl Erdmann et d'Etienne Delaruelle ont retrouvé bien avant 1095 les éléments qui ont été utilisés à cette date pour créer "la" croisade.<sup>1</sup> Le livre de Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades*, a montré qu'il n'y avait ni différence de nature, ni transformation des modes de réalisation, entre les dernières expéditions lancées en Terre Sainte au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et les campagnes dirigées en Italie par les successeurs d'Innocent IV et par les papes d'Avignon.<sup>2</sup>

On sent néanmoins qu'il faut recourir à d'autres moyens quand on veut définir les croisades du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, celles du début du XIII<sup>e</sup>, celles de la fin du même siècle. La terminologie traditionnelle, malgré ses imperfections (elle tient mal compte de l'"Arrière-croisade" de 1099-1101, de la "croisade allemande" de 1197, de la "croisade des barons" de 1239), compte deux croisades entre 1095 et 1187, cinq entre 1187 et 1250, une seule pour la période postérieure: ceci suffirait à montrer que, dans la seconde tranche de temps, ce sont des vagues renouvelées que l'Occident a lancées vers l'Orient. Dans *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, Paul Alphandéry et Alphonse Dupront ont caractérisé cette époque comme celle des "recommencements nécessaires."

La Première Croisade avait eu sa spécificité propre. On discutera sans doute encore longtemps les mobiles qui ont décidé Urbain II à proposer au peuple

1 C. Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart, 1935); trad. angl. avec introduction et notes par M.W. Baldwin (Princeton, 1977). E. Delaruelle, *L'idée de croisade au moyen-âge*, réunion d'articles avec préface d'A. Vauchez et introduction par J. Richard (Torino, 1980).

2 N. Housley, *The Italian Crusades; The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusade against Christian Lay Powers 1254-1343* (Oxford, 1982). On en rapprochera Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy; The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land, 1244-1291* (Leiden, 1975).



chrétien une nouvelle voie de salut, sous forme d'une levée massive de guerriers invités à prendre le chemin de l'Orient. Forme nouvelle du pèlerinage de Terre-Sainte, pour les uns; avatar du mouvement de paix, qui complète la protection apportée aux chrétiens d'Occident en proie à divers types d'exactions par une protection des chrétiens d'Orient en butte aux conséquences de l'invasion turque, pour d'autres; projet à la fois politique et religieux visant à refaire l'unité des églises latine et grecque à la faveur d'une aide militaire fournie au *basileus*: ou encore, selon l'ingénieuse hypothèse d'Alfons Becker, une forme de restauration chrétienne tendant à reprendre le terrain perdu au profit de l'Islam en Orient, comme en Sicile ou en Espagne.<sup>3</sup>

Mais quel que fût le but que se proposait le pape, les conséquences de son appel sont parfaitement reconnaissables. Par dizaines de milliers, les chrétiens occidentaux se mettent en marche en se donnant pour objectif Jérusalem, que le pape avait spécialement mentionné dans son appel, quelle qu'ait été la forme exacte de ce "discours" que les narrateurs ont reconstitué, chacun à leur guise. Le déroulement même de la croisade montre que le plan initial déjà esquissé par Grégoire VII, et repris par Urbain II, d'un secours à apporter aux Byzantins (auxquels le premier de ces papes ajoutait les Arméniens),<sup>4</sup> est vite apparu comme secondaire au regard de la libération de la Ville-Sainte. Le cri adopté par les Croisés associe au vieux cri hérité des temps romains, "Dieu aide!", le nom du Saint-Sépulcre.

Il convient de rappeler que l'indulgence proclamée au concile de Clermont, telle qu'on peut la définir,<sup>5</sup> accordait à ceux qui avaient confessé leurs fautes à un prêtre et reçu de lui l'absolution, la remise de toute la pénitence qui leur était enjointe dès l'instant qu'ils accompliraient l'*iter* proposé par le pape, sans rechercher ni une vaine gloire, ni un profit matériel. Ce bénéfice spirituel, c'est celui qui était précédemment lié à la réalisation d'un pèlerinage au Saint-Sépulcre. Le port de la croix comme signe du vœu (et il fut adopté dès 1095, faisant des combattants du Christ des *cruce-signati*), la présence à côté des guerriers de nombreux pèlerins uniquement désireux de parvenir à Jérusalem et qui ne se souciaient pas de porter les armes,<sup>6</sup> montrent que l'assimilation de la croisade à un pèlerinage de pénitence était réalisée dans la plupart des esprits.

Même perspective pour la Seconde Croisade. On ne connaît pas la nature

3 A. Becker, *Papst Urban II (1088-1099)*, t. 1 (München, 1964), et plus spécialement t. 2 (München, 1988); cf. J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986).

4 H.E. Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII's 'Crusading' Plans of 1074," dans *Outremer*, pp. 27-40.

5 J. Richard, "Urbain II, la prédication de la croisade et la définition de l'indulgence," dans *Deus qui mutat tempora. Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittelalters. Festschrift Alfons Becker* (Sigmaringen, 1987), pp. 129-135.

6 Eudes de Deuil déplore que les pèlerins qui encombrant l'armée ne portent pas même de bâtons: *La Croisade de Louis VII, roi de France*, ed. H. Waquet (Paris, 1949), p. 57; cf. P. Alphandéry et A. Dupront, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade* (Paris, 1954), 1: 50-56, 90-97, 107-136.

exacte du vœu qu'avait émis Louis VII avant de recevoir l'appel lancé par Eugène III après la chute d'Edesse. Mais il semble bien que, pour le roi de France, le but essentiel était de gagner Jérusalem. Les historiens ont déploré l'aveuglement de ce croisé qui négligeait Nūr al-Dīn, le principal ennemi des établissements francs, contre lequel les princes latins de Syrie du Nord cherchaient à utiliser ses forces, et fait porter sur la reine Aliénor la responsabilité de cette erreur stratégique. Dans l'esprit du roi et de son armée, il fallait d'abord visiter le Saint-Sépulcre et s'acquitter ainsi de leur vœu: ce n'est qu'ensuite que pouvaient intervenir des opérations qui furent menées en liaison avec les Francs de Jérusalem.

Les papes ont été plusieurs fois amenés à reprendre l'appel d'Urbain II. Tel déjà Pascal II en 1099-1100, invitant ceux qui n'étaient pas partis, ou ceux qui n'étaient pas allés jusqu'au bout, à se mettre en route à leur tour (tout en essayant de retenir dans leur péninsule les princes espagnols et leurs barons). Tel Calixte II qui, en 1123, propose à la fois une expédition en Espagne et une autre en Orient: c'est celle-ci que réalisent les Vénitiens qui ont contribué à prendre Tyr.<sup>7</sup> Tel Eugène III en 1146, lequel fut, on le sait, amené à modifier le contenu de sa première bulle quand il apprit que Louis VII avait déjà pris la croix. Or cette dernière proclamation a été la seule, après celle de Pascal II qui avait mis des foules en route, mais débouché sur le désastre de l'"Arrière-Croisade," à susciter un départ massif. Peut être fut-ce la conséquence de la prise de la croix par deux souverains, ce qui entraînait quasi-automatiquement celle d'un grand nombre de leur vassaux.<sup>8</sup> Certes, il ne faut pas sous-estimer l'effet de la prédication de saint Bernard, qui avait trouvé des accents très persuasifs pour inciter les chrétiens à profiter de l'effusion des grâces qu'ouvrait l'appel à la croisade, en exploitant le thème biblique: "Voici maintenant le moment favorable."<sup>9</sup> Mais d'autres appels ont trouvé la Chrétienté sourde, et tout particulièrement ceux d'Alexandre III. Ce dernier cependant, avait été très sensible aux nouvelles qui venaient d'Orient, aux lettres pressantes par lesquelles les princes et les prélats demandaient du secours contre Nūr al-Dīn, puis contre Saladin;<sup>10</sup> lui-même répéta plusieurs fois son invitation à leur apporter de l'aide. Les chrétiens d'Occident auxquels il s'adressait ne se montrèrent guère disposés à saisir le *tempus acceptabile* qui s'offrait à eux. On met parfois en avant le souvenir de l'échec de la croisade de 1147 qui aurait découragé pour un temps les

7 U. Robert, *Histoire du pape Calixte II* (Paris, 1891), pp. 166, 189-191; Mansi, *Concilia* 21:284; cf. L. et J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1294* (London, 1981), pp. 73-74.

8 J. Richard, "Les états féodaux et les conséquences de la croisade," dans les actes du colloque *Etat et colonisation du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance* (Reims, 3-4 avril 1987), sous la direction de M. Balard (Lyon, 1989), pp. 181-192.

9 E. Delaruelle, "L'idée de croisade chez Saint Bernard," dans *Mélanges Saint Bernard* (Dijon, 1953), réimprimé dans *L'idée de croisade au Moyen-Age*, pp. 155-169.

10 Les appels adressés à Louis VII par les princes d'Antioche, les rois de Jérusalem, les patriarches latins, les dignitaires des ordres militaires, figurent dans *RHGF*, 16:14-15, 36, 37, 38, 59, 60, 61, 62, 79, 80, 81.

Occidentaux. Ce serait oublier que cet échec—qui fut ressenti comme tel par saint Bernard—n'a pas paru aussi décisif aux contemporains: les correspondants de Louis VII, écrivant depuis l'Orient latin, rappellent le souvenir de sa croisade sans paraître avoir considéré celle-ci comme ayant échoué.<sup>11</sup>

En fait, ceux qui souhaitent bénéficier des rémissions qui étaient attachées à la prédication de la croisade ne pouvaient-ils pas les trouver en-dehors de ces appels à une expédition collective? On a parfois avancé le caractère essentiel de ceux-ci, au point de proposer de voir dans la proclamation du jubilé de 1300 par Boniface VIII un substitut aux promulgations des indulgences de croisade. Mais l'indulgence plénière était, dès avant 1095, attachée à la visite du Saint-Sépulcre: les pécheurs coupables de fautes graves, ou simplement les âmes délicates soucieuses de se retrouver en état de grâce, disposaient là d'une possibilité de rachat accessible à tout moment. Et, depuis que les croisés de 1099 avaient libéré le Saint-Sépulcre et ses accès de la domination musulmane et rendu possible l'équipement des sanctuaires de Terre-Sainte à l'intention de leurs pieux visiteurs, le pèlerinage était devenu beaucoup plus aisé, sans cesser d'être périlleux. Tous les ans c'est par milliers que les pèlerins affluent en Orient, la plupart venant par mer, certains continuant à user de la voie de terre.<sup>12</sup>

Parmi ces pèlerins figurent notamment de grands barons, qu'on aurait pu s'attendre à voir venir à la tête d'une armée, pour combattre aux côtés des princes latins. En la seule année 1171-1172, voici que viennent en Terre-Sainte le duc de Bourgogne Hugues III et le duc de Saxe Henri le Lion: ni l'un ni l'autre n'ont eu à tirer l'épée, et le second a même profité de son voyage pour s'entretenir fort amicalement avec le sultan de Konya auquel il se découvrit uni par des liens de parenté...

Ainsi les Occidentaux se révèlent-ils très attachés à la Terre-Sainte, dont ils font le but de leurs pèlerinages, alors qu'ils témoignent d'une relative indifférence à l'endroit de la croisade. Alexandre III a essayé de prendre des mesures pour remédier à cette indifférence. Dès 1169, par la bulle *Inter omnia*,<sup>13</sup> et plus tard, par la bulle *Cor nostrum* de 1181,<sup>14</sup> il accorde l'indulgence définie par Urbain II et par Eugène III "à ces conditions: quiconque, étant en état de participer à la défense de cette terre, ...y séjournera pendant deux ans en s'employant à la défendre..., pourra se réjouir d'avoir obtenu la remise de la pénitence qui lui avait été enjointe" (un séjour d'une seule année dans les mêmes conditions n'entraînant la remise que de la moitié de la pénitence). Alexandre III avait ainsi cherché à dégager l'indulgence plénière attachée à la réalisation de la croisade de la commutation de peine que constituait le pèlerinage pénitentiel.

11 Cf. A. Grabois, "The Crusade of King Louis VII: A Reconsideration," dans CS, pp. 94-104.

12 Nous nous permettons de renvoyer à J. Richard, "Le transport outre-mer des croisés et des pèlerins," dans *Maritime Aspects of Migration (Actes du Congrès International des Sciences historiques, Stuttgart, 1985. Commission d'histoire maritime)*, ed. Kl. Friedland (Köln-Wien, 1989), pp. 27-44.

13 PL 200:599-601; trad. franç. J. Richard, *l'Esprit de la croisade* (Paris, 1969), pp. 70-73.

14 PL 200:1296; trad. angl. L. et J. Riley-Smith, *Crusades*, pp. 100-101.

Mais, comme celle-ci subsistait, on peut se demander si l'initiative du pape était appelée à un grand succès. Il se peut toutefois qu'elle ait encouragé certains chevaliers ou sergents à se mettre pour un temps limité, en qualité de "soudoyers," au service des princes de l'Orient latin.<sup>15</sup>

La prise de Jérusalem par Saladin avait bouleversé les conditions qu'avait connues la Ville-Sainte avant 1187. Non seulement le royaume latin était en voie de disparaître complètement; mais le sultan avait expulsé tous les Latins, clercs, religieux et laïcs, attribué au culte musulman les sanctuaires nombreux qu'ils avaient bâtis, sauf à laisser aux chrétiens indigènes la disposition des églises antérieures à la croisade. La situation était plus défavorable au pèlerinage que celle qui avait existé avant 1099, quand Sainte Marie-Latine et l'hôpital fondé par les Amalfitains étaient au service des pèlerins de passage.

Mais ce n'est pas cette gêne qui fut ressentie la première. Les historiens d'aujourd'hui, quand ils analysent l'évolution du royaume de Jérusalem, peuvent se persuader que l'effondrement de celui-ci était inéluctable; les chefs politiques et religieux de la colonie latine avaient conscience de l'état précaire où se trouvait celle-ci, et leurs appels avaient commencé à émouvoir les princes d'Occident qui leur envoyaient des secours pécuniaires.<sup>16</sup> Mais la grande masse des fidèles restait sous l'impression du retour quasi miraculeux de la Ville-Sainte dans l'"héritage des chrétiens": la liturgie rappelait annuellement cet événement. La réoccupation de Jérusalem avait témoigné à leurs yeux de la faveur dont Dieu avait fait preuve envers ses serviteurs. Certes, Alexandre III, dans sa bulle *Inter omnia*, avait évoqué la possibilité de voir ce même Dieu s'irriter de l'indifférence des chrétiens et leur retirer cette possession. Mais nous avons vu qu'il n'avait guère été entendu.

Le désastre de Hattîn, d'abord, dont la nouvelle fut sur le champ communiquée à l'Occident par les messages envoyés par les rescapés; la chute de Jérusalem ensuite, produisirent donc un véritable ébranlement dans la conscience chrétienne, y compris chez les chrétiens orientaux. Le pape Grégoire VIII, en apprenant la défaite, commença par proclamer un jeûne public général pour fléchir la colère divine.<sup>17</sup> C'est donc par une pénitence publique que les chrétiens devaient accueillir le châtiment que Dieu infligeait à la chrétienté tout entière.

Ce châtiment s'aggravait du fait de la perte de la Vraie Croix. Celle-ci, qui avait été portée sur le champ de bataille, était-elle tombée aux mains des

15 Cf. dans la liste des services que doit la seigneurie d'Acre, la mention d'un "chevalier pèlerin": RHC Lois 1:425.

16 Le principal de ces secours avait été fourni par le roi Henri II d'Angleterre, motivé il est vrai par le souci de faire oublier le meurtre de saint Thomas Beckett: H.E. Mayer, "Henry II of England and the Holy Land," *English Historical Review* 97 (1982), 721-739; Louis VII et Philippe-Auguste aussi demandèrent à leurs sujets une aide pour secourir la Terre Sainte.

17 L. et J. Riley-Smith, *Crusades*, p. 63-67, d'après l'*Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, ed. A. Chroust (1928), MGH Scr. rer. germ., NS 5:6-12.

Musulmans? C'est ce que l'on admit le plus souvent et certains disaient que Saladin en avait fait don au khalife de Bagdad. La pensée que cette précieuse relique de la passion du Christ était exposée aux insultes des infidèles, et l'outrage à Dieu que cela représentait, sont largement présents dans les prédications que préparent la Troisième Croisade.<sup>18</sup>

Il va rester évident aux yeux de tous qu'il s'agit de fléchir en premier lieu la colère de Dieu. C'est parce qu'ils ont estimé que l'intervention des purs et des pauvres serait plus efficace que celle des guerriers et des puissants, que les troupes des enfants se sont mises en route. Les Pastoureaux de 1251, eux aussi, se regardent comme des humbles qui veulent apporter un relais à la défaillance des hommes de guerre, dont l'orgueil offense la majesté divine.

L'atmosphère, en ces années-là, se charge d'une exaltation religieuse qui se traduit par des manifestations d'enthousiasme: telle celle qui accompagne la prédication de Foulques de Neuilly lors du tournoi d'Ecry. Olivier de Paderborn, lorsqu'il prêche la Cinquième Croisade, se porte témoin du miracle qui est intervenu à cette occasion.<sup>19</sup> La Cinquième Croisade voit fleurir une littérature apocalyptique: on traduit des ouvrages prophétiques; on recueille des prédictions; on est attentif aux nouvelles qui viennent des profondeurs de l'Asie et qui font apparaître les premières campagnes mongoles au Khwarizm et en Iran comme celles d'un "roi David" qui se prépare à apporter son aide aux croisés.<sup>20</sup>

Les prédicateurs de la croisade sont d'ailleurs ceux-là même qui, à cette époque, prêchent la réforme des mœurs et la pénitence — il suffit de rappeler la présence de saint François d'Assise à la Cinquième Croisade. La croisade prend, dans leur prédication, place dans la perspective d'un renouveau chrétien. Elle est un instrument de pénitence et de renouvellement spirituel.

Il s'agit d'abord, nous le voyons, d'une croisade de pénitence; les participants, en offrant à Dieu leurs sacrifices et leurs souffrances, font acte de repentance pour les péchés d'une chrétienté qui se sent coupable de son indifférence passée et de ses fautes envers la majesté divine. Ceux qui ne partent pas s'associent à cet effort par leurs prières et par les sacrifices matériels qu'ils s'imposent. Il y a une véritable mobilisation morale des chrétiens d'Occident en vue de la reconquête de Jérusalem, et cette mobilisation ne se limite pas au temps de la Troisième Croisade: elle se poursuit, avec des moments plus ou moins forts (la Cinquième Croisade fut particulièrement remarquable à ce point de vue) jusqu'aux années 1230-1240.

Ceci se traduit par une extraordinaire affluence de croisés. Et par un

18 A. Frolow, "La déviation de la quatrième croisade vers Constantinople," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 146 (1954), 208-217.

19 Sur tout ceci, cf. Alphanéry et Dupront, *La chrétienté*, t. 2, *passim*.

20 Voir notamment R. Röhrich, *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores* (Genève, 1879); J. Richard, "L'Extrême-Orient légendaire au Moyen-Age: roi David et Prêtre Jean," *Annales d'Ethiopie* 2 (1957), 225-242, réimprimé dans *Orient et Occident au Moyen-Age: contacts et relations, XII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (London, 1976).



échelonnement des départs: les premiers croisés ont pris la route de l'Orient dès 1187 et chaque "passage" voit arriver de nouveaux contingents jusqu'à ce que les rois de France et d'Angleterre, ayant enfin fait taire leurs différends, débarquent devant Acre en 1191. Innocent III avait fixé au 1er juin 1217 le départ de la Cinquième Croisade: des contingents se mettent en route chaque année et, en 1221, on attendait encore l'arrivée du principal des princes croisés, Frédéric II (qui ne devait se mettre en route qu'en 1228...). Dans une certaine mesure, ces contingents se relayaient: certains repartaient après un séjour parfois très bref (ce fut le cas d'André de Hongrie ou de Philippe Auguste), tandis que de nouveaux venus les remplaçaient. Ainsi, lors de la "Croisade des barons," Thibaud de Champagne est-il sur le point de se rembarquer lorsqu'arrive Richard de Cornouailles.

Certes, d'autres croisades rappellent davantage celles du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: départ plus ou moins simultané de contingents emmenés par un prince; opérations plus limitées dans le temps; retours moins échelonnés. Mais les aventures de la IV<sup>e</sup> Croisade montrent combien la stratégie pouvait échapper aux prévisions.<sup>21</sup>

L'objectif final est parfaitement défini: il s'agit de reprendre la Ville-Sainte, et aussi l'ensemble du royaume de Jérusalem, qu'on s'est habitué à identifier à la Terre Sainte biblique, encore que les lettrés sachent que les limites du royaume excèdent celles de la Terre Promise.<sup>22</sup> Innocent III a écrit en 1213 au sultan d'Egypte, pour lui proposer d'asseoir une paix durable sur la restitution de Jérusalem aux chrétiens: il y associe la "terre," sans préciser exactement ce qu'il entend par ce mot.<sup>23</sup> Lorsque Frédéric II obtient du sultan al-Kāmil, en 1229, la restitution pacifique des Lieux-Saints, ce qui correspond au vœu exprimé seize ans plus tôt par le pape, cette concession paraît insuffisante aux Occidentaux — elle était d'ailleurs assortie de dispositions qui en diminuaient la portée (d'autant plus que la trêve prévue n'était fixée qu'à dix années)-; la tâche n'est pas complètement réalisée, et la croisade reste à reprendre: en 1242, le nouveau traité passé à la fin de la "croisade des barons" rend aux Latins la Galilée et la Judée. Les barons de Terre-Sainte continuent cependant à rêver d'une reconstitution plus complète, sans que nous sachions si ceci correspond aux aspirations de l'Occident.

Paradoxalement, tandis que le but est clair, les croisades n'appliquent pas leur effort au lieu même dont la réoccupation est leur raison d'être. Richard Coeur-de-Lion, à deux reprises, a tenté une marche sur Jérusalem; chaque fois, il a battu en retraite. Au contraire en 1099, et sans préparation particulière, la

21 Pour le récit des événements, il est commode de se reporter aux chapitres de l'*History of the Crusades*, publiés sous la direction de K.M. Setton (t. 2, *The later crusades, 1189-1311*, ed. R.L. Wolff et H.W. Hazard, 1969).

22 Cf. la remarque de Jacques de Vitry citée par A. Grabois, "Les pèlerins occidentaux en Terre-Sainte et Acre," *Studi medievali* 3. 24 (1983), 252. On peut comparer les descriptions de la Terre-Sainte données vers 1140 par Rorgo Fretellus, vers 1220 par Jacques de Vitry, vers 1280 par Burchard de Mont-Sion: la tendance à étendre cette notion géographique à tout l'ancien royaume paraît assez nette.

23 PL. 216:830-832, trad. franç. Richard, *L'Esprit*, pp. 83-84.

Première Croisade avait marché sur la Ville-Sainte et l'avait emportée d'assaut: le duc Hugues III de Bourgogne avait beau jeu à opposer cet exemple à la prudente stratégie du roi d'Angleterre. Sans doute les croisés de la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> et du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles connaissaient-ils mieux le terrain: la rude montagne de Judée pauvre en eau et en ressources sur lesquelles une armée pouvait subsister; les murs de la ville (dont la solidité avait défié Saladin) du moins jusqu'à leur démantèlement par el-Mu'azzam qui, à l'inverse, privait les croisés, en cas de succès, de la possibilité de s'y accrocher.

Au lieu de marcher sur Jérusalem, la Troisième Croisade a fait du siège d'Acre son opération essentielle. C'est la conséquence d'une situation née des circonstances: Guy de Lusignan s'étant vu refuser par Conrad de Montferrat l'entrée de Tyr, s'est porté devant Acre avec sa petite armée; et, peu à peu, tous les contingents disponibles sont venus se joindre à celle-ci tandis que Saladin, abandonnant la conquête des dernières places franques, se consacrait au blocus de l'armée assiégeante. Aucun plan prémédité: mais la chute d'Acre marquait pour les croisés un succès de lointaine portée; si la croisade ne put réoccuper Jérusalem, Saladin se convainquit de son côté qu'il n'avait pas les forces nécessaires pour rejeter définitivement les Francs à la mer, et le traité de 1192 consacre un *modus vivendi* qui, tant bien que mal, durera un siècle.

L'idée de rechercher la décision militaire sur un autre terrain s'est introduite dès 1191 (et même bien auparavant, puisqu'on avait pensé à une campagne d'Egypte dès 1099). Elle se justifie parce que le pouvoir politique dont dépend le destin de Jérusalem a son siège en Egypte et en tire ses ressources. Les vastes ambitions de la croisade de 1197 nous restent mal connues. Mais lors de la IV<sup>e</sup> croisade, Villehardouin s'écrit: "Sachez que par Babylone ou par Grèce sera la Terre-Sainte recouvrée, si elle est jamais recouvrée."<sup>24</sup> Laissons la "Grèce" de côté: ce n'est sans doute qu'à partir du moment où les chefs des croisés lièrent partie avec Alexis IV qu'on se persuada que la coopération des Byzantins vaudrait aux Latins de disposer de renforts, d'argent et de vivres qui manquaient cruellement à cette expédition.<sup>25</sup> On sait comment les choses tournèrent...

Le détour par "Babylone" devient l'essentiel du plan de Jean de Brienne, qui emmène la Cinquième Croisade assiéger et prendre Damiette, après un an et demi de siège. C'est alors qu'intervient un débat qui sera repris en 1249:<sup>26</sup> l'Egypte doit-elle fournir aux croisés un moyen de pression pour obliger le sultan à renoncer à la Palestine (c'est l'idée de Jean de Brienne) ou bien est-elle en elle-

24 Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. et trad. E. Faral (2<sup>e</sup> éd., Paris, 1961), p. 96.

25 On peut toutefois noter qu'Henri VI avait exigé l'aide des Byzantins, en réclamant un tribut à Alexis III.

26 Mathieu Paris se fait en effet l'écho de ceux qui reprochaient au roi de France d'avoir voulu conquérir l'Egypte, au lieu de faire de Damiette conquise un gage à échanger contre Jérusalem. Mais il ne semble pas que le sultan Ayyūb, à la différence d'al-Kāmil et de ses frères, ait envisagé cet échange. On paraît n'en avoir parlé—et du côté franc—qu'au moment où l'armée royale se voyait obligée de renoncer à marcher sur le Caire; le sultan n'y fit pas de réponse.

même un but de conquête: la riche terre que l'on pourrait occuper et amener à la foi chrétienne (c'est la thèse du légat Pélage)? Quoi qu'il en soit, il paraît désormais tellement naturel de porter la guerre en Egypte qu'en 1239 les barons croisés se voient invités par ceux de Terre-Sainte à débarquer à Chypre pour y décider d'un plan de campagne. Ce que saint Louis fera précisément pendant son hivernage dans l'île, en 1248-1249.

La stratégie des croisés hésite donc entre deux possibilités. Mener en Terre-Sainte des opérations limitées (car les effectifs sont eux-mêmes limités) parmi lesquelles la réoccupation et la remise en état des forteresses démantelées jouent un rôle essentiel,<sup>27</sup> ou bien mener en Egypte des campagnes de plus grande envergure. La croisade s'habitue à tenir compte de l'état des relations entre les princes musulmans, pour jouer de l'un contre l'autre: le coup de maître a été celui de Frédéric II qui est parvenu à se faire restituer Jérusalem par le sultan du Caire sans avoir eu besoin de lutter avec lui contre celui de Damas. Mais Thibaud de Champagne et Richard de Cornouailles ont eux aussi joué ce jeu avec bonheur.

La croisade de saint Louis reste encore toute entière dans les lignes de cette stratégie. Les mercenaires du sultan d'Egypte ont pris Jérusalem: le roi de France fait campagne en Egypte. Il échoue, et, désormais, il se consacre à mettre en état de défense ce qui reste du royaume, en combinant les négociations avec les Musulmans et les travaux de fortification à Jaffa, à Césarée, à Sidon, à Acre.

Dès la Troisième Croisade, le royaume de Sicile offre ses ports pour l'embarquement des croisés. Philippe Auguste et Richard Coeur-de-Lion sont partis de Messine; mais le second s'est heurté au roi Tancrède. Par la suite les Hohenstaufen contrôlent les ports des Pouilles, mais les crises intérieures de leur royaume nuisent à l'utilisation de ces ports: la Quatrième Croisade est partie de Venise; les barons de 1239, puis saint Louis, ont aussi évité ces ports. Cependant Henri VI, Frédéric II et quelques croisés isolés les ont utilisés. Dans un moment de bonne entente avec l'empereur, Innocent III avait assigné Messine et Brindisi comme points de départ aux croisés. Dans les faits, ce sont les villes qui armaient pour le transport des pèlerins—Gênes, Venise, Marseille—qui voient s'embarquer la plupart des croisés.

Ces croisades ont considérablement perfectionné leur organisation. Que l'on compare avec les bulles de croisade du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle la constitution *Ad liberandam*, qu'Innocent III promulgua en décembre 1215 lors du IV<sup>e</sup> concile du Latran.<sup>28</sup> Nous avons désormais un véritable code, qui envisage les modalités du financement, de l'armement des navires, les conditions d'obtention de l'indulgence, la pacification préalable de l'Occident, avec un extrême détail.

27 Cette remise en état est déjà la préoccupation de Richard Coeur-de-Lion, qui fortifie Jaffa et Ascalon; de Gauthier d'Avesnes, qui édifie Château Pèlerin dans l'hiver 1217-1218; de Benoît d'Alignan qui rebâtit Safet en 1240—cf. *De constructione castri Safet: construction et fonctions d'un château fort franc en Terre Sainte*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Amsterdam, 1981); des croisés allemands en 1227-1228, lorsqu'ils édifient Montfort.

28 Mansi, *Concilia* 22:1058-1067; trad. franç. Richard, *L'Esprit*, pp. 88-96.

On n'y retrouve plus, notons-le, cette indulgence spécifique, destinée aux croisés, qu'avait imaginée Alexandre III. Curieusement, les stipulations des bulles de ce dernier se retrouvent dans les sentences qui condamnent des meurtriers ou des rebelles à accomplir un pèlerinage pénitentiel comportant l'obligation de se rendre outremer et d'y rester une ou deux années. Cette stipulation tend d'ailleurs à perdre son sens premier. Au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, on voit des délinquants se rendre en Chypre, y séjourner le temps requis, et revenir après s'être munis d'un certificat, sans qu'il soit question de combattre les infidèles.<sup>29</sup> La bulle de croisade se borne à cette définition, qui ne fait plus allusion au pèlerinage: "nous accordons le plein pardon de leurs péchés à tous ceux qui entreprendront cette tâche [la libération de la Terre-Sainte] en personne et à leurs frais, pourvu qu'ils aient eu une vraie contrition de leurs péchés et qu'ils s'en soient confessés."<sup>30</sup>

Ce n'est pas que le pèlerinage ait été mis en oubli: les croisés continuent à aspirer à la visite du tombeau du Christ. Saladin, sitôt les trêves conclues, permet aux compagnons de Richard Cœur-de-Lion de se rendre par petits groupes au Saint-Sépulcre. La longue durée des trêves, qui réglementent les relations ordinairement pacifiques des chrétiens et des musulmans, facilite l'accomplissement du pèlerinage et les bateaux transportent bien des pèlerins qui ne sont pas des croisés; et à partir de 1229 et jusqu'en 1244, les chrétiens ont réoccupé les lieux saints et commencé à relever leurs sanctuaires; ils continueront à les visiter après 1244, mais de façon beaucoup plus incertaine. C'est cependant le moment où sera rédigé le plus complet des guides de pèlerinage, celui de Burchard de Mont-Sion.

Néanmoins, le lien qui unissait le pèlerinage à la croisade s'est considérablement distendu. Ceux qui se croisent ne sont plus, comme avant 1187, des chrétiens désireux en premier lieu de visiter Jérusalem. Ils sont davantage des "croisés" que des "pèlerins."

Nous avons ainsi cherché à déterminer ce qui distingue les croisades qui se sont mises en route, à des intervalles très rapprochés, entre 1187 et 1250 de celles de la période précédente. Si l'on excepte la dernière, celle de saint Louis, qui suit un nouvel ébranlement causé par la défaite de la Forbie et la seconde chute de Jérusalem, elles ont toutes été entreprises pour réparer le dommage subi en 1187 par la chrétienté et durement ressenti par celle-ci au plan spirituel. Ces expéditions représentent un immense effort qui a touché, dans les pays d'Occident, quasi toutes les conditions sociales: les témoins musulmans l'ont constaté avec surprise. Cet effort a été consenti dans un climat qui n'est pas sans rappeler celui de la Première Croisade et qui, comme ce dernier, a été générateur

29 Jan Van Herewarden, *Opgelegde Bedevaarten* (Assen, 1978), notamment p. 54 et suiv.; E. Van Cauwenbergh, *Les pèlerinages expiatoires et judiciaires dans le droit communal de la Belgique au Moyen Age* (Louvain, 1922), notamment pp. 10 et 163 (textes de 1236 et 1487). Les rois de France, et en particulier Philippe le Bel, ont usé de peines analogues.

30 D'après la constitution *Ad liberandam*.

d'oeuvres épiques.<sup>31</sup> On pourrait dire que c'est le même mouvement qui a pris naissance en 1187 et s'est poursuivi avec de brèves relâches jusqu'en 1229, pour reprendre deux fois dans la suite, après des intervalles qui n'excèdent pas une dizaine d'années. Tout ce temps-là, l'Occident a vécu en état de croisade.

Après la croisade de saint Louis, il n'en est pas tout-à-fait de même. Dans les mentalités, l'échec de l'expédition d'Égypte a été suivi d'une désillusion qui a été profonde.<sup>32</sup> La papauté, prise par son conflit avec Frédéric II et ses successeurs, met au second plan tout projet de croisade, non sans d'ailleurs que le rôle dévolu au royaume de Sicile dans le "passage d'Outre-Mer" soit absent des motifs qui font agir les papes.<sup>33</sup>

C'est le danger mongol qui préoccupe Alexandre IV, après qu'Innocent IV eût cherché à le détourner: il justifie un intense effort diplomatique en vue de la formation d'une ligue de royaumes chrétiens, des pénitences publiques, la levée d'une imposition, des préparatifs militaires: la récupération de Jérusalem semble pouvoir attendre.

Ce sont les attaques de Baybars, à partir de 1263, qui ont rendu son actualité à la croisade. Et la chute successive des grandes places-fortes a fait prendre conscience de la puissance de l'ennemi et de la fragilité de l'occupation franque. Dans un premier temps, on envoie en hâte des contingents pour renforcer la défense des terres franques. La prise de croix de saint Louis, en 1267, fait naître la perspective d'un "passage général" qui s'oppose à ces "passages particuliers": il doit associer la plupart des souverains d'Occident, nécessiter un effort de financement que seule la papauté peut prendre en charge. La participation des Mongols, proposée en 1262 par Hülegü et à nouveau en 1267 par Abagha, et bientôt celle des Byzantins—car Michel VIII commence à entrer dans cette perspective—paraissent seules susceptibles de permettre la réalisation d'une très vaste opération capable de jeter bas le pouvoir du sultan.<sup>34</sup>

La "libération de la Terre-Sainte" reste l'objectif de cette croisade. Mais celle-ci a pris une forme nouvelle. Et c'est entre 1187 et la première croisade de saint Louis que s'était placé un type de réalisation différente et assez bien définie.

31 J. Richard, "L'arrière plan historique des deux cycles de la croisade," dans *Les épopées de la croisade. Premier colloque international (Trèves, 1984)*, ed. K.H. Bender (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 6-16. C'est alors que sont composées les oeuvres qui, reprises par d'autres poètes, constitueront le "second cycle de la croisade" qui, curieusement, fera de Saladin son héros.

32 Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 193-195. La critique antérieure s'en prenait aux chefs mal inspirés, tel le légat Pélage. Celle qui suit la croisade de 1248-1254 tient davantage du découragement.

33 Housley, *Italian Crusades*, pp. 62-69.

34 J. Richard, "La croisade de 1270, premier 'passage général'?", dans *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1989, pp. 510-523.

# Peter of Blois and the Conception of the Third Crusade<sup>1</sup>

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Peter of Blois' letters and tracts, mostly written in the later twelfth century, were widely read in his own time and for centuries after.<sup>2</sup> Recently, he has become well-known among historians of the crusade. As Hans Eberhard Mayer has noted, his emphasis on apostolic poverty and personal reform marks the development of closer ties between the ideology of the crusade and the spiritual reawakening of twelfth-century Europe.<sup>3</sup>

Historians have begun to analyze Peter's thought in relation to this context of spiritual reform. Paul Alphandéry outlined a change of emphasis in crusade writing through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, from eschatological motifs to motifs of reform, personal virtue and apostolic poverty. To Alphandéry, Peter of Blois' writings exemplified this change.<sup>4</sup> Aldo Granata has presented Peter as a defender of the poor who encouraged the rulers of Europe to be more generous

1 For their counsel, kindness and encouragement, I would like to thank Professors James M. Powell, Kenneth Pennington, Giles Constable, and Richard Southern. Grants from Syracuse University helped to ease the *paupertas studendi*.

2 For the biography of Peter of Blois see Elizabeth Revell, "Peter of Blois," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York, 1987), 9:517-518, which includes a short bibliography, and Rolf Koehn, "Pierre de Blois," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* (Paris, 1985), 13:1510-1517; for an extensive bibliography, see *L'Hystoire Job*, ed. Joseph Gildea, 2 (Villanova, Pa., 1979); most importantly, Richard W. Southern, "Peter of Blois: A Twelfth Century Humanist?" in his *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 105-132.

Koehn has noted (p. 1513) that over 500 manuscripts of Peter's writings survive. Southern has found (p. 105) that Peter's manuscripts were evenly spread throughout most of Europe. Gildea cites (2:15) over 140 manuscripts that contain Peter's treatise, *Compendium in Job*, showing that Peter's tracts as well as his letter collection were avidly read. Giles Constable has shown, by a representative sampling of manuscripts, that Peter's popularity remained strong through the 14th and 15th centuries: "The Popularity of Twelfth-Century Spiritual Writers in the Late Middle Ages," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron*, ed. Anthony Molho and John A. Tedeschi (Florence, 1971), pp. 8, 28.

3 Hans E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham (2nd ed., Oxford, 1988), p. 197.

4 Paul Alphandéry, and Alphonse Dupront, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade* (Paris, 1959), pp. 36-40, 65, 145-146.



and sensitive to the *pauperes Christi*.<sup>5</sup> Peter Raedts has argued that the so-called children of the Children's Crusade were really *pauperes*—adults motivated by apostolic poverty. He saw Peter as an early proponent of poverty in crusade thought.<sup>6</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith has written that Peter tried to heighten the crusaders' love of God and neighbor and, through this, has connected him to the Reform Movement.<sup>7</sup> Anna Maria Musumeci has placed Peter into a wide context of reform, comparing him to St. Dominic and Pope Innocent III.<sup>8</sup>

These historians have discussed Peter's ideas of reform and poverty in terms of the crusade, but they have not cleared up certain questions. Who were the *pauperes* in Peter's mind? Where did his ideas originate? What developments appeared? This paper addresses these questions.

Peter first wrote on the crusade in 1185, following the visit to England of Patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem. In Letter 98, Peter encouraged his readers to enlist in the struggle to protect the Holy Land. He advised them to follow the example of King Henry II of England who, he wrote, "...gave of his own treasury magnificently and munificently."<sup>9</sup> In this letter, the themes of reform and of apostolic poverty do not appear. Peter had long been concerned with these themes in his writings. Why were they absent from his conception of the crusade in 1185? This period was a most difficult time in Peter's life. He was deeply involved in a legal dispute, fighting for the archbishop of Canterbury against the privileged status of the monks of Canterbury. During the heat of the struggle, Peter lost sight of his spiritual principles in his desire to win. For example, he illegally interpolated documents to strengthen his case against the monks.<sup>10</sup> He lied in court.<sup>11</sup> He gloated over the death of Pope Urban III—a former friend—because Urban opposed Peter's case.<sup>12</sup> These are not examples of the edifying Christian love that motivates a spiritual writer. Peter had written in Letter 14 about times of spiritual aridity in his life and, in a private letter to the monks of Canterbury after the dispute, Peter admitted that in his opposition to them he had departed from his religious ideals. And he apologized.<sup>13</sup> It was the crusade and the Roman Curia that helped bring him back to his ideals. He then used the crusade to encourage the reform of his readership.

5 Aldo Granata, "Un problema ancora aperto: Pietro di Blois come difensore dei 'Pauperes,'" in *Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Medioevale*, 2 (Milan, 1972), pp. 429-437.

6 Peter Raedts, "The Children's Crusade of 1212," *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977), 307-309.

7 Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love," *History* 65 (1980), 177.

8 Anna Maria Musumeci, "Le Lettere CCXIX e CCXX di Pietro di Blois: Alcune riflessioni sulla 'svolta' nei rapporti tra Chiesa gerarchica e movimento religioso," *Quaderni catanesi* 6 (1984), 407-433.

9 "Sed et benignissimus princeps noster... Videns enim sancte civitatis lamentabile periculum imminere, ad thesauros proprios magnificam et munificam manum misit." BN lat. 2604, fol. 65va (see also PL 207:308A).

10 *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 38,2 (London, 1865), CCXCVII, pp. 282-283.

11 Ibid., XCV, p. 81.

12 Ibid., CXXXV, p. 107-108.

13 Ibid., CCCLV, p. 335; see also PL 207:534A.

In 1187, while Peter was present at the Papal Curia, Templars and Hospitallers from the Holy Land arrived and shocked the pope with news of the Battle of Hattin. Peter responded with a letter to Henry II. This letter reveals a turning point in Peter's conception of the crusade, as well as a turning back to his religious ideals. He wrote:

The cardinals, with the assent of the Lord Pope, have firmly promised among themselves that, having renounced all wealth and luxuries, they will preach the cross of Christ not only by word, but also by deed and example.<sup>14</sup>

The cardinals' first response, as emphasized by Peter, was to reform their lives. Part of that reform consisted of a voluntary renunciation of wealth and luxuries. Peter also told how King William II of Sicily, whom he had tutored in the 1160s, turned to a life of devotion and forsook palace fineries for rough sack cloth. This letter held out a clear message of personal reform, *verbo et exemplo*. The cardinals seem to have affected Peter greatly; in any case, the themes of reform and poverty appear in all his writings on the crusade from this point on.

While at the papal court, Peter produced his first crusade treatise, the *Passio Reginaldi*.<sup>15</sup> In it he offered the example of Reginald of Châtillon to crusaders. Peter described Reginald's personal sanctity—his desire to serve God as he kept vigils, fasted, lived a disciplined life, prayed, and gave charitably. He compared him to the biblical Jonathan who rejected material goods except for arms and basic necessities.<sup>16</sup> Concerning Reginald's daily life, he wrote:

But for the love of Christ, [Reginald] was content with an honest minimum of possessions. In fact, he kept for himself only those things that seemed to him

14 Letter 219 in PL 207:508C; also in *Gesta regis Henrici et Ricardi regis*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 49 (London, 1867), 2:15.

15 Richard Southern has recently shown that there are two recensions of the *Passio Reginaldi*: "Peter of Blois and the Third Crusade," in *Studies in Medieval History presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting and R.I. Moore (London, 1985), pp. 207-218. The first recension exists in one Bodleian manuscript: Lat. Misc. F14, described in the Bodleian *Summary Catalogue* as #30070. Peter presumably composed it using information from early reports from the Holy Land. In the second recension he corroborated these sources, according to Southern, by personal interviews in the Holy Land with eyewitnesses some three years later. Southern argues on the basis of the Bodleian manuscript that the *Passio* and Peter's Letter 232 should be seen as one tract. In support of Southern's argument, I have found that all of the manuscripts which contain the *Passio* follow the Bodleian manuscript in this (Bodl. Lat. Misc. F14, fols. 53V ff.; Erfurt, Amplonianus F71, fol. 234vb ff.; B.L. Arundel 227, fol. 134r ff.; B.L. Royal 10.A.XVIII, fol. 14va ff.; Oxford, New College 127, fol. 24v ff.). Therefore, Letter 232 will be treated as the concluding part of the *Passio*.

16 PL 207:965D-966A. There are few critical editions of Peter's writings. Printed editions of most of his writings are available in PL 207. The Migne editors collated two earlier editions, that by J. Giles, *Patres ecclesiae Anglicanae* (London, 1846-1847), and that by Pierre Goussainville (2nd ed., Paris, 1677). R.B.C. Huygens has edited the *Dialogus inter regem Henricum secundum et abbatem Bonevallis* in *Revue Bénédictine* 68 (1958), 87-112. I am preparing critical editions of Peter's crusade tracts and have identified manuscripts upon which to base them. Quoted texts of the *Passio* and *Conquestio* will be drawn from Bodl. Lat. misc. F14, since it contains the earliest form of these treatises. References to the Migne edition will also appear in the notes.

enough for the needs of the poor and for the exercise of arms to withstand the enemies of the cross of Christ.<sup>17</sup>

In Peter's conception, Reginald had renounced all unnecessary property *pro Christi amore*—an act similar to the cardinals' renunciation of wealth which he had written about earlier. Peter urged European leaders to follow the example of Reginald.

Peter's view is similar to that of Gerhoh of Reichersberg. Gerhoh was an influential spokesman for the ideal of apostolic poverty in the mid-twelfth century. Historians have shown that the highest ideals of the Christian life, like apostolic poverty, became bound up with one's priorities whether one was a monk, a canon, or a layman, and whether or not one actually owned possessions. Marie-Dominique Chenu and François Vandenbroucke have cited a passage by Gerhoh of Reichersberg to exemplify these developments.<sup>18</sup> Gerhoh wrote:

Each person who in baptism has truly renounced the devil and all his pomps and suggestions, even if he never becomes a clerk or monk, is shown to have renounced the world, for the world is the devil's own pomp. All Christians have renounced this. So those who use this world should be as those who do not use it at all. Therefore, whether rich or poor, noble or servant, merchant or peasant—all who make a Christian profession should shun what is inimical to Christianity and cultivate what is appropriate to it.<sup>19</sup>

Peter of Blois, like Gerhoh, wanted to convey one important point: A religiously minded person holds spiritual concerns at a higher priority in life than material concerns. Reginald did retain and use goods and weapons, but as in Gerhoh's description, he used them without being captured by the desire for them. The *princeps* was a *pauper* because of his priorities. However, there is an important difference between Gerhoh and Peter: Gerhoh had blamed the failure of the Second Crusade on the avarice of the crusade leaders,<sup>20</sup> but he did not link the ideal of voluntary poverty to the ideology of the crusade, while Peter of Blois did.

In the *Passio*, Peter recounted how Saladin told the captured Reginald that he should look to him for mercy, rather than to Christ. Reginald did not beg for his life. Quite the opposite. He replied that he would remain true to the Christian faith and said, "If you would believe in Him, you could avoid the punishment of eternal damnation which you should not doubt is prepared for you."<sup>21</sup> Reginald was advising Saladin to reform his present life in order to live well in the

17 "Sed pro Christi amore honesta possessionum paucitate contentus, ea duntaxat sibi retinuit que ad usum pauperum et armorum exercitium contra inimicos crucis Christi sibi sufficere uidebantur." Bodl. Lat. misc. F14, fol. 38v (also, PL 207:965D).

18 Marie-Dominique Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago, 1968), p. 222. Jean Leclercq *et al.*, *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages* (London, 1960), pp. 257-258.

19 PL 194:1302C-D.

20 *De investigatione Antichristi*, ed. E. Sackur in MGH. Libelli de lite 3:374-384.

21 "Si in eum crederes, evadere posses supplicia damnationis eterne que tibi parata esse non dubites." Bodl. Lat. misc. F14, fol. 43v-44r (also, PL 207:969C).

afterlife. The result? Saladin executed Reginald, personally and immediately.

Peter wrote a second treatise, the *Dialogus*, about 1188-89.<sup>22</sup> In it, the Abbot of Bonneval tried to solve the many problems that King Henry II confronted on account of his sons' rebellion. The abbot suggested that Henry love and forgive his enemies,<sup>23</sup> control his anger,<sup>24</sup> give to the poor.<sup>25</sup> The abbot reduced everything to Henry's need to reform his spiritual life.<sup>26</sup> He warned the king "that there is great danger in the delay" of this renewal.<sup>27</sup> The king wondered: If I went on crusade, would my salvation be assured? The abbot began to agree that the king had found the ultimate cure, but the dialogue went no further. It breaks off in mid-sentence.<sup>28</sup> For King Henry, Peter advocated personal reform with the crusade as part of that reform. In what we have of the *Dialogus*, Peter had taken upon himself a kind of pastoral care of the king of England, and by association, of all the lords of Europe.

The final treatise to consider, and the most popular, is the *Conquestio*. Peter composed it about the same time as the *Dialogus*, in 1188-89. He revised it considerably by adding some lengthy passages about 1190-91.

I have traced a number of sources that Peter relied upon when writing his crusade tracts. There are connections to Richard of St Victor,<sup>29</sup> to the Cistercian Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury,<sup>30</sup> to Gratian's *Decretum*,<sup>31</sup> but these sources provided more rhetorical inspiration than ideas. Yet, one source provided both—the crusade bull *Audita tremendi*, issued by Pope Gregory VIII, which officially began the Third Crusade.<sup>32</sup> Peter knew Pope Gregory VIII, formerly Albert of Morra, a Premonstratensian canon, for some time before his election

22 Huygens, *Dialogus*, pp. 93-94.

23 *Dialogus*, p. 100. Cf. PL 207:975-88.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 101-103.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 109ff.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

29 E.g., cf. *Conquestio*, PL 207:1066A ff., and Richard of St. Victor, *Liber exceptionum* 6:4 ff. in the edition of Jean Châtillon (Paris, 1958), p. 161 ff., or in PL 177:243B ff. Peter condensed and mostly retained Richard's phrasing which describes each emperor's death. He occasionally transposed Richard's descriptive phrases with various emperors' names. Peter's use of the *Liber exceptionum* is especially noticeable from the emperor Domitian onward: PL 177:248A ff.

30 E.g., cf. *Conquestio*, PL 207:1058A, and Baldwin, PL 204:554B; *Passio*, PL 207:975C and Baldwin, PL 204:430D-431A.

31 E.g., cf. C.23 q.5 d.p.c.7 and Bodl. Lat. misc. F14, fol. 58r-v (also, PL 207:533B). The first part is a biblical quotation [1 Sam 15.33]. The second is not.

*Dictum* of Gratian:

Samuel etiam Agag regem pinguissimum  
in frustra conscidit. Finees quoque  
Iudeum cum Madianita coeuntem...

*Passio*:

Samuel Agag regem in frustra conscidit.  
Phinees Iudeum cum Madianitide  
coeuntem...

32 *Audita tremendi* appears in PL 202:1539-1542 and in Ansberr, *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, ed. A. Chroust (1928), MGH Scr. rer. germ., NS 5:6-10. Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith translated it in *The Crusades: Idea and Reality* (London, 1981), pp. 64-67.

to the papacy.<sup>33</sup> While at the Roman Curia, Peter found a friend in the papacy with Albert's election in 1187. The new pope favored him in curial matters.<sup>34</sup>

*Audita tremendi*, like the *Conquestio*, began by giving God, rather than Saladin or the crusaders, power over the events of the Holy Land. It also looked to God to reverse those events. Its second biblical quotation was the same one from Jeremiah with which Peter opened his *Conquestio*. Both works followed that quotation with a lengthy lament over the Holy Land and then with the hope that God would bring rejoicing after weeping. *Audita tremendi* then quoted another biblical verse that Peter used in the *Conquestio* and in the *Passio*: "One pursued after a thousand and two chased ten thousand."<sup>35</sup> Both writers used this quotation to illumine the same notion, that in order to gain victory, warriors need a proper spiritual life instead of just a large army. Both explained Saladin's victories by using the familiar *exigentibus peccatis* argument, and both supported that argument with an identical, but unusual, quotation from Hosea.<sup>36</sup>

Moreover, Peter and Gregory built on the theme of voluntary poverty and reform as a preparation for the crusade. Pope Gregory wrote in *Audita tremendi*: "Do not be afraid to give up a few material things, which last a short time."<sup>37</sup> He cited the spiritual benefits that would follow, but not as a simple trade of the material for the spiritual. He wrote, "We are not saying, 'give up the things you have,' but send them off to the heavenly barn and entrust them to [God]."<sup>38</sup> Peter of Blois and Pope Gregory allowed the use of property as long as individual intentions were spiritually motivated. Peter agreed with the parting injunction of the pope to the crusaders: "Do not go in order to gain wealth or temporal glory, but to follow the will of God."<sup>39</sup> The *Conquestio*, as well as the *Passio*, share a number of phrases, biblical verses, and ideas with *Audita tremendi*.<sup>40</sup> The parallels of thought and word, combined with Peter's presence at the papal court, make a strong case for this papal letter as an important source from which Peter of Blois drew his conception of the Third Crusade.

There was another member of this group at the papal court: Henry of Albano, the Cistercian cardinal-bishop and papal legate. Henry strongly supported the papal election of Gregory VIII, and Peter noted Henry's support.<sup>41</sup> Henry of

33 See Peter's Letter 38 to Albert of Morra. Christopher R. Cheney dated this letter between autumn 1178 and February 1184: *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250* (Manchester, 1950), p. 34.

34 *Epistolae Cantuarienses* (note 10 above), CXXXIX, p. 112.

35 *Audita tremendi*, PL 202:1541A; *Conquestio*, PL 207:1069A-B; *Passio*, PL 207:966B.

36 *Audita tremendi*, PL 202:1541B-C; *Conquestio*, PL 207:1058B-1059A.

37 PL 202:1542B.

38 "Nec dicimus: Dimittite, sed: Praemittite in coeleste horreum quae habetis, et deponite apud eum." PL 202:1541D.

39 PL 202:1541D.

40 E.g., *conquestio* on earthly goods, PL 207:1068A-B and *Audita tremendi*, PL 202:1541D-1542B. The *Passio* and *Audita tremendi* quoted Psalm 73.12 (PL 207:958C; PL 202:1540D), and Romans 8.18 (PL 202:1542B-C; 207:972C).

41 *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, pp. 107-108.

Albano personally advised Peter on curial matters.<sup>42</sup> Concerning the crusade, Henry and Peter both wrote crusade tracts that criticized the leaders of Europe for their delays. In a tract written shortly before the *Conquestio*, Henry argued at length that the delays were caused by those who were too concerned about ambition and wealth.<sup>43</sup> The *Conquestio* used this as its main theme. Henry, in his letter *Publicani et peccatores* of 1187, criticized prelates in relation to their appetites for wealth and ambition.<sup>44</sup> He encouraged them to imitate Christ by writing, "Emulate His humility, who took on the poverty of infancy for you."<sup>45</sup> However, in a letter to potential crusaders in 1188, Henry did not apply these ideas in the way that Peter had, but focused mainly on the notion of just war.<sup>46</sup> Henry died soon after writing this letter, and we cannot know how his ideas would have developed.<sup>47</sup> The close connections between Peter of Blois, Cardinal Henry of Albano, and Pope Gregory VIII may well explain Peter's role in the spread of late twelfth century crusading ideology.

Peter opened his *Conquestio* with a lament over the Muslim victory. He composed a lengthy prayer in which he asked for God's mercy. He described how treacherous Saladin's invasion was, thus supporting an argument for the just war. But he soon returned to the theme of reform which he summed up with this biblical prayer: "God does not desire the death of a sinner, but that he turn and live... so follow the advice of Jeremiah and cleanse your heart from evil."<sup>48</sup> What evils did Peter have in mind? He wrote, "Nothing weighs down and suffocates the fruit of penitence so much as the affluence of possessions and the eminence of human rank."<sup>49</sup> In the margin of a fifteenth-century manuscript, the scribe pointed out this passage with the words '*impedimentum penitencie*.'<sup>50</sup> Then as Peter's exhortation began, the scribe put in: *Audiant divites et potentes*, showing his hope that the rich and powerful of his own day might heed the message of reform in Peter's crusade tract.

Peter exhorted the feudal princes not to waste their lives in their treasury rooms when great spiritual activities awaited them. He appeared to reject their service from the crusade because of their unworthiness. He wrote:

Leaving the wealthy, therefore, since my sermon is not for them, I turn to the *pauperes*. "Make my prayer a pleasing one, Lord," so that the spirit of God might be upon me "for the evangelizing of the poor," which would be expedient for their salvation as well as my own.<sup>51</sup>

42 Ibid.

43 *Tractatus de peregrinante civitate Dei*, PL 204:357-361.

44 PL 204:247-249.

45 PL 204:247C.

46 PL 204:249-252.

47 For further discussion of the crusade writings of Pope Gregory VIII and Henry of Albano, see Prawer, *Histoire*, 2:9-18.

48 PL 207:1060C, Ez. 33.11; 207:1060D, Jer. 4.14.

49 "Porro nichil adeo deprimit, et suffocat penitencie fructum, sicut opum affluentia et eminentia dignitatum." Bodl. Lat. misc. F14, fol. 24r (also, PL 207:1065C).

50 B.L. Royal 10.A.XVIII. Both comments are on fol. 4ra.

51 "Omissis igitur divitibus quia sermo meus non capit in eis, conuertar ad pauperes.



As part of his exhortation against the kings' reliance on wealth, Peter cited the example of those who did not rely upon wealth, the *pauperes*. He tried to steer his audience from the attraction of ambition and wealth which delayed their crusade departure. He put pressure on the delayers to be more spiritual in this matter of the crusade. In the second recension of the *Conquestio*, Peter added that, "God certainly does not view the title of poverty as ignoble."<sup>52</sup> He exhorted the wealthy in both recensions to become like *pauperes*—they would lose none of their nobility and would lose no battles either. This fits into the context of Peter's other crusade writings. He encouraged the feudal lords of Europe to reform their lives through voluntary poverty, to stop delaying and start crusading!

But it was not battles against the Muslims or arguments about the just war that later readers noted when they read this tract. We have already seen how one fifteenth-century reader hoped for a spiritual reform among his contemporaries through the *Conquestio*. The first editors of Peter's writings similarly characterized Peter's works. In the sixteenth century Jacques Merlin wrote, in the preface to his edition, that Peter's writings were "conducive to the life of the soul."<sup>53</sup> In the seventeenth century Johann Buysus saw their main appeal as writings "filled with piety" which would aid readers in their spiritual lives.<sup>54</sup> In another fifteenth-century manuscript, the index contains this summary of the *Conquestio*: "The negligence of the salvation of Christians is deplored."<sup>55</sup> In a synopsis of the *Conquestio*, this manuscript also noted Peter's solution to this negligence: *paupertatem extollens*.<sup>56</sup> In the minds of these readers, spiritual reform through voluntary poverty stood out as Peter's main message.

In summary, Peter of Blois developed a strong affinity to the ideals of twelfth-century reformers in his crusade tracts. His first letter on the subject of the crusade in 1185 contained no notion of reform or apostolic poverty.<sup>57</sup> In 1187, his experience at the Roman Curia revitalized his commitment to the ideals of spiritual reform and voluntary poverty. After his time with the Curia, these ideals permeate all Peter's crusade writings. In these writings, he did not divide *potentes* and *pauperes* according to social or economic classes, but according to interior, religious principles. To later readers, reform became the most

'Utinam uoluntaria oris mei beneplacita faciat Dominus' [Ps. 118. 108], utinam sit Spiritus Domini super me 'ad evangelizandum pauperibus' [Matt. 11.5], et que tam michi quam eis expediunt ad salutem." Bodl. Lat. misc. F14, fol. 26r (also, PL 207:1067A-B).

52 "Certe non est ignobilis apud Deum titulus paupertatis." B.L. Royal 8.F.XVII, fol. 87vb (best reading of second recension). See also PL 207:1068B.

53 "Ad animi vitam conducunt." Jacobus Merlinus, *Opera* (Paris, 1519), fol. 1.

54 Ioannes Buysus, *Opera Petri Blesensis* (Moguntiae, 1600), no page numbers; in the preface under the heading, Quibus Animi dotibus, et Virtutibus Blesensis excelluerit: "ac omni pietate refertis."

55 "Negligencia salutis Christianorum deploratur." B.L., Harley 3672, fol. 179ra.

56 B.L., Harley 3672, fol. 176va.

57 Peter of Blois' letters 20 and 121, both written after 1187, contain minor references to the crusade and use terms of reform and poverty.

outstanding, and useful, message of the *Conquestio*. Peter of Blois reflected in crusade thought the spirituality of the late twelfth century in its increasing stress on voluntary poverty as a means of personal reform. He also assisted in transferring these ideals from the monasteries to the laity in the search for the apostolic life.

# The *Eracles* and William of Tyre: An Interim Report

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In the last week of June 1987, a small group of historians met at the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> We had been assembled on the initiative of Professor B.Z. Kedar with the purpose of investigating relationships between the Latin chronicle of Archbishop William of Tyre, commonly known as the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, and the anonymous Old French translation, or paraphrase, or version of it known as the *L'estoire de Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la terre d'Outremer* [hereafter *Eracles*].

From the beginning we realized that attainment of our objectives would, at the very least, be severely hampered by the unsatisfactory nature of current editions of the *Eracles*. We had at our disposal the fine new edition of the Latin chronicle by Professor Huygens. However, the two existing editions of the *Eracles* are both based on only a small number of manuscripts, different

- 1 B. Hamilton (Nottingham), R.B.C. Huygens (Leiden), D. Jacoby (Jerusalem), B.Z. Kedar (Jerusalem), J. Prawer (Jerusalem), J.H. Pryor (Sydney), S. Roubach (Jerusalem), S. Schein (Haifa). Our thanks are due to the Institute for Advanced Studies for its sponsorship of our seminar.

A preliminary report on the group's work was presented by R.B.C. Huygens at the Second SSCLE Conference. I compiled the present report from materials presented by the participants during the seminar and from reports sent to me after its conclusion. I wish to acknowledge in particular the extensive comments provided by B.Z. Kedar and the detailed report on Books 21 and 22 of William of Tyre and the *Eracles* sent by B. Hamilton.

Although it had been the original intention of the group to complete a detailed comparison of all books of the two chronicles and to do a search of possible sources for variations of the *Eracles* from William of Tyre, this proved impracticable in the time available. However, I did search the following texts for sources of *Eracles*'s variation from William of Tyre in books 4-7 and with regard to matters related to maritime history: the *Gesta Francorum*, Raymond of Aguilers, Peter Tudebode, Fulcher of Chartres, the *Chanson d'Antioche*, Albert of Aachen, Guibert of Nogent, Baldric of Dol, Ralph of Caen, Robert the Monk, Ekkehard of Aura, Gilo, the *Gesta Francorum expugnantium Iherusalem*, the *Secunda pars historiae Iherosolimitane*, and the *Balduini III, historia Nicaeana vel Antiochena*. In the following report, whenever there is no source amongst these texts for a particular variation in the *Eracles*, this is indicated by an asterisk against the *Eracles* citation.

manuscripts in each case, and vary from each other not only in orthography, the use of homonyms, word placement, word omissions and insertions, and nomenclature but also, on occasion, in significant details of fact.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, it was recognized that any conclusions reached would necessarily have to remain tentative until such time as a complete and proper understanding of the manuscript tradition of the *Eracles* can be developed. There cannot even be any surety that the texts as we have them are the work of a single individual. Manuscript variations may be attributed in part to different scribes adding and subtracting to their own versions of the work. Identifying such variations in the context of the manuscripts in which they occur may be important for identification of the provenance and period of composition of the anonymous text as we have it. However, since no scholar is known to be working on a critical edition of the *Eracles*, it was decided to press ahead with our investigations using the available printed editions.

In the course of preliminary research before we actually met, and then again during round table discussion, a methodology of approach to the texts was developed around the pivotal question of the value of the *Eracles* for historians of the crusades and the Latin East. Most students of the crusades are aware of discrepancies between the Latin and Old French texts, of omissions from and additions to William of Tyre by the author of the *Eracles*. But what is the precise nature of these variations? More specifically, is the factual information inserted in the *Eracles* in addition to that supplied by William of Tyre independent, based on knowledge of Levantine conditions and history, or is it mere literary embellishment? If a significant number of additions contain genuinely new information which cannot be traced to any other source, the *Eracles* ought to be considered an anonymous source for the Latin East, one deserving of systematic study. Of the additions to William of Tyre, the following questions were thus asked. What is the sum total of the additional information? To what extent is it corroborated by other sources? What are its characteristics? Is it distributed evenly throughout the Old French text or is it located primarily in certain parts of it, or with reference to certain specific issues? What are its sources? While these questions attempted to characterize additional information contained in the *Eracles*, another set of questions attempted to characterize its author.<sup>3</sup> There are far more omissions of material from William of Tyre in the *Eracles* than there are additions to him. Do these omissions, as well as the additions, exhibit any patterns which can facilitate identification of the provenance of the author

2 *Eracles* in RHC HOcc. 1; *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs: texte français du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. P. Paris, 2 vols (Paris, 1879-80). References in this report are to the edition of Paulin Paris, which the group considers the better of the two editions unless otherwise specified. The MSS of the *Eracles* have been listed by Jaroslav Folda in "Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre: A Handlist," *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), 90-95.

3 Hereafter in this report, for the sake of facility, the possible multiple translators, paraphrasers, or authors of the *Eracles* are referred to simply as the "author." We pass over in silence the long lasting and voluminous debate about possible actual identities of the author. As far as we are concerned, he remains anonymous to this time.

and his time? Does the author show sympathy or antipathy towards any individuals, groups, regions, families, or races? Do variations, both of omission and addition, from William of Tyre's text give any indications as to the geographical and social milieu of the author of the Old French work?

We emphasize that our work was that of a group of historians interested in attempting to resolve the question of the value, as well as some of the uncertainties surrounding, the *Eracles* for historians' purposes. In the past some historians have treated the *Eracles* as a mere translation of William of Tyre. Others have used it as an independent historical source.<sup>4</sup> Some have doubted that it contains any information of great significance for the historian.<sup>5</sup>

The conclusions reached as a result of our research and discussions are necessarily provisional. It is hoped that the membership of the group can be expanded and that work can be continued along the lines suggested at the conclusion of this report. Our preliminary observations are offered here simply for information and as a stimulus to further research.

Finally, we wish to note that only after we had disbanded did the 1899 thesis of Franz Ost, *Die altfranzösische Übersetzung der Geschichte der Kreuzzüge Wilhelms von Tyrus*, come to our attention.<sup>6</sup> Ost's interests in the *Eracles* were, however, more literary and philological than historical. His work agreed with ours in some respects and complemented it in others, but it was not primarily concerned with the main questions in which we, as historians, were interested. References to Ost have been added to our report for the use of readers but Ost's work itself has not been incorporated into our own.

#### THE LANGUAGE AND AUDIENCE OF THE *ERACLES*

A large number of characteristics of the language of the *Eracles*, when compared to that of William of Tyre, point to the same conclusion: that the Old French text was composed for delivery to a non-clerical, noble audience in the West, probably in north-central France, rather than in the Holy Land, an audience whose interests were very different from those of William [cf. Ost, pp. 9-16, 30-34].

The author of the *Eracles* was almost certainly a cleric. At WT1,5.32, he distinguishes himself from the laity by saying of the Temple in Jerusalem that: *la laie gent apellent le Temple-Dominus* (E.1,5. lines 40-41) [cf. Ost, p. 7]. He was definitely an educated man and a good Latinist. He was capable of rendering the

4 For example J. Prawer, "Colonization Activities in the Latin Kingdom" [1951], reprinted in his *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), p. 110; H.E. Mayer in his "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), 93-182 and "Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom," *History*, 63 (1978), 175-192, both reprinted in his *Probleme des lateinischen Königreichs Jerusalem* (London, 1983), chs. 3 and 6.

5 For example M.R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 185-87.

6 F. Ost, *Die altfranzösische Übersetzung der Geschichte der Kreuzzüge Wilhelms von Tyrus* (Halle, 1899). Pages 43-73 of this thesis consist of a (very incomplete) list of additions of material by the *Eracles* to William of Tyre.

often complex nuances of William's Latin into euphonious Old French, in the process producing a close paraphrase and fair rendering of the Latin chronicle. In fact there are remarkably few instances where the *Eracles* appears to misinterpret William simply as a result of misunderstanding the Latin [cf. Ost, p. 24]. Since William's text frequently has to be read with knowledge of the society and history of the Latin East if one is not to misinterpret him, this may indicate that the author also had a personal acquaintance with the Latin East. However, there are some indications that this latter was not the case and we have reached no firm conclusions on this crucial point (see below pp. 284-288).

In keeping with a narrative designed for people to listen to, everything is subordinated in the *Eracles* to a strong story line. It tends to be simpler and more consistent in language than William, avoiding his literary pretensions and circumlocutions. William's varied terms for the crusaders, for example, are replaced by simple terms: *exercitus deo devotus*—*li oz* (WT4,7.8-E.4,7, line 9), *maior exercitus*—*li granz oz* (WT4,8.2—E.4,8, line 2), *universe legiones*—*nostre gent* (WT4,8.61—E.4,8, line 34), *deo devoti principes*—*li baron* (WT4,18.1—E.4,18, line 1), *victores*—*li pelerin* (WT6,1.2—E.6,1, line 2), *nostri principes*—*li pelerin* (WT6,22.1—E.6,22, line 1). There is a consistent tendency throughout in the *Eracles* towards the use of specific and concrete expressions more easily comprehensible to laymen than William's terminology would have been. For example, the expression *doctrina Salvatoris et sanctorum qui Christum sequuti sunt* in the mouth of King Amalric I becomes *touz les articles de nostre foi, si come l'en dist en la Credo* (WT19,3.23-24—E.19,3, lines 17-18). *Eracles* is far less interested in ecclesiastical niceties than William and frequently omits such references. In the same passage as that above, where William made a distinction between *futura resurrectio* and *resurrectio carnis*, *Eracles* obliterates not only the distinction but also any references to anything more precise than *un autre siecle après cestui* (WT19,3.25-28—E.19,3, line 38).

The *Eracles* is far less moralistic and religiously oriented than was William's chronicle. In many respects, the author has turned William's ecclesiastical chronicle into a prose version of a *chanson de geste* [cf. Ost, pp. 27, 31-35]. The tone of crusading fervor is still present but it is less strident. It loses its religiosity and acquires the tone of the feudal, noble, and knightly ethos [cf. Ost, pp. 32-40]. For example, Godfrey of Bouillon, the *servus dei*, becomes in *Eracles* Godfrey *qui mout estoit sages hons et de bone volenté* (WT4,1.14—E.4,1, line 12). Or again, when three months into the siege of Antioch, the crusaders' supplies began to fail, William moralized at length on the luxurious waste which characterized their behavior at the beginning of the siege. In *Eracles* this waste is mentioned but only in a matter of fact way without William's implied criticisms (WT4,17.8-14—E.4,17, lines 4-8). There are also far fewer references in the *Eracles* to divine assistance for the crusaders. When they marched from Antioch against Ridwān of Aleppo, William said that divine will made their 700 men appear like untold thousands. In *Eracles* this reference to divine assistance is omitted altogether (WT5,2.14-17—E.5,2, pp. 155-56).



In a similar vein breaches of religious norms are received with far greater equanimity by the *Eracles* than by William. When Amalric I asked William of Tyre for a logical, non-scriptural nor patristic, proof of the resurrection, the archbishop was horrified. But the author of the *Eracles* removes virtually all trace of emotion from the incident. In an allied mode the *Eracles* takes a much more matter of fact approach to marital irregularities amongst the nobility than did William: to the notorious affair of Bertrada of Montfort and Philip I of France (WT21,5.36-44—E.21,4, lines 30-36), to the first marriage of Amalric to Agnes of Courtenay (WT19,4 & 21,1—E.19,4 & 21,1), and to the marriage of Bohemond III of Antioch to the courtesan Sibylla (WT22,7.35-40—E.22,6, lines 36-39).

In keeping with what one would expect of an epic chronicle intended for a lay audience, the *Eracles* removes a large percentage of the biblical, patristic, and classical allusions from William's text. This is such a regular practice that there would be little point in citing instances here. Suffice it to say that of the biblical references a larger number of New Testament than Old Testament ones are retained, even if sometimes in part only (e.g., WT22,6.37-38=Matthew 12,25—E.22,5, lines 36-37). These omissions of biblical and patristic allusions change the tone of the work. This was done deliberately because of a desire on the part of the author to produce a work in keeping with the tastes of his audience. He was not unfamiliar with scripture. Quite the contrary. When William of Tyre answered King Amalric's question about the resurrection, he did so at first in terms of a general reference to the gospels with allusions in his own words (WT19,3.26-34). The author of the *Eracles* was sufficiently familiar with scripture to pick up these allusions and to give specific quotations in Old French from the gospel of Matthew and the second epistle of Peter (E.19,3, lines 25-29). He omits most of William's biblical and classical allusions simply because they are not in keeping with his objective. This is even clearer in the case of the classical references than in that of the biblical ones. The former are expunged virtually in their entirety, no doubt because there would have been little point in translating allusions which no one in the audience would recognize or appreciate [cf. Ost, pp. 7, 28].

Finally, in the translation process the author makes a number of other changes which would have made the narrative more acceptable to the type of audience we have identified. William of Tyre was frequently circumspect and conditional in his approach to many subjects, giving alternatives or reporting matters as hearsay rather than as established fact. *Eracles* usually reduces alternatives to a single statement and converts hearsay evidence to positive assertions of fact. Thus Thoros of Edessa was said (*dicebatur*) to have extorted gold, silver, and other precious things from the Edessans (WT4,4.31) but according to the *Eracles* he simply seized from them (*il leur tolloit*) gold, silver, and whatever he wished (E.4,4, lines 34-35). According to William the see of Antioch had either the second or third place in dignity after Rome because there was great controversy on the subject (WT4,9.1-2). In *Eracles* Antioch simply has

the third place amongst the patriarchates after Rome (E.4,9, lines 1-2). According to William, at the siege of Antioch Yāghī Siyān had 6,000 or 7,000 horsemen and 15,000 or 20,000 footsoldiers inside the city (WT4,11.59-61). In *Eracles* this becomes 7,000 horsemen and more than 20,000 footsoldiers (E.4,11, lines 44-45). Whenever William gives alternative numbers, *Eracles* invariably gives simply the larger one.

In dating events William used the classical system of enumeration for days and months. The *Eracles* avoids this system, often by assimilating William's classical dates to Church feasts with which its audience would have been familiar; for example, *decimo Kalendas Maii* (WT21,26(27).40-41)—*le jor de la feste saint Jorge le martir* (E.21,25, line 42). The translated date is incorrect here, 23 April instead of 22 April.

For similar reasons the frequent and often lengthy digressions to which William was addicted are usually omitted in the *Eracles*; for example, that on the river *Farfar* at Damascus in the context of explanation of the name of the Orontes (*Far*) river at WT4,8.41ff., the discussion of Mt. Parlier at Antioch at WT4,10.20ff., and the future projection on the conquest of the crusader states at WT4,24.39-43.

*Eracles* is also quick to simplify William's chronology to avoid flashbacks and forward projections. At WT6,22.35-41, after the defeat of Kerbogah at Antioch, William hearkened back to the famine amongst the crusaders while they were penned inside Antioch and related a story about Godfrey of Bouillon's largesse to a Count Hermann and to Henry of Ascha. *Eracles* transposes this story back to its correct place in the chronological narrative at E.6,14, lines 1-10 [cf. Ost, pp. 19-20]. At WT5,19.44-50 William discussed Yāghī Siyān's orders to massacre the Christians in Antioch and projected forward to the night of the assault on the city and how the Turks thought that the din was from the massacre being carried out. *Eracles* transposes this to E.5,22, lines 9-13 and inserts it in the discussion of the assault. The author does not merely translate the text as he goes. He knows it very well indeed and reformulates it to suit his own purposes. In this respect, as in many others, his work merits the attribution to him of the appellation of author in his own right rather than that of a mere translator.

The whole text of the *Eracles* has a different tone to that of William of Tyre. The narrative is coloured. The impersonal is made personal. Rhetorical devices are employed to make the action more vivid [cf. Ost, pp. 20-24, 35-36]. For example, at the beginning of his account of the reign of Baldwin IV, William opened with the words *Sextus Ierosolimis Latinorum rex fuit dominus Balduinus quartus, domini Amalrici, illustris memorie regis... filius* (WT21,1.1-3). In the *Eracles* this becomes *Mout fu granz li deus en la terre, si com droiz estoit, de la mort le Roi* (E.21,1, lines 1-2). Or again, later in the same chapter, the *Eracles* says of the new king *Icestui enfant qui avoit non Baudoin ama mout li peres* (E.21,1, line 8), which has no exact parallel in the Latin text. Such personal touches, designed to emphasize the emotive content of the historical tale, would

have made the story more appealing to a wider audience than that for which William of Tyre had written: one composed of feudal nobility which valued history for its narrative qualities and for its recitation of the lineages and deeds of its own class.

Our conclusion is that this audience for which the Old French text was produced was a Western, French one; not an audience in the Holy Land. To begin with, *Eracles* frequently replaces terms such as *civitas Hierosolyma* and *regnum Ierosolimorum* with *oultre mer*. Its perspective is entirely Western [see Ost, pp. 10-12 for examples]. At WT15,18.8, where William referred to men of the Holy Land as being *de cismarinis regionibus*, *Eracles* translates the phrase as *de la terre de Surie* (E.15,18, lines 6-7). On occasion *Eracles* feels impelled to gloss remarks by William of Tyre which would have been self-evident to anyone living in the Holy Land. For example, at WT21, 4.1-10 William recounted the parentage and first marriage of Stephanie de Milly to Humphrey of Toron, by whom she had two children. *Eracles* adds to William that after her second marriage to Miles of Plancy her children by Humphrey still *estoient droit oir de la terre* (E.21,3, lines 10-11). William had no need to say this because his audience would have known that it was the feudal law of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. *Eracles* needed to because his may not have.

More noticeable, however, than *Eracles*'s occasional glosses on the customs of the Latin East, is the Old French work's lack of identification with the crusader states, particularly the Kingdom of Jerusalem. For William of Tyre Outremer was his homeland, his *patria* and *propria* (WT19,12. rubric & 62) and his identification with its fortunes was very evident. In the factional disputes which wracked the kingdom during the reign of Baldwin IV, William identified with the party of the native *pullani* barons (to which he himself belonged in his own political career) against that of newcomers from the West. In the last books of his chronicle the factional disputes and their consequences were a lively issue. Similarly, William identified with the kingdom's internal structures, institutions, and history. These were matters of importance to him. So also was its ruling house. William showed continuous empathy with its importance, self-esteem, and nobility of lineage. For William the fortunes of the ruling house embodied those of his native land. The gloom-laden final chapters of the chronicle reflected not only a sense of impending disaster because of the growing power of Saladin but also despair at the low ebb to which the misfortunes of the dynasty had brought the kingdom.

All this is missing from the *Eracles*. Details of the internal history of the kingdom relating to its Church, to the property transactions of the nobility, to William of Tyre's own career (see, for example, WT21,29(30).3-4—E.21,28, line 5; WT22,5.13-18—E.22,4, lines 12-16 (see below p. 282), to factional politics amongst the nobility, and to details of geographical and human conditions are continuously omitted, abbreviated, or subordinated to the story line of the wider struggle. William of Tyre's own identification with his homeland is erased. For example, at WT21,13(14), where William reported negotiations in which he

himself played a leading role between the king, the barons, and Count Philip of Flanders, and where William repeatedly used the plural *nos* to refer collectively to the kingdom, *Eracles* eliminates William's participation and speaks simply of *li baron* (E.21,12). What was in William of Tyre an emotive conflict of interests between *pullani* and a Western crusader becomes in *Eracles* simply a matter of negotiation. The factional politics of the reign of Baldwin IV are a dead issue for the *Eracles*. There is none of William's involvement in their reporting and quite clearly to the author of the *Eracles* and his audience they have been superseded by events and are of no contemporary relevance. They belong to the internal history of another country, and the affairs and lineages of the *pullani* baronage similarly. Where the *Eracles* does bother to pass on William of Tyre's information on such matters, for example the lineage of the house of Toron (WT22,5.1-13—E.22,4, lines 1-12) and that of Stephanie de Milly (WT21,4.5-9—E.21,3, lines 4-11), one suspects that it does so simply because medieval nobility delighted in such things for their own sake rather than because the particular details recorded were of any great interest to the *Eracles*'s audience.

*Eracles* displays none of the attachment to the royal house of Jerusalem that William of Tyre did. As we shall see below, in considering "The French Connection," on numerous occasions the *Eracles* mitigates unfavourable reports by William of personages from the West whom he considered to have acted improperly in their dealings with the Kingdom of Jerusalem and its ruling house. There is no need to repeat all of the cases here. However, that of Duke Hugh III of Burgundy is instructive (see below pp. 279-280). William's condemnation of Hugh for failing to implement his vow of betrothal to Princess Sibylla of Jerusalem was surely motivated not only by moral outrage at the breaking of a vow but also by the indignity done to a princess of the house of Jerusalem and by the consequences of Hugh's actions for the kingdom. To *Eracles* these latter considerations were of no moment.

Taken together with the indications of identification by the *Eracles* with certain French noble houses and with the house of Capet, discussed in the next section, these suggestions of indifference to the internal history of the crusader states leave no doubt that the audience to which the *Eracles* was addressed was in the West.

#### THE FRENCH CONNECTION

A large number of incidental pieces of information which can be adduced from the text of the *Eracles* collectively indicate some connection of the author with France, the French royal house, and perhaps some of the provincial noble houses. The text seems to be addressed to the Capetian court and the nobility of north-central France. That being said, the evidence is susceptible to various interpretations and we have not yet adduced conclusive evidence to support a firm connection between the *Eracles* and any particular French court. No definite conclusions can be drawn from what follows here until such time as a

systematic collation of the manuscripts has been undertaken to ascertain in which particular manuscripts the various pieces of information occur. At the moment the evidence is merely that of impression based on a large number of observations.

A general connection with France is indicated on many occasions. At WT12,8.5, when William of Tyre referred to Pope Gelasius II's retreat to France in the face of hostility from Emperor Henry V and his antipope Burdinus of Braga (Gregory VIII), *Eracles* adds of France, *la terre qui est si douce et si piteuse qu'ele reçoit touz les essilliez* (E.12,8, lines 7-8) [cf. Ost, pp. 8 & 16 where other examples are cited]. In the narrative of the battle with Kerbogah outside Antioch *Eracles* adds to William that: *Li nostre François le firent trop bien en cele venue, li Flamenc s'i contindrent trop vigoureusement, li Normant derompoient bien les presses* (E.6,20, lines 27-29). There is the obvious point here that the French are distinguished from the Flemish and Normans with the qualification *li nostre*.

There is nothing in the *Eracles* to support any connection with the Normans. Where William of Tyre referred to Bohemond of Taranto as being from *citra Alpes* (WT1,17.27), *Eracles* translates this as *oultre les monz* (E.1,17, line 22). We have found no evidence whatsoever of any more favorable treatment by *Eracles* than by William of Tyre of either the Normans of Italy and Sicily or those of Normandy. Indeed *Eracles* is clearly more antipathetic to the Normans of Sicily than had been William. At WT11,29.39-40 *Eracles* adds to William's generalized condemnation of the Sicilians (for having revenged themselves on the whole society of Outremer for Baldwin I's treatment of Queen Adelaide) the specific charge that the Sicilians harmed and mistreated cruelly pilgrims on their way to and from the Holy Land (E.11,29, lines 56-59). The accusation is totally without foundation. Then, in its treatment of the Sicilian assault on Alexandria in 1174, on which *Eracles* adds details to William of Tyre (WT21,3) known in no other Latin source (see below p. 282), *Eracles* comments of the Sicilian leaders that they *ne savoient rien de guerre, car toutes leur genz s'abandonnoient à touz perilz et de rien ne se gardoient* (E.21,2, lines 24-26).

In the case of the Flemish the evidence is perhaps ambiguous. On the one hand, whereas William of Tyre indicated that when Bohemond and Robert of Flanders led a foraging expedition during the siege of Antioch, it was under Bohemond's command (WT4,19.5-7), *Eracles* makes the two leaders equal in charge of the expedition (E.4,19, lines 5-7). An increased or glorified role for a leader from a particular region may constitute evidence for some connection of the *Eracles* with that region. In the same vein, as regards Flanders, *Eracles* portrays a closer, more cordial relationship between Philip of Flanders and Baldwin IV prior to the count's expedition to Hārim in 1177 than did William (see below p. 290). Then, where William had criticized Philip for his conduct at the siege of Hārim (WT21,24.29-34), *Eracles* completely omits the passage. It may have done so simply because the passage in William of Tyre was impregnated with classical and biblical allusions which would have been lost on the audience. However, if the author wished to preserve William's criticism of

Philip of Flanders, he could easily have paraphrased the Latin text, preserving the criticism without the allusions. He is certainly capable of such technique in other places. Yet William's overall assessment of Philip of Flanders, *in nullo relinquens post se in benedictione memoriam* (WT21,24(25).42-43), is not toned down at all in *Eracles*, *Ne leissa guères bone remembrance de ses fez en la terre d'outre mer* (E.21,23, lines 38-39). The evidence for a connection with Flanders is, then, inconclusive.

One region of France with which *Eracles* is unlikely to have been connected is Poitou. To William of Tyre's description of Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch and son of Count William of Poitiers (WT14,21), the *Eracles* adds: *Foiz et sermenz que il fesist ne tenist jà, por qu'il véist son avantage d'autre part; de ce maintenoit-il bien la costume de son païs* [E.14,18, lines 23-25]. This generalized judgment of Poitevins was hardly flattering. Poitou was also the homeland of Guy of Lusignan. Guy, damned by William of Tyre as an unsuitable husband for Princess Sibylla with the faint praise of *cuidam adolescenti satis nobili* (WT22,1.16), is treated in exactly the same way in *Eracles*: *un juene home qui estoit assez hauz hom* (E.22,1, lines 13-14). There is nothing in the *Eracles* to mitigate the generally poor press given to Guy of Lusignan by William of Tyre, even when the *Eracles* continues after the termination of William's chronicle, and we may assume safely that the author neither was Poitevin nor had a Poitevin patron.

Neither is the *Eracles* likely to have had any connection with the Gatinais, the homeland of Reynald of Châtillon, from Châtillon-sur-Loing. William of Tyre's dislike of Reynald is undoubted, even if he criticized him openly only once in his account of Baldwin IV's reign. When Saladin attacked the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1182, William reported that the sultan's motive was said to have been to avenge himself on Reynald for his attacks on Muslims during the truce which Saladin had with Baldwin IV (WT22,15(14).28-32). *Eracles'* version of the passage uses different words but the spirit is the same: *princes Renaus tenoit la terre, de cui il se pleignoit, porce que il disoit que cil avoit pris ne sai quanz de ses riches Turs d'Arabe au tens de la trive; et quant il li furent demandé il n'es vout rendre* (E.22,13, lines 34-36). William used the historian's most damaging weapon, silence, to mark his disapproval of Reynald, saying nothing about his distinguished, if controversial, military undertakings—notably his launching of a fleet on the Red Sea. After 1187 Reynald was venerated as a martyr for the faith in the circle of Peter of Blois. Yet the *Eracles* is not affected by this view of him. It does nothing to change the negative, and at times hostile, portrait of the prince which William draws.

This brings us to a series of instances where the *Eracles* does alter unfavourable portraits by William, thus indicating at least the possibility of a connection. In 1178 Hugh III, Duke of Burgundy, accepted the offer of the hand of Princess Sibylla of Jerusalem. He later reneged and never went East to fulfil his vow. William of Tyre's language here was strident, implying strong criticism: *causis quibusdam adhuc nobis incognitis venire renuit, iuramenti quod prebuerat*



*inmemor et fidei qua se obligaverat prodigus inventus* (WT21,25(26).17-19). *Eracles* is more matter of fact and less censorious: *mès quant il vint après, il chanja son courage, je ne sai pour queus raisons, et ne vout aler là, et de ce ne regarda son serment* (E.21,24, lines 14-16). This may possibly indicate that when the author of the *Eracles* was writing descendants of the duke were to be reckoned with in the author's circles, and he had to treat the subject circumspectly.<sup>7</sup> However, it may also indicate nothing more than that more pragmatic approach to the marital affairs of the nobility noted above.

It is quite probable that the *Eracles* has some connection with the region of Champagne since the author goes to the trouble of giving in full William of Tyre's account of Miles of Plancy's marriage to Stephanie de Milly and his description of her parentage and first marriage (WT21,4—E.21,3). As we said above, this may have been done simply because the noble audience for whom the work was intended was interested in such things, but it is also possible that the author or his audience may have had a special interest in this man of Champagne. Two pieces of information about Miles occur in the *Eracles* but not in William of Tyre. First, *maintes genz le haïrent par ceste reson, porce que il les grevoit maintes foiz, sanz faire droiture: tant que il parlerent ensemble et distrent que il l'ocirroient* (E.21,3, lines 24-26). Secondly, when told of this plot and advised to behave in a way *por apaisier ceus qui si anemi estoient*, Miles replied *que se il le trovoient endormi ne l'oseroient-il pas esveiller* (E.21,3, lines 28-30). Both stories are plausible. Miles was in charge of justice in the kingdom during a minority and this would have made him enemies, while his lack of security precautions is plain from William's account of his death. It is possible that these stories about Miles's death were preserved in his native Champagne.

A further connection with Champagne, or more accurately with Brie, is indicated at WT20,12.35-38 and 22,7.21-24. At WT20,12.35-38 William of Tyre described the embassy of Archbishop Frederick of Tyre and Bishop John of

7 However, this is in fact unlikely. William of Tyre referred to Duke Hugh on four occasions (WT20,25.36-37; WT21,25.11; WT21,29.49; WT22,1.8). On the last two of these occasions he was referred to simply as the Duke of Burgundy, on the second as *Henricus*, Duke of Burgundy, and on the first as Henry the younger, Duke of Burgundy. There is no doubt that William gave him the wrong name. The visit of Duke Hugh to the Holy Land in 1170 (which corresponds to the citation at WT20,25.36-37) can be verified from other sources. William himself was a member of the delegation from the Holy Land to Rome in 1178 which included Bishop Joscus of Acre who took the invitation for the betrothal to Sibylla to Duke Hugh. How he could have gotten the duke's name wrong seems difficult to comprehend. But the important fact is that in both editions of the *Eracles* William's mistake is perpetuated. Indeed at WT21,29.49, where William of Tyre referred simply to the Duke of Burgundy and his uncle Count Henry, *Eracles* glosses the reference to read Duke Henry of Burgundy and Count Henry of Champagne, his uncle. The latter name is, in fact, accurate. The brother of Hugh III's mother Maria was Count Henry of Troyes (Champagne). William's mistake seems difficult enough to explain but, if the *Eracles* had any close connection with the house of Burgundy, that of the latter would be impossible to explain. We cannot really suppose that the author of the *Eracles* would have been susceptible to the feelings of descendants of a man whose name he could not even get right.

Belinas (Bānyās) to the West in 1169. William noted that John died in Paris. The *Recueil* edition of the *Eracles* adds that *Huitace, li deans de Charmentre* also died with Bishop John and that they were both buried in the church of St. Victor in Paris, on the left as one approached the choir (E.[*Rec.*]20,12. lines 29-31). This is not in the edition of Paulin Paris. At WT22,7.21-24 William reported the troubles in Antioch in 1180-81 which resulted from Bohemond III's divorce of his wife Theodora and marriage to the courtesan Sibylla (see above p. 274). A delegation of ecclesiastics was sent from Jerusalem to Antioch to mediate peace. In some manuscripts of the *Eracles* the name of *Huitace le déan de Charmentré* is added to those in this delegation (E.22,6, lines 21-24). It would appear that the scribes of the MSS used by Paulin Paris had dropped the mention of this dean of Charmentré from E.20,12 because they realized that he was reported as still alive in 1180-81. But the important point is that various MSS add his name to the chronicle on two different occasions and some of them give precise details of his burial place. Charmentré is a village near Meaux in the county of Brie, that part of Brie which lay in the county of Champagne rather than Brie-Comte-Robert in the royal domain.<sup>8</sup> The inclusion of this cleric by the author of the *Eracles* may indicate that he came from the region of Meaux [cf. Ost, p. 14]; however, too much weight cannot be placed on this until more is known of the manuscript tradition.

In the case of Blois, a connection is tenuous at best. It is indicated solely by a line in the first book of the chronicle. William of Tyre wrote: *dominus Stephanus Carnotensium comes et Blesensium, senioris Theobaldi comitis pater* (WT1,17.5-7). *Eracles* adds: *Estienes li cuens de Chartres et de Blois qui fu peres le conte Tibaut le viel qui gist à Leigny* (E.1,17, lines 3-5). Paulin Paris was of the opinion that the words *qui gist à Leigny* indicated that the author of the *Eracles* was from the county of Champagne.<sup>9</sup> [See also Ost, p. 14.] They could equally as well indicate a connection with Blois but, again, no definite conclusion of any kind can be drawn until much more is known of the manuscript tradition of this variation.

In 1092 Countess Bertrada of Montfort had left her husband Fulk of Anjou and become the mistress of King Philip I of France, who put aside his wife, Bertha of Frisia. The affair was notorious. It caused great scandal and was the subject of papal intervention. William of Tyre, as would be expected of a churchman, was highly critical of the conduct of the king and, implicitly, of that of Bertrada: *maritum deserens ad dominum Philippum Francorum regem se conferens... rex autem nichilominus reginam... contra legem ecclesiasticam, amore predictae comitis infatuatus, expulerat* (WT21,5.39-44). As indicated above (p. 274), *Eracles* is far more matter of fact about the affair, avoiding emotive language which might imply criticism of any of the parties: *si leissa son seigneur et s'en ala au roi Phelippe de France qui por amor de li guerpi sa femme* (E.21,4,

8 E.22,6 (p. 418, n. 1).

9 E.1,17 (p. 31, n. 2).

lines 32-33). The change in tone is very apparent but there is no way of knowing whether this is due simply to the author or his audience not caring about the marital infidelities or because there was some connection with either the house of Anjou, or that of Montfort, or the French royal house.

A further possible connection with the house of Montfort occurs at WT22,5.13-18. Here William of Tyre gave some details of the marriage contract drawn up for the betrothal of Humphrey IV of Toron to Princess Isabella of Jerusalem in 1180. Humphrey *commutavit preterea patrimonium suum, quod in finibus Tyri per mortem avi paterni hereditario iure ad se fuerat devolutum, Toronum videlicet et Castellum Novum et Paneadem cum pertinentiis suis, cum domino rege certis conditionibus, quarum tenor in archivis regiis, nobis dictantibus, per officium nostrum continetur introductus*. The *Eracles* makes one significant change and replaces William's reminiscence by a vague new phrase: *Uns changes fu fet de son patremoine qui eschéus li estoit en la terre de Sur par la mort son aiol, et bailia tout au Roi le Toron, Chastel-Nuef et la droiture de Belinas, atoutes ses appartenances; et li Rois li redona autre chose, et li fist teus covenances qui bien plorent à lui et a ses amis* (E.22,4, lines 12-16). The important change is the insertion of the phrase *la droiture* of Belinas, for whereas in 1180 Toron and Châteauneuf were in Christian hands, Belinas was not and Humphrey held only the title to it. It may be simply a coincidence that the *Eracles* bothered to make this change. After all, the author knew that Belinas had been lost in 1164 because he had already translated that part of William's chronicle. Nevertheless, we should consider that the claim to Toron, Châteauneuf, and Belinas was restored to Humphrey by Isabella when she divorced him in 1190 and after his death passed to his niece, Alice of Armenia, and on her death in 1234 to her granddaughter Mary, the wife of Philip of Montfort. Toron was recovered by Frederick II from the Ayyubids in 1229 and became the object of litigation in the High Court of Jerusalem. The emperor wished to enfeoff the Teutonic Knights with these lands but Alice of Armenia successfully contested their claim and received seizin of them. Consequently the Toron inheritance became a live issue again at that time, and it is possible that the author of the *Eracles*, or a scribe of one of the manuscripts, had a connection with the Montfort family and learned this information from it.

All of these indications of connections of the *Eracles* with various French noble houses or regions remain no more than possibilities at present. Even when a systematic comparison of the entire *Eracles* with William of Tyre has been completed, there will still be no proof beyond that of statistical probability. However, even at this stage there is enough evidence to suggest some connection of the *Eracles* with the Capetian royal house. We noted above (p. 281) that the author of the *Eracles* was familiar with the church of St. Victor at Paris and the grave of bishop John of Belinas inside it [cf. Ost, p. 14]. Moreover, the author shows partiality to the Capetians. On two occasions, once when describing the command of the crusaders' camp during the siege of Antioch, and once when describing a battle between the crusaders and the Turkish garrison in the citadel

of Antioch after the capture of the city, *Eracles* replaces the names of key crusaders (Adhémar of Le Puy on the first occasion and Godfrey of Bouillon on the second) by that of Hugh of Vermandois, the younger brother of King Philip I of France (WT4,18.12-13—\*E.4,18, line 8; WT6,4.33—\*E.6,4, line 25). *Eracles* definitely gives Hugh of Vermandois a heightened role on these two occasions and for neither is there any justification in a source known to us.

Another instance of *Eracles*' partiality towards the house of Capet and its connections lies in the work's treatment of Joscelin of Courtenay. William of Tyre treated the role of this close kinsman of Baldwin IV and seneschal of the kingdom from 1176 with the same weapon of omission that he employed with regard to Reynald of Châtillon. Yet at one point he did criticize Joscelin openly: with regard to his role in the exclusion of Raymond of Tripoli from the kingdom in 1182. William blamed this on Agnes of Courtenay and *eiusdem frater, regius senescalcus cum paucis eorum sequacibus, viris impiis, regem ad hoc protervius impellebant* (WT22,10(9).25-27). *Eracles* tones down this criticism. Agnes, it says, pursued the exclusion policy and *à ce li aidoit mout ses freres, li seneschaus du pais, et ne sai quant autre baron qui à ceus se tenoient et mout metoient grant peine en atâiner le Roi encontre ce haut home* (E.22,8, lines 29-32). It is possible that the author did not wish to disparage unduly a Courtenay, for Louis VII's brother Peter had married the heiress of the western branch of the Courtenay family and had taken her title. Thereafter the name Courtenay had been borne by members of the blood royal.

Finally, the *Eracles* is generally hostile to, and disparaging of, the Byzantines [see Ost, pp. 33, 36-37]. For example, when Reynald of Châtillon as Prince of Antioch made his submission to Manuel Comnenus in 1159, William of Tyre reported simply that Reynald won the favour of the emperor *post multos verborum circuitus cum summa ignominia et populi nostri confusione* (WT18,23.43-44). To this *Eracles* adds that archbishop Gerard of Laodicea, who advised Reynald, said that the Greeks *estoient bobancier, et ne queroient autre chose fors ce que l'en leur feist enneur par dehors; et de bel semblant se tenoient apaié* (E.18,23, lines 40-42). *Eracles* shares the poor opinion of the Byzantines characteristic of the French nobility from the time of Odo of Deuil to that of Geoffrey de Villehardouin. Yet in two places *Eracles* is very flattering to the emperor Manuel Comnenus. It adds two phrases in praise of Manuel that did not occur in William of Tyre: that he *fu larges sur touz homes* and *mout estoit sages hom et bons crestiens* (E.22,3, lines 3 & 16). *Largesse* and *sagesse*, it should be noted, were amongst the finest virtues in the feudal ethos. A change is also made by *Eracles* to the clause *moram nobis et ecclesie nostre perutilem fecissemus* (WT22,4.3) to render it *Manuel... biaux joiaus et riches li dona, et granz dons envoia par lui à s'eglise* (E.22,3, lines 3-6). Given *Eracles*'s generally poor opinion of Byzantines, did these changes of nuance to William's portrayals of Manuel have some other significance? Could they reflect a Capetian connection since in 1180 Manuel had contracted an alliance with the Capetians by marrying his son Alexius to Agnes, the daughter of Louis VII of France?

## DID THE AUTHOR KNOW THE LATIN EAST AND ITS HISTORY?

This is one of the most perplexing aspects of our investigations. The question is not merely one of whether the author of the *Eracles* was a Westerner, a native of the Holy Land, or a Westerner domiciled in the Holy Land, as posed by Ost [see Ost, pp. 9-17]. It is complicated by the allied question of the audience for which the *Eracles* was composed and what information the author may have felt impelled to include for its elucidation or to omit because it would not be interested. However, even when that is said, the evidence which we have accumulated is still contradictory and ambiguous.

To take indications that the author was familiar with the East first. At WT5,1.23 the crusaders were warned by the *fidelibus locorum incolis* of the approach to Antioch of the relief army of Ridwan of Aleppo. This is glossed by *Eracles* to *ermis et suriens* (\*E.5,1, lines 29-30), common knowledge perhaps but undoubtedly true. Then in 1101, in the agreement reached by Baldwin I with the Genoese for an attack on Arsuf it was specified that the Genoese should have, amongst other things, one *vicus* in any town which they helped to capture (WT10,13(14).26). This is explained by *Eracles* as *une des bones rues de la ville* (\*E.10,13, lines 28-29). The author knew enough of either the customs of the Latin East or the history of its relations with the Italian maritime republics to know that a *vicus* in a town could be a street in an Italian quarter. Indeed, as we shall see, he was misled at one point by his understanding of *vicus* in this sense. Three years later Baldwin I made another agreement with a Genoese fleet to besiege Acre and this time offered the Genoese *redituum et obventionum, que ex marino accessu in portu colligerentur, tertia pars* (WT10,27(28).14-15). In *Eracles* this becomes *la tierce part de toutes les rentes que l'en recevroit à la chaaine d'Acre* (\*E.10,27, lines 19-20). The mention of the Chain of Acre may again be read to indicate familiarity with the Kingdom of Jerusalem, although payment of customs duties at the chain of ports was so common everywhere that this may alternatively be read as indicating nothing much more than common knowledge.

However, a few lines later in the same chapter there is a good indication that the author of the *Eracles* was indeed familiar with the Latin East, but in a later period. Describing the situation created by the capture of Acre in 1104, William of Tyre reported that: *Hic primum per mare accedentibus patuit secreta tranquillitas, et portu commodiore recepto et littore ab hostibus aliquantulum expedito* (WT10,27(28).42-44). *Eracles* explains this as: *Lors à primes fu delivrée la voie de la mer; car nostre gent orent le meilleur port qui fust en cele coste, et leur anemi furent bien esloigné d'ilec endroit* (\*E.10,27, lines 41-44). The changes to the two final clauses are significant. Acre had potentially the best port on the Syro-Palestinian coast but in 1104 other ports such as Tyre and Ascalon, as yet in Muslim hands, were still important. Acre's absolute predominance was a later phenomenon and the indication here, as elsewhere, is that the author of the *Eracles* may have known the Latin East in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Similarly, the clause *et leur anemi furent bien esloigné d'ilec endroit*

reflects the situation of the maritime logistics of the coast in a later period; after the capture of Ascalon, Beirut, Sidon, Tripoli, and Tyre.<sup>10</sup> In 1104 Muslim corsairs and squadrons operating from Egypt and the Muslim maritime cities were still able to disrupt the sea routes to Acre and Jaffa. After all, Ascalon is only 160 kilometres south of Acre, and Tyre about 40 kilometres north of it.

On three occasions *Eracles* shows knowledge of the feudal customs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. At WT15,11.70-71, referring to the siege and capture of Banyas in 1140, William said that after the capture of the town it was given to Renier Brus, *cui paucis ante annis violenter erepta fuerat*. *Eracles* says that *La citez fu rendue au baron qui avoit non Reniers Brus, cui ele avoit esté tolue, n'avoit guères, par la force des Turs* (E.15,11, lines 55-57). This is a clear invocation of the legal maxim expressed and discussed in the thirteenth-century feudal lawbooks of the kingdom: *fors de Turs ne tolt saisin*.<sup>11</sup> At WT19,3.6-7 William of Tyre described King Amalric's beard as comely and full: *barba genas mentumque grata quadam plenitudine vestitus*. *Eracles* feels impelled to add that Amalric had this beard *à la costume qui lors coroit* (E.19,3, lines 6-7) as though the growing of beards was no longer popular in the author's day and place. Again this may reflect familiarity with the Latin East and its past or it may reflect nothing more than common knowledge. But at WT21,4.1-10 *Eracles* clearly shows knowledge of the feudal law of Outremer. As we saw above (p. 276), at this point *Eracles* adds to William of Tyre that after the marriage of Stephanie de Milly to Miles of Plancy, her children by Humphrey of Toron still *estoient droit oir de la terre* (E.21,4, lines 10-11). The point here is that even if *Eracles's* audience did not know this, the author did.

In other places also *Eracles* adds information to William of Tyre's text which appears to be accurate and could only have come from someone familiar with the Latin East. In 1140 Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch, refused to admit Patriarch Ralph of Domfront into the city and the latter took refuge on the Black Mountain nearby, where there were many monasteries (WT15,14.1-12). *Eracles* adds *et hermitages assez* (E.15,14, lines 11-12). The presence of hermits on the Black Mountain is amply attested by Gerard of Nazareth, bishop of Laodicea.<sup>12</sup> In 1111 Patriarch Gibelin of Jerusalem died and was succeeded by Arnulf of Choques who, amongst other things, installed regular canons in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (WT11,15.17). To the bare details provided by William of Tyre, who detested and despised Arnulf, *Eracles* adds that the clerics introduced by Arnulf into the church had rich *provides*, that *par eus et par leur compaignies servoient mout hautement l'eglise*, and that they were *menue genz*

10 See J.H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge, 1988), esp. ch. 5.

11 This point was communicated to our study group by Professor H.E. Mayer. See J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London, 1973), pp. 15-16. The sources are *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, c. 65 and *Livre au roi*, c. 36 in RHC Lois 1:107-09, 632.

12 See B.Z. Kedar, "Gerard of Nazareth: a Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer in the Latin East," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983), 55-77.



(E.11,15, lines 23-25). These details ring true given the reputation of Arnulf of Choques, the circumstances of this his second election to the patriarchate, and those of his reform of the service of the Holy Sepulchre to bring it into line with the general reform movement then current in the Church. So also do the details of the death of Baldwin II given by *Eracles* ring true. William of Tyre said merely that on his deathbed he professed the religious life: *habitum religionis assumens et vitam regularem professus si viveret* (WT13,28.12-13). *Eracles* adds that *si devint chanoines ringlez de l'ordre de l'eglise du Sepuchre* (E.13,29, lines 18-19).<sup>13</sup> This is probably what William was hinting at in any case although he did not say so in so many words because of his antipathy to Arnulf's reform of the Church. But the point is surely that the author of the *Eracles* knew what had actually happened.

One further indication that the author of the *Eracles* had some familiarity with the Latin East, or at the very least with the Mediterranean in general, is found in the discussion of the siege of Ascalon in 1153. Five months after the siege began, the city was relieved by a fleet which broke the crusaders' blockade by sailing in before a favourable wind: *ecce subito Egyptiorum classis, flatibus acta prosperis, comparuit* (WT17,25.4-5). In *Eracles* this becomes: *la navie... s'aparut enmi mer qui avoit si bon vent que il venoient à pleines voiles croisiées* (\*E.17,25, lines 5-7). *A pleines voiles croisiées* referred to the technique of sailing lateen-rigged ships goose-winged when before the wind; that is, with the sails on the foremast and mainmast spread to opposite sides of the ship.<sup>14</sup> It is a technique which can be used only with fore-and-aft rigged ships and could not have been used on the square-rigged ships of the English Channel and North Sea in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. To gloss William of Tyre in this way the author of the *Eracles* must have been familiar with navigation in the Mediterranean. Taken together with the indications of some familiarity with the crusader states and their history, there seems a strong probability that our anonymous author had been to the Holy Land by sea.

Could one be even more adventurous and suggest that he had gone on a crusade? Perhaps! On two occasions where William of Tyre used the word *transitus* for the biannual arrival of the pilgrim and merchant fleets in the Holy Land (WT17,24.9; WT22,28(27).12) *Eracles* translates *transitus* by *passage*, the Old French equivalent of the Latin *passagium*, which was more normally used for crusading expeditions than for the regular sailings of merchant and pilgrim ships (E.17,24, line 9; E.22,26, line 12). However, this is very inconclusive, for *passagium* was certainly used for the seasonal sailings on occasions. More impressive is *Eracles*'s gloss on William of Tyre's reference to the Byzantine naval expedition of 1169. William said that it included [*naves*] *maiores ad deportandos equos deputate, ostia habentes in puppibus ad inducendos et educendos*

13 It is curious that this information appears also in the *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, c. 273, in RHC Lois 1:429.

14 The technique was known as *muşallabah* by the Muslims. See *The travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. R.J.C. Broadhurst (London, 1952), pp. 313, 332, 383 n. 132.

*quoque eos patentia* (WT20,13.10-12). *Eracles* translates the ships correctly as *huissiers* and describes the *ostia* as *portes au costé de la nef derrieres* (E.20,12, lines 7-8). His placing of the port at the stern quarter, which was not specifically said by William, suggests that he was familiar with such crusader horse transports.

The other side of the coin, however, is that there are passages in the *Eracles* which suggest that any acquaintance that the author had with the Latin East postdated the period ca. 1180 and that his knowledge of its history prior to that date had its limitations. Lamenting the loss of Egypt to *Shirkūh* in 1169, William of Tyre commented that prior to this *mare nos volentibus adire vias prestabat paciores* but that now *mare pacatos negat aditus* (WT20,10.40-41 & 50-51). William meant that the fall of Egypt to *Shirkūh* and *Nūr al-Dīn* provided them with maritime facilities with which they could harass the sea lanes to the Holy Land. This was explained by William in greater detail at WT20,12.8-12. But, in fact, William was being very loose in his chronology here. He was referring to the situation as it was after 1179. We know that the Fāṭimid fleet was destroyed in its arsenal at Cairo during Amalric's invasion of Egypt in 1168 and that an Egyptian fleet was not rebuilt until Saladin did so in 1177-79. The intervening decade was one in which Egypt had only very small naval resources, and no Egyptian or Turkish naval action was taken against the sea lanes to the Holy Land until Saladin did so in 1179.<sup>15</sup> Clearly *Eracles* understands the situation as it existed in Levantine waters after 1179. The author's version of these two passages makes that quite apparent (E.20,9, lines 39-51; E.20,11, lines 10-14). However, the author does not know enough of the history of the crusader states to realize that William's comments at these points referred to a period later than that in which they were located in his chronicle.

A similar misunderstanding occurs at WT4,24.4-5 where William of Tyre described the Egyptian embassy to the crusaders at Antioch and attributed the Egyptian overtures to them for an alliance to the long enmity which had existed between the *Orientales* and the *Egyptios*. The *Orientales* were, of course, the Turks. *Eracles* referred to this hatred as between *les Turs d'Orient et les Turs d'Egypte* (\*E.4,24, line 5). Again *Eracles* was clearly aware that in its own time Egypt was governed by "Turks" (of course, actually Kurds) but was unaware that at the time of the First Crusade the rulers of Egypt and the *Orientales* were different races.

There are other indications also that the author's knowledge of the Latin East was not comprehensive. When Amalric marched to meet Saladin's invasion at Gaza in 1170, William of Tyre reported that a company of 65 young men from the *vico qui dicitur Macomeria* assisted valiantly in the defense of Gaza (WT20,20.38-49). As noted (p. 284), the author of the *Eracles* knew enough to realize that a *vicus* could be a street in a town. However, he did not know that *Macomeria* was the village of *La Grande Mahomerie*, al-Bīra, north of

15 Pryor, *Geography*, pp. 124-27.

Jerusalem. He translated William's text as *qui estoient né de Jherusalem, de la rue que l'en apele la Mahomerie* (E. 20, 19, lines 40-41). Again, at WT 13, 20.25, where William described a raid by the Egyptian fleet on Beirut in 1126, he said that the fleet ran out of water. *Eracles* adds that it *Au darrenier orent soufrete d'eau et de vin à boire dedenz leur galies* (\*E. 13, 20, lines 29-30). Once again this suggests an author who had made sea voyages in the Mediterranean and who knew that wine as well as water was a staple of ships' provisions. But it also suggests someone who, even if he had been on a pilgrimage or crusade to the Holy Land, had learnt little of Muslims and their law and customs. It is almost inconceivable that he could have lived for long in the Holy Land.

Finally, the author of the *Eracles* had his limitations when it came to the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. William of Tyre wrote that the coronation of Baldwin IV took place on 15 July 1174: *Idibus Iulii, quarta die post patris obitum* (WT 21, 2.10). *Eracles* states that the coronation took place *l'uitiesme jor de juignet qui fu à un diemanche, le quart jor après la mort son pere* (E. 21, 2, lines 7-8). This change of date is inexplicable since *Eracles* agrees with William that Amalric died four days before Baldwin's coronation, on 11 July (WT 20, 31.38—E. 20, 30, lines 40-42). The date of 8 July must be a straightforward mistake but the interesting point is that *Eracles* places the coronation on a Sunday as would have been normal for such an event in the West. The author does not recognize the importance of Monday, 15 July 1174: the 75th anniversary of the first entry of the crusaders into Jerusalem.

If we were to hazard a guess at this stage therefore, we would suggest that there is a strong probability that the author of the *Eracles* had gone on either a pilgrimage or a crusade to the Holy Land at some time after ca. 1180. During his visit to the East he had learnt something at least of the feudal law of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which suggests that he had an interest in such things. Even if he was a cleric, he may nevertheless have been drawn from a noble background. Beyond that he seems to have been perspicacious and observant as regards conditions in the East at the time he was there but he did not stay long enough to learn much of the history of the kingdom or of the ways of Muslims.

#### THE DATE OF COMPOSITION OF THE *ERACLES*

We have indicated several times already that we have found various pieces of evidence suggesting a date of composition late in the twelfth century or early in the thirteenth. That being said, we can suggest dates a little more precise than this, subject to the caveat that before we can be positive about the *Eracles'* date of composition the entire texts of William of Tyre and of the *Eracles* must be searched systematically for dating criteria of the latter, and the manuscripts examined to determine whether the variations on which dating criteria are based are more than the additions of particular scribes.

On the basis of an addition to WT 14, 1, 76-77 in which the *Eracles* says that Count Philip of Flanders died on crusade with Philip Augustus (E. 14, 1, lines 71-

72), Ost was able to date the composition of the Old French text to after the death of Philip of Flanders at Acre in 1190 [Ost, pp. 6-7].

We believe that we have found a later *terminus ante quem* than this suggested by two variations. At WT21,16(17).10-11 William of Tyre reported that the Kingdom of Jerusalem feared to break off negotiations with Byzantine envoys for a combined assault on Egypt in 1177 because of fear of the emperor's wrath and the consequences for the kingdom. In the 1170s Byzantium was still a great power; even given Manuel's defeat by the Seldjuqs at Myriocephalon. This comment by William is omitted completely in the *Eracles*, suggesting that it was composed after 1204 and that the author could not conceive of Byzantium as a great world power able to harm the kingdom. More definite than this is a change made at WT21,21(22).25-26 in the *Recueil* edition of the *Eracles*. Here William of Tyre listed the barons present with Baldwin IV at the battle of Mont Gisart. Amongst these in both William's text and in Paulin Paris's edition of the *Eracles* were Baldwin of Ramlah and his brother Balian (of Ibelin) (E.21,20, line 28). However, in the *Recueil* edition this is changed inexplicably to *Baudouin d'Athenes et Balian son frere* (E.[Rec].21,22,lines 20-21). The conjuncture "and Balian his brother," as well as the facts of the case, mean that the variation is a simple mistake. Nevertheless, only a manuscript written after the foundation of the Duchy of Athens by Othon de la Roche in 1205 could have made this variation, even if it is true that the de la Roche family in the thirteenth century did not include anyone called Baldwin. Yet again, this is a variation calling for investigation in the manuscript tradition.

A *terminus post quem* is probably indicated, as Paulin Paris noted, by a variation at WT22,4.63-71. Here William of Tyre noted the death of Louis VII of France and the succession to the throne of Philip II. *Eracles*, however, is much more effusive: *Uns filz remest de lui, ce fu li rois Phelippes de cui bonté se sent toute la Crestientez* (E.22,3, lines 50-51). Paris noted that "cette addition du traducteur prouve assez bien qu'il écrivait sous le règne de Philippe-Auguste" [see also Ost, p. 6]. We would add, or shortly thereafter. Philip Augustus died in 1223. If our supposition about a connection of the *Eracles* with the Montfort family is correct (see above p. 282), then at least some manuscripts could not have been written prior to 1234. Quite probably the original version could not have been written prior to that date.

It is hoped that further research in the variations will define more closely the date of composition of the *Eracles*. For the moment we can be no more precise than to say that nothing we have found suggests a date prior to 1204 or any later than 1234.

#### UNEXPLAINED ADDITIONS BY *ERACLES* TO WILLIAM OF TYRE

At this stage there are still large numbers of instances in which the *Eracles* provides information additional to that given by William of Tyre for which we can offer no explanation nor find any source. There are too many such instances

to itemize them here; however, a few notable examples may be pertinent. To deal with them in the order in which they occur:

At WT4,7 William of Tyre reported the welcome given to Baldwin of Boulogne by the inhabitants of Edessa, who had been forced by the Turkish emir of Samosata to hand over their children as hostages, and that these latter had been forced to work in bricks and clay like slaves. *Eracles* changes this to "carry excrement (*chargier les fiens*), guard cattle (*curer les boues*), and *ferre toutes vus oeuvres*" (\*E.4,4, lines 8-9).

At WT6,9.6 William reported that deserters from Antioch went to Port St. Symeon where they found Greek and Latin ships. *Eracles* changes this to Greek and Armenian ships (\*E.6,9, line 5).

At WT6,23.9 William recorded that after the crusaders had entered Antioch they found that the Turks had desecrated its churches by evicting the priests, stabling horses and beasts of burden in them, erasing icons, and overturning altars. *Eracles* adds to this that the Turks had also put their women and children in the churches (\*E.6,23, lines 10-11). What is the point of this addition?

At WT17,25.4-5 William said that it was an Egyptian fleet which broke the crusader siege of Ascalon in 1153 (see above p. 286). Paulin Paris's edition of the *Eracles* repeats this verbatim but the *Recueil* edition inexplicably changes the fleet to *la navie de Grece*, a change which is obviously an error and which makes no sense in its own context (\*E.[Rec].17,25, line 4). Again this is an alteration requiring research in the manuscript tradition.

At WT18,23.42 William of Tyre reported that when Reynald of Châtillon, as Prince of Antioch, went out to make his peace with Manuel Comnenus in 1159, he sought advice from his *familiares* and *domestici* and was accompanied by Gerard of Nazareth, bishop of Laodicea. *Eracles* makes Gerard's role in the incident much more prominent, portraying him as the prince's chief counsellor and as a man who was familiar with Byzantine ways (E.18,23, lines 36-45).

At WT21,3.1-8 there occurs the most curious unexplained addition of all. Here William of Tyre described the 1174 Sicilian expedition to Alexandria, recording that it consisted of 200 ships carrying infantry and cavalry and that it stayed five or six days at Alexandria but was obliged to withdraw with heavy losses because of the leaders' lack of caution. *Eracles* adds details found in no other Latin source known to us: that the ships carried siege-engines, that part of the army left the fleet and encamped before the town, that the Egyptians realized that the Sicilian leaders *ne savoient rien de guerre*, that they sent galleys against the Sicilian fleet as well as attacking by land, that most of the Sicilians were captured or killed and their materiel taken, and that some ships escaped *par force de vent* (\*E.21,2, lines 14-31). To the best of our knowledge these additional details can be confirmed only in Arabic sources.<sup>16</sup> Where the author of the *Eracles* could have learnt them, if not from verbal report in Sicily or the East during a pilgrimage or crusade to the Holy Land, remains a mystery.

Finally, *Eracles* adds some important pieces of information about the decision of Philip of Flanders to campaign in the north in 1177. William of Tyre told that Baldwin IV attached 100 knights and 2,000 footsoldiers to the count's army (WT21,17(18).38). But the *Eracles* says that he did this *por ce qu'il ne poist metre la coupe sur ceus du pais, et fesoit mout semblant qu'il eust grant talent de guerrier* and adds that the king promised Philip *encore greigneur aide, quant il verroit por quoi* (E.21,16, lines 34-37). These additions may be important because they present a more cordial relationship between the king and the count than had hitherto been the case. The *Eracles* also reveals that on the march north Philip went first to Tripoli, *de qui li cuens de Triple l'avoit mout prié* (E.21,16, line 40), a clause which is not in William of Tyre and which may indicate that the information came from an independent source.

THE SOURCES OF THE *ERACLES*

At this stage we have not reached the point at which we can define the sources of information additional to William of Tyre which may have been known to the author of the *Eracles*. However, we have unearthed a number of indications which are worth reporting.

Professor Huygens has indicated in the introduction to his edition of William of Tyre that the *Eracles* does not appear to have been compiled from any of the extant manuscripts of William's chronicle.<sup>17</sup> The information added by *Eracles* to WT21,1.12-16 that the nine-year-old Baldwin IV was entrusted by King Amalric for his education à l'arcediacre de Sur qui avoit non Guillaumes et avoit esté en France à escole (E.21,1, lines 9-11), and which at first sight might be thought to indicate that the author had a manuscript of William of Tyre from which the lost Book 19, Chapter 12, rediscovered by Professor Huygens,<sup>18</sup> had not yet been deleted, could in fact have been extrapolated by the author from WT19,4.23-24: *quia nondum de scolis redieramus sed trans mare adhuc circa liberalium artium detinebamur studia* [cf. Ost, p. 4].

In books 4-7 of the chronicle a series of variations of *Eracles* from William of Tyre indicate that the author may have been familiar with a range of crusade literature. One of the most clear is at WT6,17.14, where Adhémar of Le Puy led one of the divisions of the crusader army as it marched out to face Kerbogah. *Eracles* adds that Adhémar *ot jus mise la robe du moustier, et sist sur un grant destrier, tout armés, le heaume lacié* (E.6,17, lines 13-15). This appears to show a clear influence from the *Chanson d'Antioche*, VIII.1:

Li evesques del Pui.....  
De merveillouses armes est le jour adobés;  
Il vesti un auberc dont li pans est safrés,  
Et a lachié son elme, qui est à or gémés;  
Uns esperons à or li ont es piés fremés,  
Puis a çainte l'espée à son senestre lés,  
Ses destriers auferans li fu devant menés.<sup>19</sup>

No other source for this addition has been found.

16 I have also checked other sources, Ernoul and general Sicilian and Western chronicles, in an attempt to find the source of this information, without success. It is, however, contained in Muslim sources: Ibn al-Athīr in RHC HOr. 1:612; Abū Shāmah, in RHC HOr. 4:164-65. These reports were based on a common source: a letter written by Saladin's secretary, al-Qāḍi al-Fāḍil, to Sultan Ismā'īl b. Maḥmūd b. Zanki. Ibn al-Athīr and Abū Shāmah may have obtained their information from a transcript of the original letter in the *Kitāb al-Barq* of 'Imād al-Dīn, a work now largely lost. However, most of the text of al-Fāḍil's letter has been preserved in an anonymous fourteenth-century chronicle in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Wetzstein II, 359. Amari published an Italian translation in the *Appendice* to his *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula* (Turin, 1889), pp. 26-38. Dr. J. Johns of Balliol College kindly provided me with a new English translation from the MS.

17 WT, Introduction, p. 15, n. 31.

18 R.B.C. Huygens, "Guillaume de Tyr étudiant. Un chapitre (XIX, 12) de son 'Histoire' retrouvé," *Latomus* 21 (1962), 811-29.

19 P. Paris, ed., *La Chanson d'Antioche*, 8.1 (Paris, 1832-48), (vol. 2, pp. 197-98).



Another such example occurs at WT7,12.37-38 where William of Tyre reported that when Raymond of Toulouse set out from Ma'arra he had 10,000 men but only 350 knights. *Eracles* makes this 300 knights (E.7,12, line 29). The only source known for this variation is Raymond of Aguilers.<sup>20</sup>

The chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres also appears to have been known to the author. At WT6,16.25-29 William reported the preparations of the crusaders for battle with Kerbogah. As for their horses William said simply that *dum equos preparant*. In *Eracles* this becomes *Cil qui les chevaus avoient s'en pristrent mout garde cele nuit; de bien leur firent ce que il porent* (E.6,16, lines 24-25). This appears to be a clear reflection of Fulcher of Chartres: *unusquisque pro posse suo quasi caritative de annona praebendam equo suo impenderet, ne in crastino subter equitantes, hora bellica, debiles fame deficerent*.<sup>21</sup>

There are other crusade texts which may possibly, or even probably, have been known to the author of the *Eracles*; including Baldric of Dol and Ralph of Caen. However, we shall pass these over in silence and conclude with reference to Albert of Aachen, who it seems clear that the author did know. At WT6,5.15 deserters from Antioch compelled *eos qui in navibus erant* at Port St. Symeon to cut their anchor cables and flee. In *Eracles* these become *marchéanz et autres pelerins* (E.6,5, line 15), which seems to be a paraphrase of the *nautae et mercatores* of Albert of Aachen, the only source known to mention merchants at this point.<sup>22</sup> Then, at WT6,18.10-15, during the battle with Kerbogah, William of Tyre said that the atabeg had arranged with the Turks in the citadel of Antioch to give a signal (*signo dato*) when the crusaders marched out of the city. *Eracles* glosses *signo dato* as *il sonassent une buisine et lor crolassent une baniere* (E.6,18, lines 12-13), which is identical to Albert of Aachen's *pannum latissimum nigerrimi et horrendi coloris, in summitate hastarum praefixum, in culmine suae arcis erigere pollicetur, deinde horrisona buccina vehementer perstreperere*.<sup>23</sup> No other crusade text mentions a flag and trumpet here. Finally, at WT6,20.58 William reported that when the Turks saw that they were losing the battle, they set fire to the grass. *Eracles* glosses this as setting it alight with Greek Fire (E.6,20, line 53). The only other source to suggest that this fire was lit by anything more than normal fire is Albert of Aachen, who said that it came out of pots (*ab ollis*).<sup>24</sup> Given the widespread tendency of Western writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to describe any combustible carried or hurled in pots as Greek Fire, it seems more than probable that the author of the *Eracles* was simply interpreting Albert of Aachen at this point.

There is much work still to be done in investigation of the sources of the *Eracles* but at this stage we suggest very tentatively that the Old French text may

20 Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, 14, in RHC HOcc. 3:272.

21 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, 1.22.2, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 252.

22 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 4.36, in RHC HOcc. 4:414.

23 Ibid., 4.48, p. 423.

24 Ibid., 4.49, p. 424.

have been based on a now-lost manuscript of William of Tyre and that the author may have known the *Chanson d'Antioche* and the chronicles of Raymond of Aguilers, Fulcher of Chartres, and Albert of Aachen.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

Our research thus far has not been systematic. We have yet to complete the comparison of the entire chronicle of William of Tyre with its Old French version. However, even on the limited basis of what we have done so far, certain conclusions are defensible.

The text of the *Eracles* is useful to historians. It does contain important information independent of that provided by William of Tyre. It was composed as an epic chronicle of the deeds of the French nobility in the crusades and in many respects suggests a prose version of a *chanson de geste*. It is not simply a translation of William of Tyre and is worthy of study in its own right.

The author was a cleric, probably drawn from a noble family. He certainly identified with the knightly ethos. He was a Westerner, most probably having connections in the Ile de France or Champagne. He makes mistakes which no *pullanus* born in the Holy Land would have made. Almost certainly he had been on pilgrimage or crusade to the Holy Land some time after ca. 1180 and he undertook the reworking of William of Tyre's chronicle into a vernacular epic sometime between 1205 and ca. 1234. While in the East he was observant and took an interest in the feudal law of the Latin East, not because of any attachment to the Kingdom of Jerusalem but rather because of an interest in feudal law and customs for their own sake.

He knew the text of William of Tyre's chronicle very well. He did not merely translate as he went but rather reworked the text to formulate a work for different purposes. He was also familiar with a range of other crusading literature, both Latin chronicles and vernacular *chansons de geste*.

We hope to be able to continue our work and are looking for historians and other scholars to join us. In particular we need the collaboration of specialists in Old French and in medieval French historiography. A systematic comparison of the whole of the two chronicles to compile a complete list of variations remains to be completed. So also does a search for the sources of all additions of material made by the author of the *Eracles* to William of Tyre. Above all we await a critical edition of the manuscripts of the *Eracles*. However, since that is unlikely to eventuate in the near future, we propose to proceed with the comparison of the published texts and then to undertake a collation of the manuscripts for just the additional material in the *Eracles*. In this way we hope to be able to resolve yet more of the uncertainties surrounding the author's identity, his provenance, the date of composition, the intended audience, and the value of the work for historians.

# The Role of Women in the Fifth Crusade

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In the late summer of 1216, Jacques de Vitry, newly consecrated bishop of Acre, arrived in Genoa on his way to his new diocese in the Holy Land. As chance would have it, he arrived just as the Genoese were departing the city to attack a local *castrum*. In accordance with their custom, they commandeered the horses of the bishop and his party for their campaign. Jacques was, therefore, forced to remain in Genoa. He goes on to tell us that most of the men had left the city.

However, the women remained in the city, and I did what I could in the meanwhile, for I preached the word of God to many women and a few men. Moreover, a multitude of wealthy and noble women received the sign of the cross: the burghers took my horses and I made their wives crusaders. For they were so fervent and devout that they hardly allowed me to rest from early morning until night, either wanting to hear words of edification from me or wishing to make their confessions. But after the citizens returned from the battle, they gave my horses back to me, and finding that the women and children had received the sign of the cross, and after they heard the word of preaching, they received the sign of the cross with great fervor and desire.<sup>1</sup>

Jacques, one of the leading preachers of the period, had put his time to good use.

No one who has read the sermons and *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry can doubt his abilities as a story-teller. But is there more in this brief narrative than a good joke on the Genoese? Can we, through the study of other sources, use it to understand better the role of women in the Fifth Crusade and perhaps thereby gain additional insight into the place of women in medieval society? I have already given a partial answer to these questions in my *Anatomy of a Crusade*. I propose here to probe more deeply the meaning behind Jacques' story. In so doing, I will attempt to expose the rich network of factors that made women especially important in the context of the Fifth Crusade. At the same time, I hope that this effort will also contribute to a better understanding of early thirteenth century women's place in society.<sup>2</sup>

When Innocent III announced his intention to summon a crusade in 1213, he

1 *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960), p. 77.

2 On the queens of Jerusalem see Bernard Hamilton, "Women in the Crusader States: the Queens of Jerusalem (1100-1190)," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1978), pp. 143-174. Cf. Maureen Purcell, "Women Crusaders: A Temporary Canonical Aberration?" in *Principalities, Powers and Estates* (Adelaide, 1979), pp. 57-64.

instructed crusade preachers to administer the vow to all, regardless of suitability.<sup>3</sup> Those judged unsuitable for military service would be permitted to redeem their vows for a donation of money to be fixed according to their wealth and status. Innocent acted to take advantage of popular support for the crusading movement and to broaden the base of financial support for the crusade. At the same time, he extended the spiritual benefits of the crusade to those who were unable to participate in person. That women were one of the chief objectives of Innocent's policy was apparent to contemporaries, some of whom objected to the administration of the vow to persons unsuitable for military service. Though there is no definite evidence, the omission of this injunction from *Ad liberandam*, promulgated at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, suggests that this criticism may have persuaded the pope to place less emphasis on this aspect of his plan. But the inclusion in *Ad liberandam* of a provision for the redemption of vows of unsuitable crusaders suggests that the program was still in force.<sup>4</sup>

Jacques de Vitry followed the plan that Innocent III had outlined in 1213 in his preaching in Genoa. Taking advantage of the situation presented by the Genoese military involvement and the absence of most able-bodied men, he preached to the women and those unfit for war. He induced them to accept the cross and the obligations of crusaders. Jacques further reflects his consciousness of Innocent's instructions in his statement that a "multitude of wealthy and noble women received the cross." These were precisely the group best able to redeem their vows by substantial donations to the crusade.

Jacques could hardly have found better conditions or a better place in which to carry out his preaching to women. Moreover, he was very well suited to the task. His statement that upper-class Genoese women were "fervent and devout" should be read against his own background among the Beguines and his close ties with Marie d'Oignies.<sup>5</sup> He was, therefore, well aware of the involvement of women in the new spirituality of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The preaching of the bishop of Acre opened to women of Genoa an opportunity for sharing in the spiritual benefits of the crusade, presented in terms of a sharing in the passion of Christ. At least, this inference seems reasonable in light of the themes found in contemporary sermon literature. The intimate ties between the early thirteenth century theology of the crusade and contemporary spirituality recognized by Innocent III formed a strong rationale for Jacques' preaching to the women of Genoa.<sup>6</sup> But we can go further. Through a preliminary analysis of the position of middle- and upper-class women as revealed in Genoese notarial cartularies, we can lend greater precision to the words of the bishop.

3 James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213-1221* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 20-21.

4 Ibid., p. 46.

5 Brenda M. Bolton, "Mulieres Sanctae," in *Women in Medieval Society* (Philadelphia, 1976), pp. 141-158, esp. pp. 145-147.

6 Powell, *Anatomy*, pp. 55-56.

Genoese society in the early thirteenth century revolved around a relatively large number of families, who were deeply involved in commerce and the civic life of the city, but retained close ties with the neighboring villages and countryside in which many of them had deep roots. The notarial records show that Genoese women were fully integrated into both the economic and private aspects of this activity. They did not, save rarely, participate in public life. Exclusion from public life, however, did not mean total isolation. As much recent scholarship has shown, the church and religion often served as an outlet for their need and desire to participate in broader issues that affected their society.<sup>7</sup> Their role was mediated by a male clergy, but still offered a scope for involvement that extended outside the domestic framework. The enthusiastic response with which Genoese women greeted Jacques de Vitry's preaching of the crusade demonstrates the degree to which they felt involved in one of the major enterprises of the Latin West. Their reception of the cross is as close as we can come in sampling their attitude toward the crusade. Steven Epstein's study of Genoese wills suggests that Jacques was correct in reporting the impact of his preaching. Of fifteen wills for the period, 1215-1221, containing legacies for the crusade, ten were drawn up by women, and eleven of the fifteen were redacted in 1216.<sup>8</sup> The impact of preaching of the crusade on this group seems to have been significant.

Jacques de Vitry was impressed by the number of wealthy and noble women he met in the city. The notarial contracts show that Genoese women wielded considerable economic power in one of the most dynamic and prosperous cities of the western Mediterranean. The cartulary of Lanfranco, covering portions of the period from 1202-1225, has a total of five hundred and thirty-one commercial contracts, of which one hundred and twenty-two (23%) involve women.<sup>9</sup> In an overwhelming number of cases, these women acted alone,

7 Brenda M. Bolton ("Mulieres Sanctae," pp. 141-158) emphasizes the desire of women to participate in the religious movement of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. For a more extended discussion, see Diane Owen Hughes, "Invisible Madonnas? The Italian Historiographical Tradition and the Women of Medieval Italy," in *Women in Medieval History and Historiography*, ed. Susan M. Stuard (Philadelphia, 1987), pp. 25-57. For the discussion of Genoese women that follows, see Geo Pistarino, "La donna d'affari a Genova nel secolo XIII," in *Miscellanea di storia italiana e mediterranea per Nino Lamboglio* (Genoa, 1978), pp. 157-169, which analyzes the notarial cartulary of Salomone, 1222-1226; and George Jehel, "Le rôle des femmes et du milieu familial à Gênes dans les activités commerciales au cours de la première moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* 53 (1975), 193-215, which studies the place of women in notarial acts relating to North Africa, Spain, and Sicily in the early thirteenth century.

8 Steven Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150-1250* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), pp. 187-189.

9 *Lanfranco (1202-1226)*, ed. H.C. Krueger and Robert L. Reynolds, 3 vols. (Genoa, 1951-53). On the role of women in business in late medieval cities, see Martha C. Howell, *Women, Production and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago, 1986). See also Hilmar C. Krueger, "Genoese Merchants, Their Partnerships and Investments, 1155-1164," in *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori* 2 vols. (Milan, 1957), 1:257-272, and his

without their husbands in cases where they were married, or without the direct presence of tutors being noted in the contracts.<sup>10</sup> Twenty-six per cent of these women were widows, thus illustrating the substantial role played by this group in the commercial life of the city.<sup>11</sup> From the size of their investments, it is evident that Genoese women were important to the process of capital formation that provided the lifeblood of Genoese trade.<sup>12</sup> Genoese commerce would have been severely handicapped had their money been diverted to more secure forms of investment. However, women were also active in real estate and in the borrowing and lending of money.<sup>13</sup> Their investment pattern does not appear to differ significantly from their male counterparts, though their wealth was not so great and their numbers were certainly fewer. Historians often stress the exceptional cases of women directly involved in business or carrying on trade, either alone or with their husbands. Such cases certainly existed in Genoa. Bava di Pandulfo seems to have been a large-scale seller of hides, involved in local and international trade.<sup>14</sup> One contract involves L. 100 Genoese, an enormous amount. Other women acted as factors, especially in local commerce.<sup>15</sup> But the primary role of women was as investors.

What were the sources of this wealth? In the cases of widows, dowries and inheritances were certainly important. Relatively modest dowries in the neighborhood of thirty to fifty pounds Genoese, were sufficient to provide income for small investments. Sales of real property also provided funds. But many women of the upper and middle class also possessed money that was not part of their dowries and which they could use for investment during the lifetime of their husbands.<sup>16</sup> At times, this money was invested in land. It was also used to provide dowries or a portion of a dowry for a daughter or even a niece or granddaughter. Genoese women, whether married or single, often had access to

"Genoese Merchants, Their Associations and Investments, 1150-1230," in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, 6 vols. (Milan, 1962), 1:413-426.

- 10 See, for example, the *accomendatio* to Bougie entered into on 20 April 1203, by Mabilia, the widow of Roggero Nozencio: *Lanfranco*, 1:158-159, 346.
- 11 There are thirty-two commercial contracts made by widows in *Lanfranco*. Epstein (*Wills*, p. 230) notes the number of widows in Genoa. During the year 1202-1203 widows appear in sixteen per cent of all acts in which women are principals in the cartulary of Lanfranco.
- 12 Adalasia, widow of Gambrio, invested L. 57 s. 9 in an *accomendatio* to Ceuta: *Lanfranco*, 1:158-159, 346. Audana, widow of Supplicio invested L. 4 in an *accomendatio* to Corsica: *Ibid.*, 1:53, 110; Aimelina, widow of Gerardo drappiere, L. 18: *Ibid.*, 1:66, 139; Marchese, widow of Bonvassallo Bontello, L. 20: *Ibid.*, 1:74, 155; Orecita, widow of Guglielmo Ameroso, L. 7, s. 3: *Ibid.*, 1:74-75, 157; Imelda, widow of Arlodi Alessandria, s. 51: *Ibid.*, 1:79, 168; Maria, widow of Crollamente, L. 4: *Ibid.*, 1:184, 408.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 1:94, 204-205, 1:112, 243-244; 1:219, 489; 1:202-203, 453. Examples are quite numerous.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 1:190, 423; 1:192, 429; 1:214, 477.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 1:115-116, 253; 1:169-170, 372. These involve husbands and wives as partners in commerce. For a woman acting alone cf. *ibid.*, 2:312, 1672. Cf. also *Guglielmo Cassinese*, ed. Margaret W. Hall, Hilmar Krueger, Robert Reynolds, 2 vols. (Genoa, 1938), 1:221, 554.
- 16 *Lanfranco*, 1:51, 172; 1:28-29, 57. For use of dowry funds for investment, cf. *Guglielmo Cassinese*, 1:277, 700; 1:130-131, 324; 1:131, 325; 1:133, 332.



liquid capital. In the case of married women, this money was a valuable asset that might be borrowed or used in a joint investment or to benefit children. Single women or widows also acted to benefit their families, but appear to have worked much more consciously to improve their own security. In a word, they seem to have behaved more like their male counterparts. It was just this similarity that made them important in the Genoese economy. They were a very evident and even aggressive economic force in the city. It is not surprising, therefore, that Jacques de Vitry should have been struck by their wealth. Prosperity in Genoa was not limited to men.

But the response of Genoese men to the preaching of the crusade, after their return from battle, was also enthusiastic. They, too, took the cross in large numbers. To what extent they may have been influenced in this by the previous decisions of their wives and female relatives is unclear. What seems most likely is that the crusade was popular among the Genoese upper classes at this time. Very probably, strong traditions of family participation in previous crusades as well as close commercial contacts with the Latin Kingdom, encouraged such a view and made for audiences receptive to the preaching of able preachers like Jacques de Vitry. As a stranger, the bishop would not be familiar with these factors. However, his insights into the place of women in Genoa, brief as they are, form a valuable clue to a better understanding of the implementation of one aspect of Innocent III's crusade planning. The income from the redemption of vows taken by women was sufficiently important to be mentioned in a letter of Pope Honorius III to Archbishop Simon of Tyre, his legate in France, in April 1217.<sup>17</sup>

The approach taken by Jacques de Vitry in Genoa had already been used by Cardinal Robert Courçon in his legation to France from 1213 to 1215.<sup>18</sup> Robert's preaching, and that of his aides, provoked criticism that suggests that numerous women took the crusade vow. The prominence of women in this context raises the question whether the position of Genoese women was unique or merely different in degree from that of upper class women elsewhere. While caution is needed, it seems reasonable to suggest that women may have possessed a larger proportion of disposable income and liquid assets than did males of the comparable classes. Of course, the actual amounts of such money were considerably smaller. While we have dealt here with their economic role in the financing of the crusade, we ought also to suggest that economic historians attempt studies of the impact of such patterns in economic development.

But important as this economic contribution of women to the crusade was, we ought not to lose sight of another aspect of Jacques de Vitry's story. The women of Genoa appear in a rather different light than the wives of crusaders in the canonistic texts studied by Professor Brundage or those described in the sermons and *exempla* of the period.<sup>19</sup> Oliver Scholasticus tells the story of a woman about

17 *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. Petrus Pressutti, 2 vols. (Rome, 1888-95; repr. Hildesheim, 1978), 1:93, 529.

18 Powell, *Anatomy*, p. 35.

19 James A. Brundage, "The Crusader's Wife: A Canonistic Quandary," *Studia Gratiana* 12

to bear a child, whose husband had taken the cross. At the onset of labor, she became so ill that it seemed she would die. But Oliver told her: "If you will agree to my advice and permit your husband to fight for Christ, you will be freed from this imminent danger without pain." The woman agreed and was delivered "almost without pain."<sup>20</sup> Genoese women appear more as promoters of the crusade than as obstacles in the way of their husbands' departure. This seeming discrepancy raises the question of the degree of women's commitment and the full extent of their role in the crusade. It is one thing to redeem a vow for cash, quite another to support a husband in his decision to go on crusade or even to make the journey oneself.

The number of women identified as having taken vows is too small to provide a basis for statistical research. However, it seems that few women undertook the arduous journey to the East without the company of husbands or male relatives. Catherine Berthoudus, daughter-in-law of the Lord of Malines, Walter Berthoudus, accompanied her husband, Aegidius, and was present in Damietta when her father-in-law drew up his testament.<sup>21</sup> Also, Guilletta, wife of Barcellus Merxadrus of Bologna, was present under similar circumstances.<sup>22</sup> Lecia, the mother of William, and Marriotta, his daughter, must have accompanied this Yorkshireman on crusade, though it is not clear to which of the Yorkshire Williams they belonged.<sup>23</sup> Vallete, wife of Jordanus of Cuzol was apparently in the East, but it is unclear whether her husband was also there.<sup>24</sup> Maria, the wife of Rainerius Flates of Foigny, took the crusading vow along with her husband, but it is uncertain that they went on crusade.<sup>25</sup> Marguerite, the niece of King John of Jerusalem, was obviously with her uncle and other relatives.<sup>26</sup> Thus of nine women known to have taken the crusading vow, only two may have traveled without family, and in one of these cases, the context in the charter suggests that she may have been related to others present on the same occasion.

In the light of this evidence, we might suggest that Eleanor of Aquitaine was exceptional, if at all, only for a part of her activities while on crusade, but not for the fact that she accompanied her husband. On the face of it, this explanation would seem a solution to the dilemma confronted by Professor Brundage's crusader's wife. But this paper supports another set of circumstances. What about wives who wished to go on crusade? Or, indeed, what about any woman who desired to fulfill her vow in this way? Did women choose to go on crusade to protect their marriages? Ought we to limit our understanding of this issue by

(1967), 425-442; Id., "The Crusader's Wife Revisited," *Studia Gratiana* 14 (1967), 241-252; Powell, *Anatomy*, pp. 59-63.

20 Powell, *Anatomy*, p. 61; Reinhold Röhricht, *Testimonia minora de quinto bello sacro* (Osnabrück, 1968), pp. 171-172.

21 Powell, *Anatomy*, p. 82 and Appendix 2, p. 217.

22 Ibid., p. 225.

23 Ibid., p. 233.

24 Ibid., p. 245.

25 Ibid., p. 233.

26 Ibid.

the canonists' concern about sexual mores? Important as that issue undoubtedly was, it seems totally inadequate to comprehend the role of women within the structure of the medieval family. That family was not so tightly bound by romance or by sexual mores as it was by societal needs. Examples from the Genoese commercial contracts show that wives either stayed at home or traveled with their husbands depending on their particular economic roles in the family business.<sup>27</sup> Of course, ages of children and similar considerations also entered in. Nevertheless, women did travel on business. Likewise, we must not assume that women who went on crusade were merely companions. In fact, they too went to fulfill their vows by carrying on important functions. If we look at the evidence from the Fifth Crusade, we may have to reconsider the idea that women were necessarily "unsuitable crusaders."

Previous historians have focused enough on prostitution and drunkenness in the crusaders' camps. They have generally overlooked both the clerical nature of the sources that inveigh against such things and the particular circumstances in which such references are made—most often, on the eve of battle or during times of stress. On the other hand, the important role of women in the logistics of the military camps has been overlooked. Some local women, both Christian and Muslim, were employed in tasks such as grinding corn for the army, but women as well as men were in charge of the markets that sold fresh fish and vegetables to the crusaders.<sup>28</sup> Women also served as guards in the camps and were charged with carrying their weapons under pain of excommunication. Women shared in the booty.<sup>29</sup> When Muslims broke into the crusader lines to relieve the siege of Damietta, it was the women of the camp who killed those who escaped the army.<sup>30</sup> There is some evidence to suggest that they helped to tend the sick and wounded. Finally, the organization of the city of Damietta, after its capture, suggests that provisions were made for an enduring settlement that would include crusaders and their wives.<sup>31</sup> None of this suggests that there was not a differentiation of male and female roles. Quite the contrary, some tasks were definitely allocated to women. But the typology of roles assigned to medieval women does not easily lend itself to modern systems of classification, and certainly not on the basis of this very limited list.

More importantly, there were some women who responded to the summons by preachers like Jacques de Vitry and Robert Courçon, who did not choose to redeem their vows. Some may have been fervent and devout women of Genoa, motivated by piety as were the husbands and other relatives. Others may thereby have expressed their place within their families, going on crusade as an extension of that role. A few were women of business, selling to the troops the necessities

27 *Guglielmo Cassinese*, 1:186, 469. Wives often acted for husbands who were abroad: *Ibid.*, 1:201-202, 506; *Lanfranco*, 2:249-250, 1510.

28 Powell, *Anatomy*, p. 142 and 162.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 166.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 161.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 187.

of life. Whether the crusade represented for them an opportunity for adventure, a chance for gain, or zeal for religion, they probably had much in common with their male counterparts, with whom they risked illness and even death.

The brief and somewhat elusive picture of devout Genoese women taking the cross presented by Jacques de Vitry stands at odds with much that has been written previously regarding the role of women in the crusade. Of course, the circumstances of the Fifth Crusade were rather different from those that had gone before. That should restrain any tendency toward overgeneralization. But the picture of enthusiastic support for the crusade that Jacques gives us seems well confirmed from other evidence, as does the rationale for his decision to preach to the women of Genoa during the absence of their husbands and male relatives. Jacques was obviously aware of aspects of the place of women in his age that we can piece together only painfully and in a fragmentary fashion. Behind his humorous statement, "The burghers took my horses and I made their wives crusaders," lay an insight into the relation of medieval men and women that largely escapes the modern imagination. The equation is subtle, but not unflattering to women, as we moderns might think. Rather it expressed a scale of values based on fundamental worth within a social structure that we can only dimly penetrate.

# Humbert of Romans and the Legitimacy of Crusader Conquests

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The most stubborn and chronic problem that crusade preachers encountered during the mid-thirteenth century was the disinclination of prospective recruits to enlist in the expeditions that one pontiff after another proclaimed. A manual for crusade preachers written in that period by Humbert of Romans recommends strategies that preachers could use to overcome that resistance. I propose to examine Humbert's attempts in that manual to justify crusading and in particular to defend the legitimacy of crusader conquests.

Humbert of Romans was a reasonably prominent public figure in the mid-thirteenth century. He was born, probably late in the 1190s, at Romans, a small town on the Isère River in southeastern France. We know little about his family, save that they were pious and admired the Carthusians. We have no information about Humbert's early education; presumably he began his studies in the Dauphiné, perhaps in or near Romans itself. Sometime during the second decade of the thirteenth century Humbert came to Paris as a University student. After graduating as a Master of Arts, he commenced the professional study of canon law and also attended lectures in theology. One of his teachers in canon law was Hugh of St. Cher, with whom he was to remain closely associated through his adult life.

Partway through his course of study to qualify as a canon lawyer, Humbert felt called to the mendicant life. In 1224 he entered the novitiate of the Dominicans at the Convent of St. Jacques in Paris. After his religious profession, Humbert's superiors dispatched him to the Dominican convent in Lyon. In due course he became the lector of that house and later served as its prior. In or about 1240 Humbert was appointed Provincial of the Roman province of his order, and his outstanding performance in that position so impressed members of the Curia that during the papal election of 1243 he was even mentioned among the *papabili*. Humbert was not, of course, elected pope. Instead, shortly after Cardinal Sinibaldo dei Fieschi took St. Peter's Chair as Pope Innocent IV, Humbert's superiors sent him back to France, and in 1244 he succeeded Hugh of St. Cher as head of the French province of the Dominicans. In this capacity Humbert became, incidentally, the religious superior of Albertus

Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, among others. After ten years as Provincial of France, the Dominican general chapter, at its meeting in Buda on 31 May 1254, elected Humbert the fifth master general of the order. His predecessors in that post included Raymond of Penyafort, who had resigned the generalship at about the time that Humbert became the Order's Roman Provincial. Humbert served as master general for nine years. Then, on 30 May 1263, he followed Raymond of Penyafort's example and resigned the generalship. Humbert soon returned to Lyon, where he spent the next fourteen years in retirement.

In retirement Humbert for the first time enjoyed an opportunity for reflection and writing without administrative distractions. The *Opusculum tripartitum*, a wide-ranging and often-quoted scheme for the general reform of the Church, is his best-known work from those years.<sup>1</sup> Humbert centered most of his literary efforts, however, on more technical themes: Dominican spirituality, the constitution of his order, and the training of preachers were the principal topics of his reflection and writing. After nearly a decade and a half of peaceful and productive retirement, Humbert died at Lyon on 14 July 1277.<sup>2</sup>

Humbert wrote his manual for crusade preachers, *De predicatione sancte crucis*, at Lyon, not long after stepping down from the Dominican generalship. Internal evidence shows that he completed the work between 1266 and 1268.<sup>3</sup> The date of the treatise's composition suggests that Humbert designed it specifically to prepare preachers for the task of raising an army for Louis IX's second crusade. The French king secretly informed the pope of his intention to undertake a second expedition late in 1266. St. Louis and his three sons took the cross publicly on 24 March 1267, and the king sailed for Tunis with his army in the summer of 1270.<sup>4</sup> These events almost certainly furnished the stimulus for Humbert to undertake *De predicatione sancte crucis*. His manual accordingly addressed the problems that crusade preachers faced in trying to overcome the consequences of St. Louis's disastrous first crusade (1249-1254).<sup>5</sup> The circumstances demanded that Humbert's manual for crusade preachers deal with the problem of explaining away the failure of the earlier expedition and, as a result, the justification of the crusading enterprise emerged as the central theme of *De predicatione sancte crucis*.

1 *Opusculum tripartitum*, ed. Edward Brown, in *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*, 2 vols. (London, 1690; repr. Tucson, 1967), 2:185-228.

2 Edward Tracy Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society*, Studies and Texts, 67 (Toronto, 1984), pp. 3-11; and generally Fritz Heintke, *Humbert von Romans, der fünfte Ordensmeister der Dominikaner*, Historische Studien, 222 (Berlin, 1944; repr. Vaduz, 1965).

3 Heintke, *Humbert von Romans*, pp. 105-106; Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p. 168.

4 Joseph R. Strayer, "The Crusades of Louis IX," in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, 2:487-518; William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade* (Princeton, 1979), pp. 214-217.

5 Humbert commented explicitly on the fading of crusade fervor as a consequence of Louis's expedition in the *Opusculum tripartitum* 1.20, p. 200; see also Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre, 1244-1291*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 11 (Leiden, 1975), p. 121.



Humbert mentioned his treatise on crusade preaching in the *Opusculum tripartitum*, but for centuries scholars were unable to locate any copies of it and assumed that it had been lost.<sup>6</sup> In 1890, however, Lecoy de La Marche announced in the *Revue des questions historiques* that he had chanced across an exemplar of an incunable printing of the treatise in the Bibliothèque Mazarine.<sup>7</sup> Since then three further copies of that incunable edition have turned up—two in the British Library in London, and one at the Newberry Library in Chicago. The edition was probably printed at Nürnberg about 1495. In addition, the treatise survives in at least eleven manuscripts, most of them late—none can be dated before about 1300.<sup>8</sup>

For some twenty years I have studied this text intermittently, while in the midst of other projects. My wife Victoria made an essential contribution to my study of the text by collating the incunable text with three of the major manuscripts. Although a critical edition still remains far in the future, her work shows that the treatise circulated in two versions, a long one and a short one. The major difference between them consists in the omission from the short version of a substantial anthology of references for use in crusade sermons. This portable library of anecdotes makes up some fifteen chapters of the long version and accounts for nearly two-fifths of its text. It is entirely possible that after Humbert composed the shorter version of the treatise, an assistant or a later redactor inserted the illustrative matter, particularly the large bloc of material comprising chapters 30 to 43, into the original text. It also seems possible that chapter 27 may not have been part of the original version. The text that was published at the end of the fifteenth century represents the longer form of the treatise.

My main concern here, however, is not with the history of the text and its transmission, but rather with Humbert's suggestions to intending crusade preachers about the arguments they should use to overcome the skepticism of their audiences about the whole crusade enterprise. When one reads through Humbert's manual, it is striking, first of all, that the author repeatedly admonishes preachers to stress the positive reasons for undertaking a crusade. This emphasis probably reflects a conscious decision about recruitment strategy in light of the problems that crusade recruiters faced in France during the late 1260s. Rather than advising preachers to focus attention on the wickedness of the Saracens, Humbert counseled them to concentrate on the virtues of crusaders. Preachers must persuade prospective recruits that enlisting in the

6 *Opusculum tripartitum* 1.9, p. 190.

7 R.A. Lecoy de La Marche, "La prédication de la croisade au treizième siècle," *Revue des questions historiques* 48 (1890), 5-28.

8 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS A.IX.15; Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Riant 80; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 3847; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 449, Clm. 3780, Clm. 18383, and Clm. 26810; Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Cent. II.7; Vienna, Dominikanerkloster, HS 38, Nationalbibliothek, HS 4239, and HS 4663. [The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, owns also a copy of the incunable edition. Ed.]

crusade would transform ordinary folk into heroes and assure them of salvation. Preachers must expect to encounter resistance to this message. In order to overcome that resistance, they needed to arm themselves with arguments to meet the various objections they might encounter. For that reason Humbert furnished his readers with some analyses of arguments against the crusading enterprise that were current in the late 1260s and provided model rebuttals to each of them.

Throughout his manual for crusade preachers it is evident that Humbert relied on what St. Ignatius Loyola would later call the principle of emulation.<sup>9</sup> Crusade preachers must hold up heroes from Christian history as role models for their listeners. Christ himself, of course, furnished the prototype of the man bearing a cross on his shoulder,<sup>10</sup> and Humbert repeatedly described Jesus as the ultimate model for the crusader's roles as pilgrim, as fighter, and as sufferer.<sup>11</sup> In addition, Humbert often invoked Old Testament figures—Elijah, Joshua, Judith, Job, and above all the Maccabees—as models for crusaders.<sup>12</sup> In so doing he adopted a theologizing motif that had become common among the chroniclers of the First Crusade, who insistently identified the warriors of the cross with the military heroes of ancient Israel.<sup>13</sup> Humbert also advised crusade preachers to present other historical role models to their listeners. The list included numerous saints of the early Church,<sup>14</sup> warrior-rulers such as Constantine and Charlemagne, and especially leaders of previous crusades—such as Godfrey of Bouillon, Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus, and Richard Lion-Heart—with whom mid-thirteenth-century soldiers could presumably identify more readily.<sup>15</sup> This served two purposes. As a rhetorical device, it had a persuasive function, insofar as it encouraged the audience both to admire and to imitate the role models whom the preacher described. But it also carried an implied warranty of the moral value of the crusade. If the audience accepted the proposition that Joshua, Mattathias, and Judas Maccabeus, for example, were proto-crusaders, sharp questions about the justification of the crusades were likely to be blunted, since these Old Testament heroes were patently just men and Scripture made it plain that their behavior had been pleasing to God.

Humbert further advised crusade preachers that the success of the First Crusade supplied powerful arguments in favor of taking the cross. He urged

9 St. Ignatius Loyola, *Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús* 4.6.13 (383), in his *Obras completas*, ed. Candido de Dalmaes, 2d ed., Biblioteca de autores cristianos, 86 (Madrid, 1963), p. 498.

10 Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione sancte crucis* [cited hereafter as *DPSC*; references are to chapter numbers and folios in the incunable edition], c. 4-5, fol. 5v, 8r.

11 *DPSC*, c. 4, invitatio 4 and 6, fol. 6v, 7v.

12 *DPSC* c. 2, 3, 16, fol. 1v, 5r, 17v.

13 Paul Rousset, *Les origines et les caractères de la première croisade* (Neuchâtel, 1945), pp. 93-99; J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), pp. 141-144, 147-148, 154-155.

14 *DPSC*, c. 30, 42-43, fol. 37v, 45r-47v.

15 *DPSC*, c. 16, 36, fol. 17v, 41r-v.

preachers to use anecdotes about the heroes of that expedition as models for their audiences to emulate.<sup>16</sup> Since preachers would need to respond to charges that the crusades had failed, Humbert warned, they must arm themselves with plentiful examples of crusading successes.<sup>17</sup> That meant that they would need to draw much of the ammunition to rebut their critics from the history of the expedition that had captured Jerusalem and created the Latin States in the first place.<sup>18</sup>

Above all, Humbert advised, preachers who wished to persuade hesitant or skeptical listeners to enlist in a crusade would need to convince them that the expedition was truly a just war, as well as a holy one. Recruiters would need to make this point clear to prospective recruits for two practical reasons: few men would be likely to enlist in a crusade if they doubted the morality of its goals; and self-interest also made it imperative to demonstrate that the crusade met the legal criteria of a just war. Soldiers understandably wanted assurance that they would be entitled to retain property acquired in the conflict, and while they might not know or care much about fine points of juristic analysis, soldiers were likely to be aware that title to captured property would vest in them only if the war was just.<sup>19</sup>

Humbert insisted, therefore, that preachers must be explicit about this issue. They needed to explain why and how the crusade was entitled to be classed among just wars and should take care to point out specifically how a crusade differed from unjust conflicts. In addition, Humbert furnished his readers with an example of the way in which a crusade preacher could present the crusade as a just war.<sup>20</sup>

Humbert's exposition of the crusade as a just war rested in great part upon the argument that Islam had expanded aggressively at the expense of Christian rulers and that Christian armies had both a right and an obligation to halt Islamic expansion and to repossess the lands that the Muslims had occupied, Humbert addressed this theme repeatedly in his treatise.<sup>21</sup>

The concept of just war current in the mid-thirteenth century was primarily a juristic construct grounded on St. Augustine's treatment of the morality of violence. A little more than a century prior to the time when Humbert wrote his treatise on crusade preaching, the canonist Gratian had collected and analyzed

16 DPSC, c. 10, 39-41, fol. 10v-11r, 43v-45r.

17 Humbert later analyzed the criticisms of the crusade current in his day and suggested explanations for the failure of recent crusades in the *Opusculum tripartitum* 1.10-19, pp. 191-200. By 1272/73, when he wrote that work, Humbert of course had to add the second crusade of St. Louis to the dreary roll of failed crusades. See also Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 15, 88.

18 DPSC, c. 16, 40-41, fol. 17v-18r, 44r-45r.

19 James A. Brundage, "The Limits of the War-Making Power: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists," in *Peace in a Nuclear Age: The Bishops' Pastoral Letter in Perspective*, ed. Charles J. Reid, Jr. (Washington, D.C., 1986), pp. 69-85, and the literature cited therein.

20 DPSC, c. 2, inv. 1, fol. 1v.

21 DPSC, c. 10, 12, 15-16, fol. 10v-11v, 12v-14v, 16v-18r.

numerous moral and legal pronouncements on this theme in Case Twenty-three of his *Decretum* (completed about 1140).<sup>22</sup> Law teachers and writers in the intervening generations had considerably extended and elaborated Gratian's analysis of just war as a juristic institution, and by the mid-thirteenth century just war had become a central reference point of legal doctrines about the limits of warfare.<sup>23</sup>

Gratian inserted in the opening Distinction of his *Decretum* a description of the law of war that he borrowed from St. Isidore of Seville (ca. 560-636). The law of war, according to Isidore, included the formalities of initiating hostilities, rules for the organization, structure, and discipline of armies, and conventions that governed the division of property acquired in war.<sup>24</sup>

Commentators on this passage disagreed sharply over whether the law of war should be considered part of the civil law.<sup>25</sup> The view that ultimately prevailed held that wars proclaimed by a prince were indeed subject to the rules of civil law. This classification held more than theoretical interest as an exercise in jurisprudence. Since wars proclaimed by a prince or other lawful authority were instruments of public law, provided that the ruler proclaimed them for a just reason, it followed that in those wars, and those alone, could adversaries be classed as public enemies.<sup>26</sup> The importance of that, in turn, lay in the fact that civil law set no limit on the taking of spoils and prisoners from public enemies

22 On Gratian and his work see especially Stephan Kuttner, "The Father of the Science of Canon Law," *The Jurist* 1 (1941), 2-19, and *Harmony from Dissonance: An Interpretation of Medieval Canon Law* (Latrobe, PA, 1960); John T. Noonan, Jr., "Gratian Slept Here: The Changing Identity of the Father of the Systematic Study of Canon Law," *Traditio* 35 (1979), 145-172; C. Mesini, "Postille sulla biografia del 'Magister Gratianus,' padre del diritto canonico," *Apollinaris* 54 (1981), 509-537; Gabriel Le Bras, Charles Lefebvre, and Jacqueline Rambaud, *L'âge classique, 1140-1378: Sources et théorie du droit*, vol. 7 of *Histoire du droit et institutions de l'église en Occident* (Paris, 1965), pp. 49-129; Gérard Fransen, "La date du Décret de Gratien," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 51 (1956), 521-531.

23 Frederick H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 86-212.

24 D. 1 c. 10. Gratian and other texts of the *Corpus iuris canonici* will be cited throughout from the standard edition by Emil Friedberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879; repr. Graz, 1959), using the conventional canonistic citation system (explained in *Traditio* 11 [1955], 438-449 and the *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 11 [1981] 137-139).

25 Rufinus, *Summa decretorum* to D. 1 c. 10 pr., ed. Heinrich Singer (Paderborn, 1902; repr. Aalen, 1963), pp. 10-11; Stephen of Tournai, *Die Summa des Stephanus Tornacensis über das Decretum Gratiani* to D. 1 c. 10 v. *ius militare*, ed. Johann Friedrich von Schulte (Giessen, 1891; repr. Aalen, 1965), p. 11; *The Summa Parisiensis on the Decretum Gratiani* to D. 1 c. 10, ed. Terence P. McLaughlin (Toronto, 1952), p. 3.

26 This concept is ancient. An apparent reference to it appears in Gaius, *Institutes* 3.94, ed. and trans. Francis de Zulueta, 2 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1946-53) 1:182. Ulpian, *Institutes* 1 offered a formal definition, incorporated in Dig. 49.15.24. Ulpian's definition was familiar to twelfth-century canonists, who paraphrased it in their commentaries; see, e.g., Stephen of Tournai, *Summa* to D. 1 c. 10 v. *in hostes*, ed. Schulte, p. 11; Rufinus, *Summa* to D. 1 c. 10 v. *egressio in hostes*, ed. Singer, p. 11. Texts of the Digest and the rest of the *Corpus iuris civilis* are cited from the critical edition in 3 vols. by Paul Krueger, Theodor Mommsen, Rudolf Schoell, and Wilhelm Kroll (Berlin, 1872-1895). For the *Digest* I have also consulted *The Digest of Justinian*, ed. and trans. Alan Watson et al., 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1985).

and property captured from them was held by a just title.<sup>27</sup> Courts accordingly treated property wrested from public enemies as possessions lawfully acquired, but would not protect property seized in other violent encounters. Thus the jurists distinguished between property captured in a just war, which was protected, and property stolen, for example, by a band of robbers, which courts would restore to its rightful owner.<sup>28</sup>

Thus according to the jurists whom Humbert had studied as a young law student before he entered the Dominicans, the notion of just war involved much more than simply a moral judgment. Just war created a chain of consequences that were of central importance for belligerents, and the practical outcome of a conflict depended upon those consequences.<sup>29</sup> Although the idea of just war, like many other legal ideas, was shrouded in the language of moral judgment, its moralistic overtones were less immediately relevant to warriors than its tangible outcome.

Humbert summarized in his manual the canonical criteria that distinguished just wars from unjust ones. Unjust wars, Humbert declared, included any campaigns waged against the innocent and the powerless—hostilities that victimized innocent farmers, hospitals, or leprosaria were clearly out of bounds, as were attacks on churches. In addition, unjust wars lacked adequate cause, for they were fought out of greed, malice, or an appetite for vainglory. Unjust wars, moreover, lacked the approval of legitimate authority. Not everyone, after all, is empowered to declare war.

But the crusade differed from these unjust wars, Humbert declared, on all three scores. The crusade was directed not against the innocent and helpless but against the wicked and powerful Saracens, while Scripture itself authorized military action against those who fouled God's holy temple. The crusade certainly had a just cause, for if, as everyone admitted, men were justified in making war to recover property that others had seized from them, clearly they were still more justified in fighting for the Christian faith and the salvation of their souls. As for authority, the crusade was properly proclaimed, Humbert argued, according to both human and divine law. The pope, of course, proclaimed the crusade, but he did so on divine authority. According to Humbert, God himself had authorized the crusade when He not only directed Moses to make war against the Amalekites, but added, "God will be at war with Amalek from age to age" (Exod. 17.16).<sup>30</sup>

27 Maurice H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1965), p. 70.

28 On the Roman law foundations of these principles see Donald Sutherland, "Conquest and Law," *Studia Gratiana* 15 (1972), 33-51.

29 Keen, *Law of War*, pp. 64-65.

30 DPSC c. 2, fol. 2v-3r: "Sunt autem tria que maxime faciunt bellum iniustum. Primum est quando inpugnantur innocentes, sicut fit proch dolor in guerris nostri temporis. Non sunt milites et domicelli nostri sicut beatus Mauricius et tota legio sua, qui magis elegerunt decapitari quam domino suo imperatori obedire in persecutione christianorum innocentum. Ipsi uero quandoque domino suo non iubente pauperes agricolas innocentes destruunt, hospitalia et etiam leprosoria inuadunt, ecclesias uiolant, et principales

While Humbert fortified this passage of his manual with numerous scriptural proof texts, his underlying argument rested squarely on canonical doctrines concerning just war. The three criteria of just war that Humbert employed came straight out of the texts and commentaries that he had studied at Paris in his youth.<sup>31</sup> Gratian's *Decretum* explicitly forbade attacks on helpless or disabled opponents and that prohibition was amplified in the *Ordinary Gloss* of Johannes Teutonicus.<sup>32</sup> Likewise when Humbert described the situations that warranted a just war he employed examples familiar to every canonist from the texts of the *Decretum*.<sup>33</sup> Thus he argued that the crusade was essentially a defensive war, a

dominos non tangentes in innocentes suam crudelitatem exercent. Non sic est in isto domini exercitu. Gens enim saracenica contra quam dirigitur summe culpabilis est contra totam christianitatem, ut patet in inuitatione premissa et ex psalmo in quo ecclesia deo conqueritur de eis dicens, 'Deus uenerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum' [Ps. 78. 1]. Secundum est quando fit ex causa minus bona, sicut fit heu a multis hodie, qui uel ex superbia, uel ex auaricia, uel ex uana gloria contra alios preliantur. Non sic in isto exercitu, sed pugnatur pro summa iusticia, scilicet iusticia fidei. Si enim bellum quod fit pro defensione rerum uel corporum secundum omnes est iustum, quanto magis illud quod fit pro defensione fidei in qua est salus animarum. Ideo bene dicitur prime ad Timotheum vi, 'Certa bonum certamen fidei' [1 Tim. 6.12], id est, certamen fidei quod non est malum sed bonum. Nec timeas inde mortem inferni incurrere sed potius speres certitudinaliter ex hoc uitam eternam. Unde sequitur 'Apprehende uitam eternam' [1 Tim. 6.12]. Tercium est quando fit sine auctoritate. Non enim licet cuilibet pro uoluntate sua mouere bellum, sicut faciunt multi in damnationem animarum suarum. Porro bellum illud habet auctoritatem, non solum a iure humano sed a diuino, non solum ab ecclesia, sed ab ipso deo loquente per Moysen et dicente Exodi xvii, 'Bellum dei erit contra Amalech a generatione in generationem' [Exod. 17.16], et Deut[e]ro. septimo, 'Cum te introduxerit dominus in terram quam possessurus ingredieris,' et post, 'percuties gentes usque ad internitionem, nec inibis fedus cum eis, nec misereberis earum' [Deut. 7.1-3]. Et dicuntur ibi gentes ipsi infideles. Patet ex his quod dominus deus exercituum benedicitur ter Sanctus, quia suus exercitus fidelium, scilicet non est contra fideles innocentes sed contra summe nocentes, non ex causa irrationabili sed summe rationabili, non sine auctoritate sed cum summa auctoritate. Et ideo bellum eius uere est iustum, unde Apocalipsi xix dicitur de ipso, 'cum iusticia iudicat et pugnatur' [Apoc. 19.11]. Notandum uero quod bellum iniustum est uia ducens ad infernum. Unde de exercentibus tale bellum dicitur Ezechielis xxii [sic], 'Descenderunt ad infernum cum armis suis' [Ez. 32.27]. Bellum uero istud iustissimum quod fit propter filium dei et ad exhortationem ueri diuini ducit at celum, unde Apocalipsis sexto, 'Uidi sub altare animas interfectorum propter uerbum dei' [Apoc. 6.9]."

31 Thus, e.g., note the similarities between the passage of Humbert noted above and the commentary of Johannes Teutonicus in the *Glossa ordinaria* to C. 23 q. 2 pr. v. *Quod autem*: "Bellum dicitur iniustum quinque modis, uel ratione persone, ut si fuerint persone ecclesiastice, quibus non est licitum fundere sanguinem, ut infra eadem q. 8 Clerici et c. His a quibus [C. 13 q. 8 c. 5, 30]. Ratione rei, ut si non est de repetendis rebus uel pro defensione patrie, ut infra eadem c. et infra q. 8 Si nulla [c. 15]. Vel propter causam, ut si propter uoluntatem et non propter necessitatem pugnatur, ut supra eadem q. 1 Noli [c. 3]. Ex animo est iniusta, ut si anima ulciscendi fiat, ut supra; eadem q. 1 Quid culpatur [c. 4]. Item est iniustum si non sit indictum auctoritate principis, ut infra eadem c. 1 et supra eadem q. 1 Quid culpatur [c. 4]. Que alia adhuc requirantur habes supra eadem q. 1 in gl. illa, Qui repellere [glos. ord. to C. 23 q. 1 pr. v. *propulsandam*]." The *glos. ord.* to the *Decretum* and the rest of the *Corpus iuris canonici* will be cited from the 4-vol. edition published at Venice, 1605.

32 C. 24 q. 3 c. 21-25; *glos. ord.* to C. 24 q. 3 c. 21 v. *scripta*.

33 E.g., C. 23 q. 2 c. 2 and d.p.c. 2; C. 23 q. 3 c. 5-6.



response to Muslim expansion,<sup>34</sup> and hence it met the requirement that a just war must not be aggressive.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, Humbert asserted, crusaders sought to help their fellow-Christians in the Levant fight off unjust attacks by the Muslims,<sup>36</sup> and this, too, qualified their expedition as a just war.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, Humbert declared that the crusade represented an effort to recover Christian property that Muslim aggressors had improperly appropriated.<sup>38</sup> This argument spoke once more to the issue of just war, since canon law identified recovery of one's rightful property from an unjust detainer as an acceptable reason for engaging in just war.<sup>39</sup> Further, since mainstream canonical teaching required that a just war must be proclaimed by a legitimate ruler,<sup>40</sup> Humbert many times reiterated the assertion that God had empowered the pope to proclaim the crusade and to grant indulgences to participants in these expeditions.<sup>41</sup> The power to proclaim crusades clearly formed part of the pope's *plenitudo potestatis*, in Humbert's view,<sup>42</sup> and in this he reflected the influence not only of the older canonistic texts and commentaries he had known as a student, but also of more recent canonical writers and their doctrines.<sup>43</sup> Cardinal Hostiensis (d. 1271), in his *Summa aurea* (finished in 1253), for example, explicitly derived the power to proclaim crusades from the pope's supreme power in the Christian world and it is very likely that Humbert was aware of his teaching.<sup>44</sup>

Humbert's arguments in favor of the legitimacy of crusading expeditions did not depend entirely on canonical doctrines, of course. Crusade preachers, after

34 E.g., *DPSC*, inv. 1, c. 13, inv. 15, fol. 1v-2r, 14r, 15r.

35 C. 23 q. 1 c. 4-5; C. 23 q. 2 c. 1.

36 *DPSC*, c. 13, inv. 15, fol. 14r, 15r.

37 C. 23 q. 1 c. 4, 6; but especially C. 23 q. 3, which is entirely devoted to this matter. See, too, Johannes Teutonicus, *glos. ord.* to C. 23 q. 3 pr. v. *quod autem*.

38 *DPSC*, inv. 1, c. 13-14, fol. 1v-2r, 14r-16r.

39 C. 23 q. 2 c. 1 and *glos. ord.* to v. *rebus*; C. 23 q. 8 c. 11 and *glos. ord.* to v. *persequuntur*. For an explicit application of the principle to the Holy Land see Innocent IV, *Apparatus super quinque libros decretalium* to X 3.34.8 v. *pro defensione* (Frankfurt/M, 1570; repr. Frankfurt/M, 1968), fol. 430v.

40 E.g., Johannes Teutonicus, *Glos., ord.* to C. 23 q. 1 pr. v. *Quod militare*.

41 *DPSC*, inv. 1, inv. 3, c. 8, inv. 12, c. 16, 25, fol. 2r-2v, 4r, 10r, 11v, 17v-18r, 27r-v. Humbert's former master, Hugh of St. Cher, incidentally, originated the doctrine of the treasury of merits, which for the first time furnished an adequate theological basis for the granting of indulgences.

42 *DPSC*, inv. 10, c. 16, c. 25, fol. 10r-v, 17v-18r, 27r-v.

43 On *plenitudo potestatis* in canonistic thought see especially Kenneth Pennington, *Pope and Bishops: The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 43-74.

44 Hostiensis, *Summa aurea*, lib. 3, tit. De voto et voti redemptione, §19-20 (Lyon, 1537; repr. Aalen, 1962), fol. 178va-vb. Although Hostiensis did not use the words *plenitudo potestas* in this passage, his meaning was unmistakable: "Cuius autem auctoritate hoc fieri possit? Planum est quod auctoritate hoc fieri possit illius qui supremam manum habet in ecclesia, ix q. iii Per mundum [C. 9 q. 3 c. 17] et ad quem de fidei periculo et super maioribus causis recurrendum est, ut notatur supra de offi. leg. § Quid pertinet, ver. Illud quidem notandum et seq. [lib. 1 tit. De officio legati § 3, ed. cit., fol. 52vb] et qui est generalis vicarius crucifixi, supra de transla. epi, i, ii, iii, et iiiii [lib. 1 tit. De translatione episcopi vel electi §§ 1-4, ed. cit., fol. 24vb-25va]."

all, had to expect that their message would often fall on stony soil and must be prepared to encounter objectors concerned with issues quite different from those that canon lawyers addressed. Crusade sermons, Humbert warned, often met with mockery and derision; consequently crusade preachers must be ready to answer blunt and hostile critics. Some opponents characterized all who enlisted as fools, since participation was costly, while the chance of gain was slight and the risks of injury or death were high. Preachers must know how to refute such allegations. Protesters might jeer and mock, accusing recruits of being full of wine, and the preacher had to be ready to throw the charges back at the accusers. Knowledgeable critics might discourage prospective recruits by arguing that Saracen forces far outnumbered the crusading army, just as doubters among the Children of Israel had berated Moses for leading them into the desert. To chasten such skeptics Humbert advised preachers to cite the words of Yahweh: "In this wilderness your dead bodies will fall, ...you who have complained against me" (Num. 14.29).<sup>45</sup> Theologically minded opponents might argue that since God had long permitted Islam to exist, He must therefore not find the existence of the Saracens offensive, and that indeed they were agents of God's retribution for the sins of men.<sup>46</sup> Humbert suggested that preachers respond to this contention with the counterargument that doubters who wondered why God allowed Muslims to exist side-by-side with Christians must find it equally puzzling that weeds coexisted with useful plants, poisonous animals with the nonpoisonous, or demons along with righteous spirits. God allowed evil to exist in order that good might come of it, Humbert insisted, and thus He permitted Saracens and Jews to exist so that Christians could overcome them. Just as kings tolerated tournaments in their realms so that soldiers might hone their fighting skills, so God allowed the Saracens to exist so that Christian warriors might gain merit by conquering them.<sup>47</sup>

45 DPSC, c. 21, fol. 23r-v.

46 An argument for which there was canonistic support in D. 56 c. 10.

47 DPSC, c. 15, fol. 16v: "Circa quantum notandum quod quidam mirantur quomodo deus tanto tempore permittit Machometum filium perditionis cum suis durare in mundo. Quibus respondendum est quod magis possunt mirari quomodo permisit deus ab origine mundi male herbe crescunt cum bonis et animalia uenenata cum aliis sine uenenis et demones cum bonis uiris sunt permitti. Ita ab initio ecclesie permisit deus semper in mundo esse aliquos eam uexantes, inter quos fuerunt modo principes modo heretici, qui aliquando habuerunt magnam potestatem in persecutionem fidelium. Quia sicut dicit beatus Augustinus, 'Deus non permetteret aliquod malum fieri in suo regimine nisi inde eliceret aliquod bonum' [cf. *Enchiridion* 27, 96, 100, in PL 40:245, 275, 279]. Sicut igitur noluit dominus delere gentes omnes sed aliquas reseruauit cum quibus pugnarent filii Israel, et hoc ad bonum suum, sicut patet Iudicum iii [Jd. 3.1-5]. Ita permisit et permittit deus saracenos tam diu uiuere super terram propter tribulationem christianorum. Est autem triplex huius rei utilitas. Prima est manifestatio fidelium Christi. Sicut enim patet fidelitas militis ad regem cum pugnat uiriliter pro eo contra inimicos, ita et hic. Unde Exodi xxxii Moyses bellaturus pro domino ait, 'Qui domini est iungatur meum' [Ex. 32.26]. Dicitur autem prime ad Corin. xi, 'Oportet,' id est expedit, 'hereses esse ut qui probati sunt manifesti fiant' [1 Cor. 11.19]. Et eadem ratione hec utilitas est ex parte saracenorum. Secunda est exercitium bonum. Dominus siquidem non uult suos esse

Preachers needed forensic techniques such as these to respond to critics, although their arguments did not necessarily require technical legal skills.<sup>48</sup> But the rhetoric and doctrines of the law schools permeated Humbert's treatise on crusade preaching, despite the fact that he almost never cited legal texts explicitly.<sup>49</sup> Although Humbert drew virtually all of the proof texts that fill his treatise from the Scriptures and sacred history, his treatment of crusade preaching was nonetheless informed throughout by issues and arguments that legal scholars had first formulated. Humbert's reliance on legal ideas and reasoning reflects the pervasive influence of the legal elite among his contemporaries.<sup>50</sup> The links between jurisprudence and theology remained intimate and strong in Humbert's generation: Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure, for example, relied almost as heavily on Gratian and Raymond of Penyafort as they did on Peter Lombard and Peter the Chanter, while Humbert's own teacher, Hugh of St. Cher, was both a doctor of canon law and a theologian of renown.<sup>51</sup> Humbert himself, as we have seen, had studied canon law before he became a Dominican and he remained on familiar terms with some of the leading canon lawyers of his generation, notably Raymond of Penyafort, his predecessor in office as Dominican master general, as well as Hugh of St. Cher. When Humbert turned in old age to composing a treatise on crusade preaching, a treatise in which he needed to prove that the crusade was justified, it is scarcely surprising that canonistic ideas featured prominently in what he wrote.

The justification of the crusade constituted the central theme of Humbert's manual for crusade preachers. Humbert furnished preachers with a wide-ranging apologia for the crusading movement. He was not content to offer his readers general advice on how to frame their appeals. In addition, Humbert also furnished ready-made formulas designed to confute the crusade's detractors by

otiosos sed semper in aliquo bono exercitari, propter quod datur dicitur cuilibet unus angelus malus ad exercitium deo ordinante. Sicut igitur sustinent reges torneamenta in regnis suis propter militum exercitationem, ita et dominus permittit istos aduersarios saracenos esse in mundo ut fideles se cum eis exercitando in bello merita sibi accumulent, mandata domini de eis expugnandis implendo; Iudicum ii, 'Non delebo gentes quas dimisit Iosue ut in ipsis experiar Israel utrum custodiant mandata domini' [Jd. 2.21]. Tercia est salutis facilitas. Innumerabiles enim christiani qui nunquam fecissent longas penitentias uel asperas per assumptionem crucis contra saracenos saluti sunt et saluantur cotidie facile et cito. Unde nunc uere potest dici illud Apostoli, 'Ecce nunc non anni, non tempora, sed dies salutis, quia in paucis diebus homines nunc saluantur' [?]."

- 48 The last argument was an exception; on this see the canonistic treatments of the status of Saracens discussed by Peter Herde, "Christians and Saracens at the Time of the Crusades: Some Comments of Contemporary Medieval Canonists," *Studia Gratian* 12 (1967), 359-376.
- 49 Among the hundreds of references to authorities in *DPSC* the only explicit citation of canon law that I have noticed occurs at c. 2, inv. 2, fol. 4r, where Humbert alluded to Gratian C. 23 q. 8 c. 9 *Omni timore*.
- 50 See among many others, Stephan Kuttner, "The Revival of Jurisprudence," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, MA, 1982), pp. 304-306, 310-311.
- 51 Harold J. Berman, *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), pp. 164-172, comments perceptively on this theme.

mustering a battery of counterarguments to repulse objectors and to crush opponents under an massive weight of prooftexts.

That Humbert found it advisable to adopt this approach says much about the opposition that plans for further crusade expeditions encountered in the late 1260s. The failure of Louis IX's first crusade had struck a grievous blow at general support for the crusading movement in France, traditionally the most fertile recruiting field for crusade ventures. The failed expedition also furnished critics with ample ammunition to support their skepticism about further expeditions. The very morality of crusading had become a troublesome issue. Crusade recruiters under these circumstances needed to mount a strenuous offensive to overcome misgiving and dissent. Humbert's work mapped out strategies to achieve this goal.

We do not know how far crusade preachers in the later middle ages followed Humbert's advice, or indeed to what extent recruiters for St. Louis's second expedition actually employed the models he set forth for them. The fact that the treatise was copied numerous times and that printers thought it worthwhile to publish it in the 1490s indicates that the advice Humbert offered seemed worthwhile to considerable numbers of people. We also know that whatever strategies late medieval crusade preachers adopted, they were unable to rekindle the enthusiasm of earlier generations, failed to convince great numbers of people to dedicate themselves and their resources to the goals that Humbert outlined for them. Humbert's apologia for the crusade ironically testifies most eloquently to the flagging popularity of the crusade by the mid-thirteenth century.

# Supplying the Crusader States: The Role of the Templars

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The Military Orders, Richard of Mepham, dean of Lincoln, told Pope Gregory IX in 1274, have the most abundant possessions everywhere throughout the world. If all these or even the greater part of them were properly directed, then they would be sufficient for the aid of the Holy Land towards which everybody labors so solicitously. "Many kings and princes," he added confidently, "publicly attest to this."<sup>1</sup> He was neither the first nor the last to criticize the use which the Military Orders made of their resources. Over forty years before, another armchair critic, the monk Matthew Paris, writing from the safety of St. Albans, had complained that the Military Orders ingested so much revenue from Christendom that it was "as if they plunged it into the abyss of the Lower World."<sup>2</sup>

Such criticisms became commonplace in the second half of the thirteenth century, but in fact it seems unlikely that many of these writers had any real idea what the sustenance of the crusader lands actually entailed.<sup>3</sup> To read, for instance, the Norman lawyer Pierre Dubois, writing in about 1306, is to be left with the impression that he thought trade and shipping between the West and the Levant to have been of negligible importance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the Military Orders bore huge financial burdens, for, among many other tasks, they were required to maintain and garrison castles; ship supplies of foodstuffs, clothing, armaments and horses; provide recruits to replace losses in battle and from old age; defend, transport, finance and ransom pilgrims and crusaders; and hire mercenaries. These duties had become

1 Maurice Powicke and Christopher Cheney, eds., *Councils and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church 2, AD 1205-1313* (Oxford, 1964), p. 815. Richard of Mepham, of course, had a case to make, for the kernel of his presentation was that the English clergy and people were over-taxed, an allegation which brought him papal censure and suspension from office.

2 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry R. Luard, RS 57 (London, 1872-83), 3:178.

3 See Alan J. Forey, "The Military Orders in the Crusading Proposals of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries," *Traditio* 36 (1980), esp. 324-329.

4 Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte*, ed. Charles V. Langlois, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire (Paris, 1891), pp. 14-15.

particularly heavy in the mid- and late-thirteenth century, for the diminished area of crusader territory, together with the losses incurred as some of the trade routes were diverted northwards, eroded income and supplies. A stream of letters from Outremer testify to the increasing depth of the crisis, and it has been shown that only the Military Orders could hope to sustain the Latins as, one after another, the secular lordships of the east faced financial ruin.<sup>5</sup> It is no coincidence that there are signs of increased pressure being applied by the administrators of Templar lands in the West from the 1220s and 1230s, pressure which did nothing to improve the Order's image.<sup>6</sup> However, this was only the culmination of a long process, for crusading had been ruinously expensive from the very beginning.<sup>7</sup> Small wonder that it seemed to Matthew Paris that money was disappearing into a bottomless pit.

The extent of the burden carried by the Templars can be demonstrated by looking at two of the more obvious needs: manpower and horses. After the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn, Terricus, grand commander and acting master, described how scarcely any brethren had escaped, for 230 had been beheaded and another 60 had already been killed at the Springs of Cresson on 1 May.<sup>8</sup> Others must have been killed at Ḥaṭṭīn itself, while still further losses must have been sustained defending castles like Safed, which held out for nearly a year after Ḥaṭṭīn. Indeed, at one time or another during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Templars garrisoned at least fifty-three castles or fortified places in the crusader states ranging from massive edifices like 'Athlit to small watchtowers in which pilgrims could take refuge. They had charge of castles as early as c. 1137 in the Amanus and from 1149 in Palestine.<sup>9</sup> They came to hold a substantial number of buildings in all the major cities, including Jerusalem, Caesarea, Acre, Tyre, Gibelet (Jubail), Tripoli, Tortosa, Jabala, and Antioch. They were particularly prominent in the north, for they dominated the region around Tortosa, where they were established by 1152, while north of Antioch they held an area of quasi-autonomy, from Port Bonel and La Roche de Roissel on the coast, inland to Baghras, Darbsak and La Roche Guillaume.<sup>10</sup>

5 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London, 1973), pp. 28-32.

6 See, for instance, the activities of the Templar administrators of the two houses at Provins: Victor Carrière, *Histoire et cartulaire des Templiers de Provins* (Paris, 1919), Nos. 16, 30, pp. 53-54, 63-64.

7 See Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), pp. 130-134.

8 "Benedict of Peterborough," *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 49 (London, 1867), 2:13-14. RRH No. 660.

9 See Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Templars and the Teutonic Knights in Cilician Armenia," in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. T.S.R. Boase (Edinburgh and London, 1978), pp. 92-97. WT 17.12, p. 776.

10 See Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades* (Paris, 1940), pp. 582-621, and Riley-Smith, "Templars and Teutonic Knights," pp. 92-93. It is more accurate to describe the Military Orders as possessing a series of buildings in the ports of Outremer rather than as holding distinct and exclusive quarters, as has sometimes been said, for in Acre "enclaves étrangères" penetrated what were once thought to be compact quarters.



Manpower, however, was of limited value without a constant supply of horses. The Military Orders were particularly vulnerable to losses because of their exposed position at the front and rear of the crusader columns. During Richard I's march from Acre in September 1191, the army was continually assailed; 3 September was especially gruelling. "The Templars," says the author of the *Itinerarium*, "on this day lost so many horses as a consequence of the attacks of the Turks at the rear, that they almost gave up hope."<sup>11</sup> The increasing adoption of long mailed coats for horses from the late twelfth century must have reduced such losses, but this in turn needs to be balanced against the cost, especially as it appears that most metal goods had to be imported into the Latin East.<sup>12</sup> Philip of Novara still thought that the sight of a German knight with a horse accoutred in this way sufficiently unusual for comment in 1232.<sup>13</sup> The Templars therefore made the provision of horses their especial concern, a fact noted by visitors to the East. In the early 1160s John of Würzburg observed that the Order in Jerusalem had space for 2,000 horses or 1,500 camels, while ten years later the German pilgrim, Theoderich, claimed that the stables in the Temple of Solomon could take 10,000 horses.<sup>14</sup>

Theoderich was perhaps trying too hard to amaze his readers, but it seems likely that John of Würzburg's figure represents a minimum, for the Templar Rule is full of references to horses, colts, pack animals, and camels, and it contains clauses on the number allowed to each official, their pasturage, fodder and upkeep, purchase and sale. All knights were allowed three horses, and squires and serjeants one each, although in the French versions of the Rule, produced when the Order had become richer, knights could, at the discretion of the Master, have an additional horse and squire. High officials had four horses each, while the five serjeants who held key posts in Jerusalem had two. Secular knights serving *ad terminum* were to be supplied with a horse (for which they paid), to be replaced by the Order if it was lost in service. The importance of these animals is underlined by the regulation that both at compline and at matins each brother was required to go and check his horses and rectify any problems which may have arisen. Mules too were needed in quantity, for during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was a great increase in their use as pack

The Military Orders had less impact on Acre than the Italian maritime cities. See David Jacoby, "Les communes italiennes et les ordres militaires à Acre: aspects juridiques, territoriaux et militaires (1104-1187, 1191-1291)," in *Etat et colonisation au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance*, ed. Michel Balard (Lyon, 1989), pp. 193-214.

- 11 *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 38 (London, 1864), 1:257.
- 12 See John H. Pryor, "In subsidium Terrae Sanctae: Exports of Foodstuffs and War Materials from the Kingdom of Sicily to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1265-1284," *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1988), 127-146.
- 13 Philippe de Novare, *Mémoires, 1218-1243*, ed. Charles Kohler, Les Classiques Français du Moyen Age (Paris, 1913), p. 77.
- 14 *Johannis Wirzburgensis descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, in *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saec. VIII. IX. XII. et XV.*, ed. Titus Tobler (Leipzig, 1874), pp. 129-130. Theodericus, ed. Bulst, pp. 26-27.

animals. According to the Rule, for instance, the commander of the city of Jerusalem was "obliged to have ten knights at his command to conduct and guard the pilgrims who go to the River Jordan... and to lead pack animals and to carry victuals and to bring back the pilgrims on the pack animals if need be." As the Rule makes clear, it was certainly possible to purchase horses and mules in the East,<sup>15</sup> but it is no more likely that local markets could produce sufficient numbers than that the Latin settlers could provide the Templars with an adequate supply of new recruits.

It was then imperative that the Order should create a network of support which would provide the backing to make this role viable and, from the Council of Troyes in 1128 onwards, vigorous efforts were made to recruit men and to establish commanderies in the West. The earliest leaders, Hugues de Payns and Geoffroi de Saint-Omer, together with some of their companions, embarked on a series of journeys in the West with these ends in mind. Between 1128 and 1130 Hugues alone traveled through Champagne, Anjou, Normandy, England and Scotland, and then back to Flanders, probably returning east via the Rhône Valley and Marseille. According to the entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, he collected more men than at any time since the First Crusade. Arnold of Torroja, the ninth Grand Master (1181-84), must have had similar aims in mind when, together with prominent crusade leaders, he set out on an embassy to the West in 1184. The intention was to alert Christian rulers and their people to the increasing threat presented by Saladin. The plan was to visit Italy, Germany, France, and England, but Arnold, already elderly, died at Verona in September 1184. In the last decade of the thirteenth century the Templars were still maintaining this policy. During 1294-95 Jacques de Molay, the last Grand Master, was in Italy, France, and England, visiting Boniface VIII in Rome and Philip IV in Paris. In 1306-07, at the request of Pope Clement V, he undertook a second visit, this time fatally for himself and his Order.<sup>16</sup>

By Molay's time the Grand Master was presiding over at least 970 houses, including commanderies and castles in both east and west, serviced by a membership which is unlikely to have been less than 7,000, excluding employees and dependants, who must have been seven or eight times that number.<sup>17</sup>

15 Henri de Curzon, ed., *La Règle du Temple*, Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, 1886; repr. Geneva, 1977), clauses 51, 66, 77, 114, 121, 143, 283, 305.

16 On Hugues de Payns, see Malcolm Barber, "The Origins of the Order of the Temple," *Studia Monastica* 12 (1970), 234-236. On Arnold de Torroja, Radulf de Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 68 (London, 1876), 2:32, and Edouard de Barthélemy, ed., *Obituaire de la Commanderie du Temple de Reims*, in *Mélanges historiques. Choix de documents* 4, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris, 1882), p. 328. On Jacques de Molay, see Malcolm Barber, "James of Molay, The Last Grand Master of the Temple," *Studia Monastica* 14 (1972), 95-97, 108-109.

17 This figure is compiled from references to Templar houses and castles in a wide variety of sources. Major reference works for this include the maps and list in the *Grosser historischer Weltatlas*, 2: *Mittelalter* (Munich, 1970), maps 31a and b, p. 82 and R2-4; Emile Léonard, *Introduction au cartulaire manuscrit du Temple (1150-1317)* (Paris, 1930); Alan J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London, 1973), p. 89; and David

Crusader sources suggest that, before Ḥaṭṭīn, the Templars had 600 or more knights in the East, in which case a figure of 2,000 serjeants, with perhaps 50 priests or chaplains, is not unreasonable.<sup>18</sup> A throwaway remark reportedly made by Clement V in February 1308 suggests that he thought that there were about 2,000 Templars in France at this time,<sup>19</sup> but as will be seen this figure is about 50% too low, for it seems unlikely that the Order could have functioned without much larger numbers of support personnel than frontline soldiers.

One possible way of estimating numbers might be to adopt the laborious method of counting heads, but not all the commanderies have left sufficient material to make this possible, nor does the existing evidence permit a figure to be produced for a distinct point in time. It is therefore necessary to find a figure which can be used as a basis for multiplication, but the problem is to find a "typical" house. Inventories of Templar property taken in 1307 show that many commanderies were simply small rural communities, run by perhaps two or three Templars, with a larger non-Templar staff.<sup>20</sup> Such houses must have formed the great majority in countries like France, the British Isles, and Italy, but interspersed with these were much larger houses like the great treasuries and administrative centers at Paris and London, while the fortified commanderies and castles of Aragon and Portugal would similarly have been much more heavily staffed.

More than one multiple is therefore necessary and this can be obtained by following the grouping of houses adopted by the Templars themselves. In some regions smaller houses seem to have been linked to a larger commanderie. Richerenches in the Vaucluse region of Provence seems to have been a house of the latter kind. It has a published cartulary which shows it to have been established as early as 1136.<sup>21</sup> The cartulary contains 262 documents, covering the period down to 1214, 249 of which refer by name to Templars present in the

Knowles and Richard Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses. England and Wales* (London, 1953), pp. 235-239. I am very grateful to Clive Porro for information on Portuguese houses. This map is intended to give a broad idea of the distribution of houses, but it represents only the present state of research and is not meant to be definitive.

18 WT12.7, p. 554, giving 300 knights and presumably referring to the Kingdom of Jerusalem only. He says that the number of brothers other than knights was "almost infinite." Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint-Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1874), pp. 118-121, who claims that 280 Templars were killed in a single incident, that is the attack on Maṣṣūrah in February 1250. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. Marcus Adler (London, 1907), p. 22, says that there were 300 knights quartered at the Temple of Solomon, c. 1169-71. On the proportion of knights to serjeants see the discussion in Raymond C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare 1097-1193* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 89-91.

19 Heinrich Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, 2 (Münster, 1907), Nos. 74, 114.

20 For example, Léopold Delisle, *Etudes sur la condition de la classe agricole et l'état de agriculture en Normandie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1903), pp. 721-728, and Forey, *Aragón* (note 17 above), pp. 276-279.

21 Le Mis de Ripert-Monclar, ed., *Cartulaire de la Commanderie de Richerenches de l'Ordre du Temple (1136-1214)* (Paris-Avignon, 1907) [hereafter quoted *Cart. Rich.*], No. 128, pp. 121-122.

house at that time. The numbers fluctuate in an arbitrary manner since in some transactions the presence of the preceptor and/or the "claviger" or treasurer is thought to be sufficient, whereas in others a much longer list of Templars is appended. As early as 1138 one document shows ten Templars at Richerenches; by 1163 there were as many as twenty brothers present. By c. 1180 it seems unlikely that the house had fewer than eighteen Templars in residence, a conservative figure based on an analysis of the names of the Templars mentioned and repeated in 1179 and 1180.<sup>22</sup>

According to Durbec, Richerenches had eight dependent houses,<sup>23</sup> perhaps similar to many of those shown in the trial inventories, with about three Templars in each. This little cluster of nine houses might then have contained about 42 Templars (i.e., 18 + 24). If such a calculation is applied to France as a whole on the basis that it had 660 houses,<sup>24</sup> divided into 73 main centers similar to Richerenches, with 587 dependencies, then a figure of 3,075 Templars is produced. It seems unlikely to have been lower than this, for Richerenches is exceptional in Provence in having as many as eight dependent houses.<sup>25</sup> The French houses, of course, are the majority, making up two-thirds of the total. Even so, if the overall figure of about 7,000 is accepted, this still leaves only about 1,300 Templars for houses in lands other than Outremer and France, regions which included some 250 houses. The Templar structure therefore seems to have provided slightly more than three support personnel to two frontline soldiers in the East, although since the number of non-Templar employees is very much greater, this may have been enough. It should be noted that this calculation assumes that Templars in Spain were all part of this support structure when of course some of them were evidently combatants as well.

To some extent these houses were scattered at random because of the arbitrary nature of donations, but given these constraints the Templar command does seem to have tried to impose a rational pattern. According to the Rule there were ten provinces: Jerusalem, Tripoli, and Antioch in the East, France, England, Poitou, Aragon, Portugal, Apulia, and Hungary in the West. It is, however, evident that the pattern and emphasis were adapted over time in ways not recorded in the Rule, presumably in accordance with perceived needs.<sup>26</sup> Over

22 *Cart. Rich.*, Nos. 2, 189, pp. 4-5, 168-169. In 1179 and 1180, 23 Templars are mentioned as being present more than once, although in all reference is made to 47 different Templars during this period. The apparently arbitrary choice of 18 was made because this was the largest single figure in the documents covering these two years, No. 242, p. 215.

23 J.-A. Durbec, "Les Templiers en Provence, Formation des commanderies at répartition géographique de leurs biens," *Provence historique* 9 (1959), 14.

24 Léonard, *Introduction* (note 17 above), pp. 13-173.

25 In fact, some of the dependencies quickly developed the scope of their operations, so that it is probable that an estimate of only three Templars per house is too low: Durbec, "Templiers en Provence," p. 16.

26 *Règle* (note 15 above), clause 87. However, at the trial, for instance, Geoffroi de Charney, preceptor of Normandy, was evidently regarded as one of the more important leaders, despite the omission of Normandy from this list, while at various times during the twelfth century "the master of Provence and Spain" appears at, among other places, Richerenches, a division which does not accord with any of these provinces.

and above the provincial preceptors there was "a master on this side of the sea" (*deça mer*), who appears to have had general command in the West, although this office was transmuted into that of Visitor in c. 1250. Dr. Forey has shown, however, that this was not a simple change of title, for it coincided with a grouping of the provinces into those of France, England, and Germany on the one hand, and the Iberian lands on the other, with two separate hierarchies.<sup>27</sup>

By means of this network the Templars supplied the crusader states with men, money, horses, and goods. Manpower came through local houses which acted both as centers for recruitment and as departure points for secular crusaders. If the age-pattern shown on the graph (fig. 1), which is based upon the depositions of 115 Templars at Paris in 1307, is in any way typical, it suggests that Templars of military age were being sent to the East, while the Western commanderies were being manned by a high proportion of the middle-aged and the elderly.<sup>28</sup> An analysis of the 76 depositions made by the Templars interrogated in Cyprus in 1310 shows that only five had entered the Order in the Crusader States, four in Cyprus and one in Cilicia. As might be expected, most, that is 40 of them, joined in France, but the others were drawn from all over Latin Christendom, including Aragon, Castile, Portugal, England, Germany, Italy, Dalmatia, and the Morea.<sup>29</sup> Once in the East release from the obligation to serve there was not easily granted. Clause 93 of the Rule lays down the procedures to be followed if a Templar is to return to the West. Only illness or "the needs of the house" justified this, and even then a written case had to be made out by a species of sub-committee, which included the marshal, the draper, the commander at Acre, and three or four experienced members of the Order.<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps just as important was that Templar houses provided facilities which eased the logistical problems of crusading and in this way contributed further to the supply of men to Outremer. The Richerenches cartulary provides the example of one Pons Lautier from Colonzelle who, in June 1160, was about to set out for the Holy Land. He left his lands in pledge to the Templars for fifteen years after which, if he died or did not return from Jerusalem, the Order would acquire proprietary rights. His expedition to Jerusalem, he says, was "a journey which the above-mentioned brothers have prepared for me."<sup>31</sup> The supply of men was probably an irregular affair, much affected by the vicissitudes of recruitment and the state of affairs in Outremer, but responsions, payments in both money and goods, were more regularized, for the Western houses were obliged to send the equivalent of a third of their revenues to the East, although

27 Forey, *Aragón*, pp. 328-329.

28 Jules Michelet, *Le Procès des Templiers*, 2, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris, 1851), pp. 277-418. This might, of course, indicate falling recruitment, but there is little to suggest this in the years of service given, which range from less than one month to 45 years. Despite the age structure shown in Figure 1, 35 of the 133 who give their length of service had been in the Order for 5 years or less. The average is 14.6 years.

29 Konrad Schottmüller, *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens*, 2 (Berlin, 1887), pp. 166-218.

30 *Règle*, clause 93.

31 *Cart. Rich.*, No. 163, pp. 145-146.

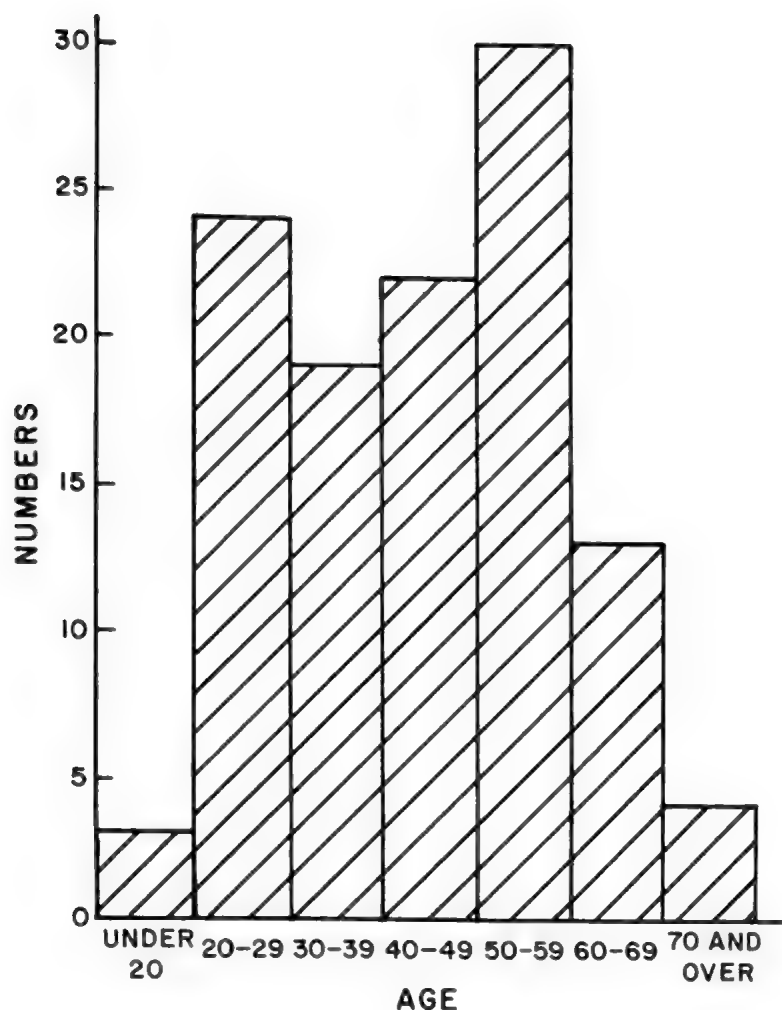


Fig. 1. Age distribution of Templars, derived from 115 depositions taken at Paris, October and November, 1307

the Iberian lands were an exception, since there was evidently a front line here too, and therefore the proportion was nearer a tenth.<sup>32</sup>

The Order had from an early date acquired juridical immunities from the papacy which greatly facilitated these policies. The bull *Omne Datum Optimum* of 1139 was the most sweeping of its privileges, but *Milites Templi* (1143) and *Milicia Dei* (1145) were especially important for the development of Templar functions in that they made it easier for the Order both to attract benefactors and to accumulate resources which could be used for the crusade. Take these two key clauses from *Milites Templi*:

32 See Forey, *Aragón*, pp. 322-324. Ironically, in view of contemporary criticism that the Templars were not doing enough for the Holy Land, the Order under Molay was pushed to even greater efforts, for additional sums and supplies were extracted over and above the usual responsions. See, on the other hand, the interesting discussion by David M. Metcalf, "The Templars as Bankers and Monetary Transfers between West and East in the Twelfth Century," in *Coinage in the Latin East. The Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. Peter W. Edbury and David M. Metcalf, BAR International Series 77 (Oxford, 1980), pp. 1-13, who argues that the Order financed its Eastern responsibilities by means of shrewd management of its estates in Outremer, rather than through its links with the West.



- (i) "Whoever ... assists them and establishes a community for so holy a brotherhood and cedes to them benefits (*beneficia*) annually, we grant an indulgence of the seventh part of the penance enjoined on him";
- (ii) "When, however, the brothers of the Temple, who are engaged in making a collection, shall arrive in a city, castle or village, if by chance the place should be under interdict, for the honor of the Temple and reverence to their knighthood, once a year churches shall be opened and, excommunicates having been excluded, divine offices can be celebrated."

*Milicia Dei* further strengthened the Order's independence by allowing Templars to build their own chapels and to bury their dead in the adjoining consecrated ground.<sup>33</sup> This in turn meant that commanderies could build up strong links with the local community, links which are very evident from an examination of their cartularies. The Richeranches cartulary, for instance, contains many grants from men who wanted to end their lives in the Order and to be buried in Templar cemeteries and who, for this privilege, made grants to the house. It was particularly common at Richeranches for men to promise their horse and arms when they died or the monetary equivalent if these were not available.<sup>34</sup>

The system had, of course, to provide the means to link up the constituent parts. The map shows particular concentrations in the rich lands of the Paris Basin and Champagne, and houses distributed along the major trade and pilgrimage routes, especially to Spain, southern France, and Italy. Provence seems to have been a key area. The Order had houses all along the Rhône-Saône corridor, including Richeranches, and at or near embarkation points for the East, including Arles, Saint-Gilles, Biot, Nice, and Toulon (fig. 2). Marseille was, however, the most important departure point in the region. In 1216 the consuls granted both the Temple and the Hospital the right to keep ships in the port which could be used for voyages to and from Outremer, Spain, or other regions "and to collect or receive in these ships or vessels pilgrims and merchants and their money, when they wished, with or without fares, in accordance with their judgement and wish." This sweeping privilege soon created tensions. By 1233 the Orders were complaining that these concessions were being disregarded, causing them great damage, and were claiming 2,000 marks of silver in compensation. Under the arbitration of Eudes de Montbéliard, constable of Jerusalem, and Jean d'Ibelin, Lord of Beirut, at Acre, a compromise was reached which was much more restrictive of the Orders' activities. From this time the Temple and the Hospital were each allowed two ships per year, one in the March or Easter passage, the other in August, "into which they could freely and without restriction load and unload their own goods and personnel, and receive in each ship up to 1,500 pilgrims and whatever

33 Marquis d'Albon, ed., *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre du Temple, 1119?-1150* (Paris, 1913), Bullaire, Nos. 5, 8, 10, pp. 375-379, 381, 382.

34 An index of the frequency of such arrangements can be seen by the fact that Innocent III became seriously disquieted, alleging in 1213 that some of these practices were equivalent to simony. See Joseph H. Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260* (Columbus, Ohio, 1976), pp. 190-192.

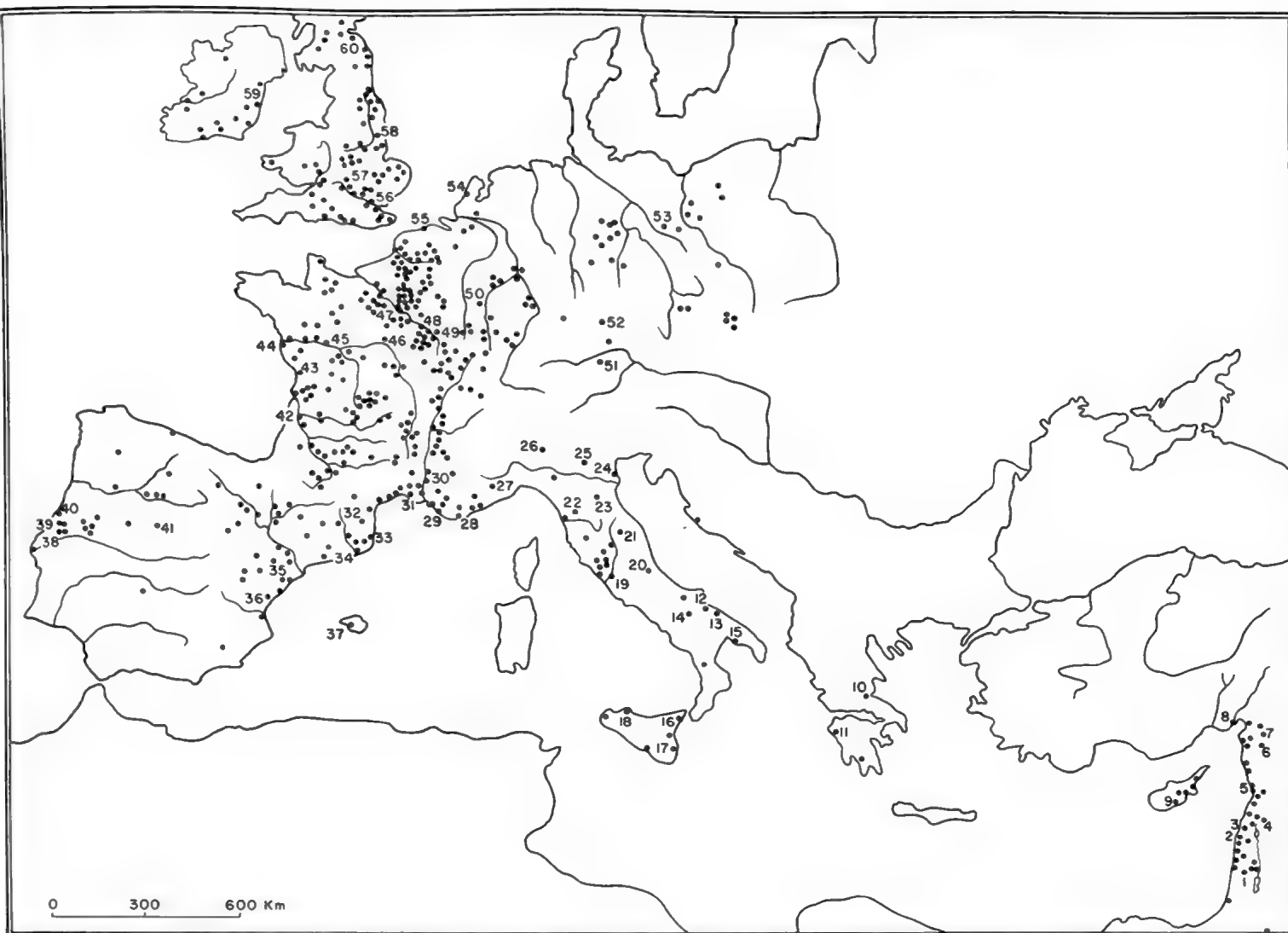


Fig. 2. Preliminary survey of Templar houses, circa 1300

1. Jerusalem; 2. 'Athlit; 3. Acre; 4. Safed; 5. Tortosa and Ruad; 6. Antioch; 7. Baghras (Gaston); 8. Ayas; 9. Limassol; 10. Lamia; 11. Andravida; 12. Barletta; 13. Bari; 14. Troia; 15. Taranto; 16. Messina; 17. Syracuse; 18. Palermo; 19. Rome; 20. Chieti; 21. Perugia; 22. Lucca; 23. Bologna; 24. Venice; 25. Verona; 26. Milan; 27. Asti; 28. Hyères; 29. Marseille; 30. Avignon; 31. Saint-Gilles; 32. Mas Deu; 33. Ampurias; 34. Barcelona; 35. Tortosa; 36. Valencia; 37. Mallorca; 38. Pombal; 39. Tomar; 40. Soure; 41. Segovia; 42. Bordeaux; 43. La Rochelle; 44. Nantes; 45. Angers; 46. Orléans; 47. Paris; 48. Provins; 49. Troyes; 50. Metz; 51. Augsburg; 52. Bamberg; 53. Tempelhof; 54. Haarlem; 55. Ostend; 56. London; 57. Sandford; 58. Willoughton; 59. Clontarf; 60. Balantrodach

number of merchants they wished." The Orders were allowed further ships for their own personnel and goods, but could not take any more pilgrims or merchants, a restriction which suggests that they had been undercutting local shipping operators. Indeed the Grand Masters of the two Orders were obliged to accept that, on a wide stretch of the Mediterranean coast, from Collioure to Monaco, which the consuls evidently regarded as the city's legitimate sphere of interest, they could not transport pilgrims or merchants in their ships.<sup>35</sup>

35 Eduard Winkelmann, *Acta Imperii inedita saeculi XIII et XIV*, 1 (Innsbruck, 1880), Nos. 139, 117. Delaville, *Cartulaire*, Nos. 1464, 2067, pp. 186-187, 462-464. RRH Nos. 889, 1046.

By the thirteenth century the Temple possessed houses in the major ports at both ends of the Mediterranean and on the Channel and Atlantic coasts. Apart from Provence, they had houses at London and Dover, La Rochelle and Bordeaux, Tortosa and Valencia, and Venice, Barletta, Bari, Taranto, Palermo, Messina, and Syracuse, among others. In the East they were established in the important cities, while at Acre they kept their own fleet of sea-going vessels.<sup>36</sup> As the major trade routes began to switch to the north in the second half of the thirteenth century, they adapted to circumstances, for in the 1270s and 1280s they had their own wharf at Ayas in Cilicia.<sup>37</sup>

As the documents from Marseille and Acre show, the Order both possessed its own ships and the resources to charter others, although the evidence for this derives largely from the thirteenth century. The Templars certainly imported essential raw materials like iron during the twelfth century, but they seem to have used commercial operators like the Mairano brothers of Venice, with whom they signed a contract through an agent in 1162. By 1207, however, there is a reference to a Templar ship at Constantinople<sup>38</sup> and from that time there are fairly frequent, if uneven, references to Templar shipping and, indeed, named Templar ships, not only in the Mediterranean, but also in the Channel and the Bay of Biscay.<sup>39</sup> The two agreements with Marseille suggest that in the early thirteenth century the fleets of the Military Orders had not been very large, but that after 1216 a considerable expansion both in the numbers and in the size of individual ships had taken place.

These ships were used for both warfare and supply. During the Egyptian campaigns of the thirteenth century Templar galleys with cash and arms hove to off the coast, while in 1279 the Templars at Acre were able to dispatch thirteen galleys in their conflict with Bohemund of Tripoli.<sup>40</sup> The exploits of Roger de Flor, the orphaned son of a German falconer in Apulia, who rose to command a great vessel built for the Order by the Genoese called *The Falcon*, were simply a flamboyant example of these activities. At the age of eight Roger had been taken on a Templar ship which had put into Brindisi. In time he became a serjeant in the Order and by the age of twenty was in command of his own ship. According to Ramon Muntaner, who knew him well, he is said to have gained a great deal

36 *Règle*, clause 119.

37 Cornelio Desimoni, "Actes passés en 1271, 1274 et 1279 à l'Aïas (Petite Arménie) et à Beyrouth par devant des notaires génois," *AOL* 1 (1881), No. 4, p. 495.

38 Raimondo Morozzo della Rocca and Antonio Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI-XIII*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1940), 1:No. 158, 155-156; 2:No. 487, pp. 27-28.

39 See Thomas W. Parker, *The Knights Templars in England* (Tucson, Arizona, 1963), pp. 56-57.

40 Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, in *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinalbischofs von S. Sabina Oliverus*, ed. O. Hoogeweg, Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 202 (Tübingen, 1894), pp. 181, 194; Joinville (note 18 above), pp. 206-211; Gaston Raynaud, ed., *Gestes des Chiprois* (Geneva, 1887), p. 207.

for the Temple with this ship, a phrase which implies piracy as well as legitimate trade. He was present at the fall of Acre in 1291 and apparently saved many women and children, although it may have been at a price, since he was afterwards pursued by the Order, apparently to regain certain sums of money which he had kept.<sup>41</sup>

More mundane was the regular transportation of needed supplies, especially in the second half of the thirteenth century when the shrinking crusader lands lacked almost all the necessities. By this time the transportation of horses by sea was well developed, although at the moment the Templar part in this is relatively obscure. In his detailed studies of sea transport to the crusader states based on the Angevin registers, Professor Pryor found only one instance of the Templars themselves transporting horses—in 1277—although it is clear that they were involved in this operation as the registers show horses and mules from Spain destined for the Templars in the East passing through Messina.<sup>42</sup> The Templar Rule shows too that officials had wide powers to purchase beasts that were needed, either in Outremer or by importation from the West.<sup>43</sup> The Templars are referred to more frequently in the transport of wheat and vegetables (sometimes specifically mentioned as being produced on their own estates), barley for horses, arms, especially crossbows, and cloth. They made particular use of the ports of Bari, Brindisi, and Manfredonia, in the late 1260s and 1270s,<sup>44</sup> while under Jacques de Molay, Grand Master from 1293, King Charles II issued a whole series of export licenses for the Templars, especially between 1295 and 1299.<sup>45</sup> Among the cargoes in the opposite direction must have been Muslim slaves, for in 1274 there was a dispute over the provenance of two such men whom the Templars claimed had escaped from their house at Bari to which they had been brought from overseas.<sup>46</sup>

Angevin Sicily evidently became a vital center of supply for the East, especially with Charles of Anjou's purchase of a claim to the kingship of Jerusalem in 1277. The links with the Templars had already been cemented when

41 Lady Goodenough, trans., *The Chronicle of Muntaner* 2, Hakluyt Society (London, 1920), pp. 466-469.

42 John Pryor, "Transportation of horses by sea during the era of the Crusades: Eighth Century to 1285 AD," *Mariner's Mirror* 68 (1982), 110, and "*In subsidium Terrae Sanctae*" (note 12 above).

43 *Règle*, clauses 84, 103, 107, 115, 135.

44 Ricardo Filangieri, *I registri della cancellaria angioina* 2 (Naples, 1951), No. 473, p. 124; 3 (1951), No. 715, p. 239; 5 (1953), No. 99, p. 234; 6 (1954), Nos. 706, 1270, pp. 140, 238-239; 7 (1955), Nos. 43, 99, 198, pp. 17-18, 45, 199; 9 (1957), Nos. 98, 22, pp. 215, 293-294; 11 (1958), No. 145, p. 122. Supplies sent from the Angevin lands in southern Italy would usually be intended for the consumption of the Templars only (compare the restrictions placed on the Templars sailing from Marseille after 1233). Special permission was needed if the Order wished to resell, for example, 26 (1979), No. 735, p. 207. I am very grateful to Professor Pryor and Professor Jacoby for their valuable comments on this issue. I owe the last reference to Professor Pryor.

45 See Barber, "Molay" (note 16 above), p. 95.

46 Filangieri, *Registri* 11, No. 143, p. 55.

Guillaume de Beaujeu, Charles's kinsman, became Grand Master in 1273.<sup>47</sup> However, since the bulk of the references derive from southern Italy, these documents perhaps give a rather unbalanced picture, for Marseille continued to be used, as a reference to the export of grain and other merchandise in 1270 indicates, while the notarial registers of the city show regular movement of Templar ships to and from the East between 1229 and 1290, where they are evidently part of the normal commercial system, since they are seen carrying merchants fulfilling commenda contracts for other parties.<sup>48</sup> Other rulers were also active. Two orders from Edward I of England, for instance, made at Berwick in 1296, show the king granting permission for the export of horses, worsted cloth, and cash for the Templars from Dover.<sup>49</sup> Such supplies were not sent only during the crisis years of the late thirteenth century. The Rule shows that the Templars in the East expected to receive such imports in the normal course of events. Clause 609 states that, "If the commander of the vault brings ships loaded with wheat and the brother in charge of the corn loft says it is moist, then it needs to be laid to dry."<sup>50</sup>

Some general conclusions can perhaps be drawn from the evidence. It has been argued by Professor Giles Constable, without exaggeration, that the need for goods, services, and manpower generated by the crusades was one of the most significant contributions to the break-up of the old social and economic order.<sup>51</sup> It began on an *ad hoc* basis, with individual monasteries providing credit for would-be crusaders, but it developed into an institutionalized structure with the Hospital and Temple at its center.

47 Filangieri, *Registri* 9 (1957), No. 288, pp. 264-265; *Gestes des Chiprois* (note 40 above), pp. 201-202; *Eracles*, p. 463. RRH No. 1387.

48 Filangieri, *Registri* 6 (1954), No. 147, p. 42; Louis Blanchard, *Documents inédits sur le commerce de Marseille au Moyen Age* (Marseille, 1884), 1:28-29, 73, 103, 134-135, 314-315; 2:272, 436, 446.

49 See Barber, "Molay," p. 96.

50 *Règle*, clause 609.

51 Giles Constable, "The Financing of the Crusades in the Twelfth Century," in *Outremer*, p. 88.

# Arms and Armor Illustrated in the Art of the Latin East

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The purpose of this paper is to try to discover whether the visual arts of the Latin East contain evidence of differences between the military equipment of the Crusader States and that of Western Europe. The most important visual sources are, of course, manuscripts produced at Acre in the second half of the thirteenth century, though other sources such as carvings in ivory or stone, Eastern Christian or Syriac manuscripts, and various forms of visual art from Frankish Cyprus and Greece may also be useful.

The men who established the Latin States in Syria and Palestine would have relied primarily on European forms of equipment, mostly manufactured in the West. Yet even at this early date some Eastern Mediterranean influences could be expected. Not only were local troops employed, particularly Armenians who often fought for the Crusader states,<sup>1</sup> but documentary sources also make it quite clear that weapons and armor changed hands following battles between Christians and Muslims.<sup>2</sup> This is not the place to discuss the degree of similarity between crusader, Fāṭimid, Armenian, Arab, Kurdish or even Saldjūq Turkish equipment<sup>3</sup> since it is the difference between these military traditions that is more important in the present context.

One complicating factor could, however, be that Western European arms and armor were by no means uniform in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although there had, perhaps, been a greater degree of uniformity in European military technology and military fashion during the eleventh and twelfth centuries than at any other time, there remained clear differences between, for example, northern French styles of the late eleventh century and of the twelfth

1 Raymond C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 47; Hans E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham (2nd ed., Oxford, 1988), pp. 92, 157.

2 Among the many references to military equipment changing hands following a Christian or Muslim victory are those in Fulcher of Chartres' account of the battle of Ascalon in *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, trans. Rita Ryan, ed. H.S. Fink (Knoxville, 1969) pp. 127-128, and in Usāmah ibn Munqidh's *Kitāb al 'Itibār*, ed. Philip H. Hitti (Princeton, 1930), p. 149.

3 Usāmah ibn Munqidh, pp. 51-52; David Nicolle, *The Military Technology of Classical Islam* (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1982), pp. 193-194, 219, 381.



and those of Norman Italy.<sup>4</sup> Norman Italy and Sicily were, of course, already under considerable Byzantine and Maghribi Islamic influence.<sup>5</sup> Late thirteenth and early fourteenth century Italian arms and armor, not only from the Mezzogiorno and Sicily but also from central and northern Italy, also differed to a marked degree from the military equipment of France or Germany.<sup>6</sup> In fact the military technology and fashions, as well as the military organization and tactics, of thirteenth-century Italy may have a special significance where the arms of the later Crusader States are concerned. The historical reasons for this include trade as well as political and cultural contacts.<sup>7</sup>

The role of Byzantium was, course, also important. The Byzantine influence on some of the arts of the Latin East is clearly visible, but how much military or technological impact Byzantium had on the Crusader States is less clear. It might have been considerable but a realistic judgment would require much more study of the arms, armor and general military history of later Byzantium. This remains a relatively neglected subject, particularly regarding the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but one whose importance is gradually being appreciated by Byzantinists.<sup>7\*</sup> Twelfth-century Comnenid Byzantium adopted a great deal from Western Europe,<sup>8</sup> while Palaeologue Byzantium of the later thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries may have been under even stronger Turkish influence.<sup>9</sup>

For convenience in this article, all works of art produced by Latins in the Middle East, or executed in a basically Western European style, will be referred to as "Crusader Art." Illustrations of armed and armored men abound in such sources but here I shall focus on examples portraying unusual equipment, particularly that which might have resulted from local or regional influence. Before doing so, however, it is important to stress the fact that in general such

4 David Nicolle, *The Normans* (London, 1987), pp. 4-8, 28-46.

5 David Nicolle, "The Monreale Capitals and the Military Equipment of Later Norman Sicily," *Gladius* 15 (1980), 87-103; Id., "The Cappella Palatina Ceiling and the Muslim Military Heritage of Norman Sicily," *Gladius* 16 (1983), pp. 45-145.

6 Lionello G. Boccia and Eduardo T. Coelho, *L'arte dell'armatura in Italia* (Milan, 1967); Lionello G. Boccia, "L'armamento in Toscana dal Millecento al Trecento," and "L'armamento quattrocentesco nell'iconografia toscana," in *Civiltà delle arti minori Toscana. Atti del I Convegno. Arezzo, 11-15 maggio 1971* (Florence, 1973), pp. 193-212.

7 Good bibliographies on this subject may be found in various articles in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, including: Helene Wieruszowski, "The Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Crusades," 2:3-44; Elizabeth Chapin Furber, "The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1191-1291," 2:599-629; Jean Longnon, "The Frankish States in Greece," 2:235-276; Peter Topping, "The Morea, 1311-1364," 3:104-140.

7\* Since the presentation of this paper, an excellent study of Byzantine arms and armor has been published, written by Taxiarchis Kollias, *Byzantinische Waffen* (Vienna, 1988).

8 Rudi P. Lindner, "An Impact of the West on Comnenian Anatolia," in *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten* (Vienna, 1982), from prepublication photocopy.

9 Deno J. Geanakoplos, "Greco-Latin Relations on the Eve of the Byzantine Restoration: The Battle of Pelagonia-1259," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 7 (1953), 101-141; Id., *Emperor Michael Paleologus and the West, 1258-1282* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); Michael J. Angold, *The Administration of the Nicean Empire, 1204-61* (unpubl. D. Phil. thesis, Oxford University 1967-68), *passim*.

Crusader Art depicted arms and armor identical to those seen in Western Europe. Hence it is only a minority of items which will be investigated here.

Most of the unusual or non-Western elements dating from the twelfth century reflect Byzantine or Armenian artistic influence. This, however, was a highly stylized, traditional and iconographic influence which stemmed from a Byzantine or Armenian art which may not itself have reflected military equipment in current use by Byzantine or Armenian warriors. Still less might it reflect weaponry used in the Latin States of the Middle East. Such purely iconographic influences probably include the apparent splinted or lamellar upper-arm defenses and skirts worn by the figure of Joshua in a twelfth-century Syriac Gospel (fig. 19A) which might have been made in the Principality of Antioch (Cambridge University Library, MS 01.02). Comparable defenses had also appeared somewhat earlier on the ivory bookcover of Queen Melisende's Psalter now in the British Museum (fig. 15A-B). Splinted or lamellar arm and groin protections are portrayed throughout the thousand-year history of Byzantine art. They were almost certainly based upon ancient Greek and Roman items of equipment, in particular the shoulder-covering *pteruges* which had served in part as unit identification marks since the days of Alexander the Great.<sup>10</sup> Such pseudo-Classical armor may conceivably have been worn by Palace troops on ceremonial occasions but is most unlikely to have been issued as genuine protective equipment by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, still less so in the fourteenth and fifteenth. To further complicate this matter a third figure on Queen Melisende's ivory book cover, one who represents *Fortitude* (fig. 15B), wears similar upper-arm and groin defenses as part of a full-length armor. The most logical interpretation of *Fortitude's* armor would see it as a long lamellar cuirass, perhaps of hardened leather, similar to those worn by some Muslim warriors and perhaps also by provincial Byzantine or Armenian troops. Then there is the question of why such an "Oriental" form of armor has been given to one of the Virtues while Goliath (fig. 15C) and *Avarice* (fig. 15A) wear armor which is at least partially of mail and which would thus seem closer to crusader equipment. Perhaps the fact that Queen Melisende was herself the daughter of an Armenian princess and granddaughter of the Armenian ruler Gabriel of Malatya may hold a clue. Melisende also did much to foster good relations between Latins and Armenians.<sup>11</sup>

Such pseudo-Classical and Byzantine-inspired iconographic styles can still be seen in one *Histoire Universelle* (fig. 32B, B & C) of c. 1286 from the scriptorium in Acre (Ms. Add. 15268, British Library, London). This manuscript will be discussed again as it also includes figures who might have been influenced by the current reality of thirteenth-century Byzantine arms and armor rather than simply by Byzantine artistic convention. Concerning the problem of what Byzantine warriors really wore, it is worth studying a small early thirteenth

10 Nick Sekunda, *The Armies of Alexander the Great* (London, 1984).

11 Runciman, *Crusades*, 2:232.

century carved marble tympanum from Larnaca (fig. 20A-B). This was made at a time when the island of Cyprus was already under Latin rule (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. A2-1982). The mail hauberks, coifs, and chausses worn by Pilate's soldiers and by guards at the Holy Sepulcher are typically Western. Yet the absence of surcoats over such mail armor would have been unusual in, for example, early thirteenth century France. It appears, however, to be common in Byzantine art of the later twelfth, the thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries. Other equally detailed but rather later Cypriot sources such as the *Icon of The Virgin Mary* (fig. 38) and the *Icon of St. Nicholas* from the church of St. Nicholas tis Steyis in Kakopetria (fig. 39) (both in the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Macarios III Foundation, Nicosia) show purely Western warriors with mail hauberks, surcoats and, in one case, a Great Helm. A series of earlier and better-known carvings from Nazareth (Church of the Annunciation Museum, Nazareth) seems to reflect Mediterranean European prototypes both in the style of carving and in the military equipment portrayed (fig. 14A-C). One feature is, however, extremely interesting and would have been unusual in an European context. This is the very broad and spade-like arrowhead used by a demon who draws a recurved composite bow (fig. 14C). Such arrowheads had long been used by Muslim archers who employed them in hunting and also against unarmored foes or those protected only by quilted "soft" armors. A great many have been found in Central Asian Turkish archeological sites, in the region where such arrowheads may have first evolved. Such a device may well have seemed diabolical to unaccustomed Westerners.

Of those manuscripts illuminated in the Latin East, one of the earliest is an *Histoire Universelle* dating some where between 1250 and 1287 (fig. 33A-K) which might have come from the Principality of Antioch (Vatican Library, MS. Pal. Lat. 1963). Though damaged, most of the miniatures in this manuscript portray relatively light equipment comparable to that used in Italy or Spain. Given climatic conditions in the Latin East, similarities with southern Europe are understandable. A lack of surcoats, which is particularly noticeable on some of the illuminations in this manuscript, was also characteristic of some parts of the Iberian Peninsula and central and southern Italy as well as Byzantium. Perhaps the most interesting illumination illustrates the siege of Antioch by warriors of the First Crusade. This includes some well preserved "Saracen" defenders (fig. 33A-D) who indicate a good knowledge of Islamic equipment on the part of the artist. Among the attacking crusaders is a knight who rides a horse with an unusual form of *caparison* or horse-armor (fig. 33L). This picture is very damaged but a close inspection of the original drawing shows the *caparison* to have consisted of a single piece of material with a small cutout below the saddle. Normal European *caparisons* of this period consisted of two separate sheets tucked beneath the saddle's pommel and cantle. The most obvious parallels with this particular horse-covering are similarly constructed one-piece *caparisons* or horse-armors on two very fine examples of thirteenth-

century Islamic metalwork. The best known is the famous Freer Gallery "Canteen" (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, inv. 41.10) which, though purely Islamic in style and provenance, includes Christian scenes or subjects. This does not, however, mean that the many mounted warriors who also decorate its surface represent crusaders. They are totally Islamic in their equipment, costume, and harness. Half of the horses wear a variety of *caparisons* or armors while the remainder are uncovered. Far less well known is a magnificent inlaid candlestick-base which is probably from the late Ayyūbid period (private collection of Dr. Paolo Costa, Rome).<sup>12</sup> Both come from the *Djazīrah* region of northeastern Syria, northern Iraq or southeastern Turkey. Such forms of *caparison*, all of which probably illustrate heavy felt horse-armors known as *tidjifāf* in Arabic and *bargustuwān* in Farsi, similarly appear in the famous late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century *Warqa wa Gulshāh* manuscript from northwestern Iran (Topkapi Library, Istanbul, MS. Haz. 841). Furthermore an identical *caparison* is illustrated on a less well known early thirteenth century broken ceramic (fig. 47) which may have been made by a Syrian potter in the Principality of Antioch (Hatay Museum, Antakya, Turkey). This particular ceramic could, however, illustrate a Western warrior as he is dressed in a full mail hauberk and mail *chausses* rendered in a Byzantine manner.

Another unusual manuscript from the Latin East is the *Arsenal Bible* (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS. 5211) whose miniatures are illuminated in a very Byzantine style (fig. 35A-E). This is a more than normally realistic Byzantine style which could shed considerable light on the military equipment of the Comnenid Empire. The cavalry, though armored, are relatively lightly equipped and have more in common with the serjeants of Western Europe than with the knights. Their brimmed war-hats, or *chapels de fer*, and separate gauntlets both represent styles of equipment which would become common in Western Europe at a later date. There are, in fact, a few interesting instances where military equipment appears first in the art of the Latin East and only later in the West. Another example might be found in an illustration of the "Story of Troy" from an *Histoire Universelle* in Dijon (Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 562, f. 89v). Here a guardsman carries a dagger, perhaps an early form of *basilard*, on his right hip (fig. 36K). Such substantial daggers do not appear in European art until the close of the thirteenth century and were not common until the early fourteenth. Even then they seem first to have become popular in Italy, particularly in the Angevin south and in Tuscany.<sup>13</sup> It is, of course, worth noting that these two regions not only had much in common with each other but were

12 This candlestick-base was displayed in the "Nomad and City" exhibition at the Museum of Mankind (London, 1976). It has never been fully published, although drawings of the military figures were included in my unpublished Ph.D. thesis, *The Military Technology of Classical Islam*, fig. 300.

13 Shirley Bridges and John W. Perkins, "Some Fourteenth Century Neapolitan Military Effigies," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 24 (1956), 158-173; Claude Blair, "The Word 'Baselard,'" *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* 11.4 (1984), 193-206.

also in close cultural, political, and economic contact with Latin Greece, Byzantium and the Islamic lands of the Eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore it is a well-documented fact that many Muslim military elites had long considered it normal to carry both a sword and a *khanjar* or other form of substantial dagger.<sup>14</sup>

The most widespread item of unusual equipment to be seen in manuscripts from crusader Acre is, however, the round or oval shield. While such shields may have been commonly used by Western European infantry, particularly in Italy and the Iberian Peninsula, they were not a normal item of what might be called “knightly” equipment. It is, therefore, remarkable to see how often they are placed in the hands of heavily armored Christian knights and other élite or “virtuous” warriors in the Acre manuscripts. Some are small enough to be regarded as bucklers (figs. 28J, 30C & 32C) but many others are slightly larger oval-shaped shields (fig. 30A, 31C & 32G). This time it could be misleading simply to see Islamic influence in an apparent preference for round or oval shields at a time when the Byzantines had largely adopted the long kite-shaped shield of the Westerners.<sup>15</sup> Instead the military situation of the late thirteenth century Eastern Mediterranean should be considered. The Crusader States were in final retreat with defensive siege warfare as their prime military consideration. This generally entailed fighting on foot in confined conditions. Here round or oval shields, held in the fist or strapped only to the forearm, would probably have been easier to manage than would larger kite-shaped heavy cavalry shields which were strapped to the upper- and forearm as well as being held tight against the body.

The Acre manuscripts also include other peculiar features, though these latter are generally associated with Muslims or “infidel” warriors. In addition to remarkably accurate drawings of Islamic sabres (fig. 31A), winged maces (fig. 29F), quivers (fig. 32K), Mamlūk headgear (fig. 29D & F) and Islamic styles of horse-harness, some other peculiar objects are apparently being thrown by hand (fig. 28A & B). Could these be crude representations of Mamlūk *qārūrah*, *qunbalah*, or other kinds of fire-grenade? The *Histoire Universelle* now in the British Library (MS. Add. 15268) has already been described as having many Byzantine features. These include, in addition to brimmed war-hats (fig. 32C & H) similar to those in the *Arsenal Bible*, some apparently segmented or splinted neck defenses (figs. 32A, C & H). This type of armor would be worn by most warrior saints in fourteenth-century Byzantine and Balkan art and is similar to a rare form of scale or splinted neck protection occasionally seen with *bascinet* helmets in early fourteenth century Western European art. The possibility that

14 Nicolle, *Military Technology* (note 3 above), pp. 40-42.

15 Quite where the long cavalry shield popularly known as a “Norman shield” first originated is still a matter of considerable debate. Dr. Ada Bruhn de Hoffmeyer has argued that it was first developed in 10th- or 11th-century Byzantium: “Military Equipment in the Byzantine Manuscript of Scylitzes in Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid,” *Gladius* 5 (1966), 8-152.

the *bascinet* itself reflected Eastern Mediterranean influence is an interesting but as yet unresolved question. In addition this particular *Histoire Universelle* illustrates a body armor which could provide an Eastern Mediterranean prototype for the later Western European coat-of-plates (fig. 32B). On the other hand the illustration could be interpreted as a form of Islamic *kazāghand*, a mail jerkin or hauberk covered in decorated fabric and with a padded or quilted lining,<sup>16</sup> as might another illustration in the same manuscript (fig. 32G). Such a form of armor was certainly adopted in the West, probably via the crusades or from men who had served in Byzantine Anatolia. It entered European military terminology as the *auberc jaserant* and in various other linguistic variations.<sup>17</sup> Numerous Islamic terms or forms of military equipment are mentioned in literary sources which either reflected the ethos of Holy War against Islam, such as *The Song of Roland*, or which may originally have been written in the Latin East, such as certain sections of the Old French Crusade Cycle including *Beatrix*, *Elixo* and *Les Chétifs*. In addition to the *auberc jaserant*<sup>18</sup> there are coifs in "Turkish" fashion,<sup>19</sup> these perhaps being fabric-covered, large *afeutremens* beneath saddles,<sup>20</sup> which might refer to felt horse-armor; various forms of mace<sup>21</sup> long before such weapons became popular in Europe; a multitude of javelins, some with clearly Arabic names<sup>22</sup> long after such weapons had been largely abandoned in most parts of Western Europe, plus composite bows of Turkish form;<sup>23</sup> Persian or Turkish rather than Arabic names for war-drums;<sup>24</sup> and tin containers for Greek Fire.<sup>25</sup>

Next come two very interesting engraved tomb-slabs of the Lusignan family (fig. 23A-B) from the former Cathedral in Famagusta (soon to be in the Limasol Historical Museum, Cyprus). They might date from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries and one shows a sword hung from a baldric in a manner until then only seen in Byzantine, Western Islamic or Andalusian sources, and in Iranian illustrations of specifically Arab warriors. Potentially more important, however, are the plated greaves worn by this same Lusignan figure. Here a more accurate dating would be useful, for such leg defenses were only just coming into use in the West. They may first have appeared in southern and central Italy and

16 Assadullah S. Melikian-Chirvani, "The Westward Journey of the Kazhagand," *The Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* 11 (1983), 8-15.

17 Melikian-Chirvani, "Westward Journey," pp. 23-28.

18 Thomas A. Jenkins, ed., *La Chanson de Roland* (London, 1924), line 1647; Geoffrey M. Myers, ed., *The Old French Crusade Cycle*, 5: *Les Chétifs* (Alabama, 1981), pp. 7, 35, 74-75; Jan A. Nelson, ed., *The Old French Crusade Cycle* 1: *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne; Beatrix* (Alabama, 1977), pp. 184, 197-198; Emanuel J. Mickel, ed., *The Old French Crusade Cycle*, 2: *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne; Elixo* (Alabama, 1977), p. 69.

19 *Beatrix*, pp. 153-154.

20 *Beatrix*, p. 178; *Chétifs*, p. 24.

21 *Chétifs*, pp. 12, 20-21, 35.

22 *Chétifs*, pp. 4, 8, 20-21, 35, 47, 84; *Chanson de Roland*, lines 2075 and 2156.

23 *Chétifs*, pp. 44, 82, 83, 120.

24 *Chanson de Roland*, lines 852 and 3137.

25 *Chétifs*, p. 120.



were almost certainly made of *cuir-bouilli* hardened leather.<sup>26</sup> While an Italian influence on Frankish Crusader Cyprus seems likely, the whole question of whether early Italian forms of hardened leather armor were an indigenous development or resulted from outside influence remains unresolved.<sup>27</sup> If the latter did lie behind Italian *cuir-bouilli* armor then the Latin States in Greece, and perhaps also Cyprus, are possible sources for such influence. If the arms of Latin Greece and Cyprus were different from those of, for example, Italy then the question arises of how such styles evolved and whether they were an internal development or reflected influence from elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Anatolian Turks, North African Arabs and, to a lesser degree, the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria made considerable use of leather armor. This would, however, normally have been used in hardened leather lamellar rather than consisting of large sheets of *cuir-bouilli* as in Italy and perhaps also here in Cyprus.

Too little is known about the arms and armor of Byzantium and the Balkans of the late thirteenth and the fourteenth century to judge the possible degree of Byzantine or Balkan influence on Latin Greece and Cyprus. A wall painting of St. George from the fourteenth-century Principality of Achaia does, however, pose some interesting questions (*in situ* Church of St. George, Geraki Castle, Greece). He is illustrated in late Byzantine style and on his leg is a slender riding boot, though this could also conceivably represent a flexible greave of thick leather (fig. 46). Such a boot is unlike that normally associated with the eleventh- to thirteenth-century Turks though it has clear parallels in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Georgia and Iran. Perhaps it reflected the riding equipment of those Alans who fought for early fourteenth century Byzantium in large numbers.<sup>28</sup> Finally there is an unidentified form of decorated flap or sleeve covering part of his left arm which might just represent a hardened leather *rerebrace* such as those seen in early and mid-fourteenth century southern Italian sources.<sup>29</sup>

The evidence of both Christian and Islamic Middle Eastern art has sometimes been thought to reflect, either directly or indirectly, Western European military influence via the Crusades. A prime example of this is a well-known manuscript fragment from Fāṭimid Fustat (British Museum, Dept. of Oriental Antiquities, inv. 1938-3-14-01). In the lower right-hand corner a warrior equipped in purely

26 In addition to the effigies in Naples listed by Bridges and Perkins (note 13 above), similar southern Italian effigies are to be found in Salerno and Lucera Cathedrals. The most important central and northern Italian sources showing such *cuir-bouilli* armor are: the tomb of Guillaume Balnis, 1282 (Convent of the Annunziata, Florence); wall paintings in the "Dante Hall," c. 1288-92 (Town Hall, San Gimignano); effigy of Lorenzo di Niccolò Acciaiuoli, c. 1352 (Certosa di Valdema, Florence); and wall paintings, c. 1330-35 (Church of Sant'Abbondio, Como).

27 Lionello G. Boccia and Eduardo T. Coelho, "L'armamento di cuoio e ferro nel Trecento italiano," *L'Illustrazione italiana* 1.2 (1972), 24-27.

28 David Nicolle, *Hungary and the Fall of Eastern Europe* (London, 1988).

29 Bridges and Perkins (note 13 above), pp. 158-173.

European style is falling from his horse. His arms, armor and horse-harness are so accurately portrayed that the Egyptian artist must surely have seen twelfth-century crusader warriors or have had access to first-hand drawings of them. Furthermore one can assume that the Muslim warriors, who are perhaps emerging from the city of Ascalon, are even more truthfully represented. Meanwhile the helmet of the supposed crusader has the angled-forward crown or profile commonly seen in twelfth-century Western illustrations of warriors. The form subsequently appeared in Christian manuscripts from Syria of the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, including the Syriac Gospel already mentioned (fig. 19A), and other parts of the Djazīrah.<sup>30</sup> Such illustrations can be taken as evidence of Western military influence. On the other hand helmets with comparable outlines had already appeared in Middle Eastern art of the pre-crusading era. Examples include eleventh-century carved wooden panels from the Fāṭimid Palace in Cairo (Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo) as well as various somewhat doubtfully dated Byzantine sources such as the *Smyrna Octateuch* (Vatican Library, Cod. Gr. 746) and Cappadocian wall paintings in the Pürenli Seki Kilisesi (*in situ* Peristrema valley near İrhala, Turkey).

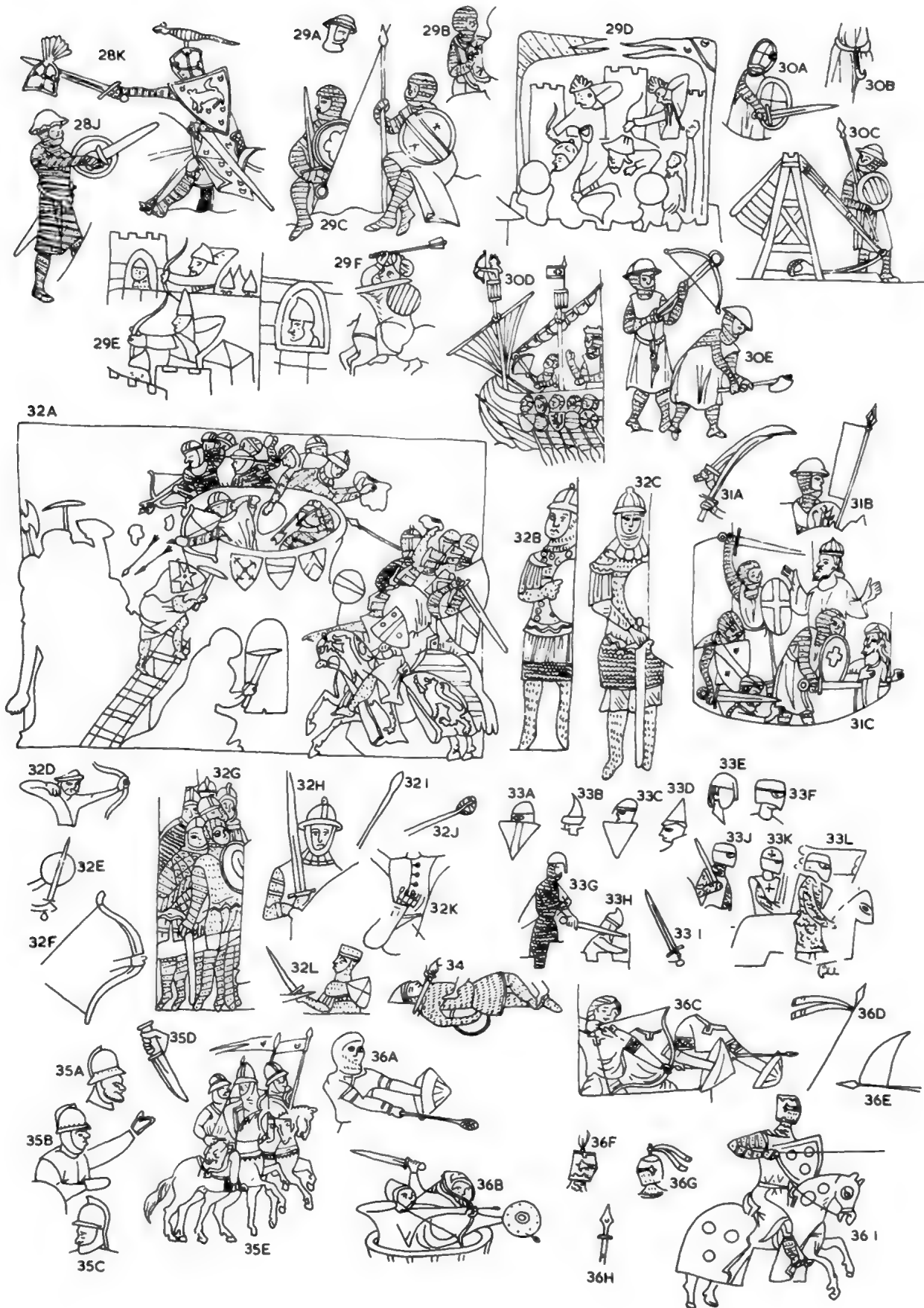
Where does this leave the question of who influenced whom in terms of military technology during the course of the crusades? It has been widely assumed that the crusaders and their successors in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Latin States were technologically in advance of their Muslim and even Byzantine foes,<sup>31</sup> though perhaps inferior in terms of tactics and military organization. The old concept of the heroic crusaders finally succumbing only to vastly superior numbers of their fanatical foes is now defunct in most academic circles. Perhaps it is time to add to the "revisionist" view of crusader history by suggesting that in general military-technological terms the crusaders were not in advance of their Eastern Mediterranean foes. They might, in fact, have been inferior in certain significant respects. The precise history of the angled-forward conical helmet in which the front part of the helm was almost certainly thicker than the sides and rear, the fabric-covered and padded mail *kazāghand* body armor, the use of hardened leather *cuir-bouilli* armor, perhaps the *bascinet* helmet with its extended protection for the sides and rear of the head, the coat-of-plates, large war daggers, and various other items of military equipment should be studied in detail. All—rather than merely some as is now clearly the case—might prove to have been inspired to some degree by Byzantine or Islamic styles.

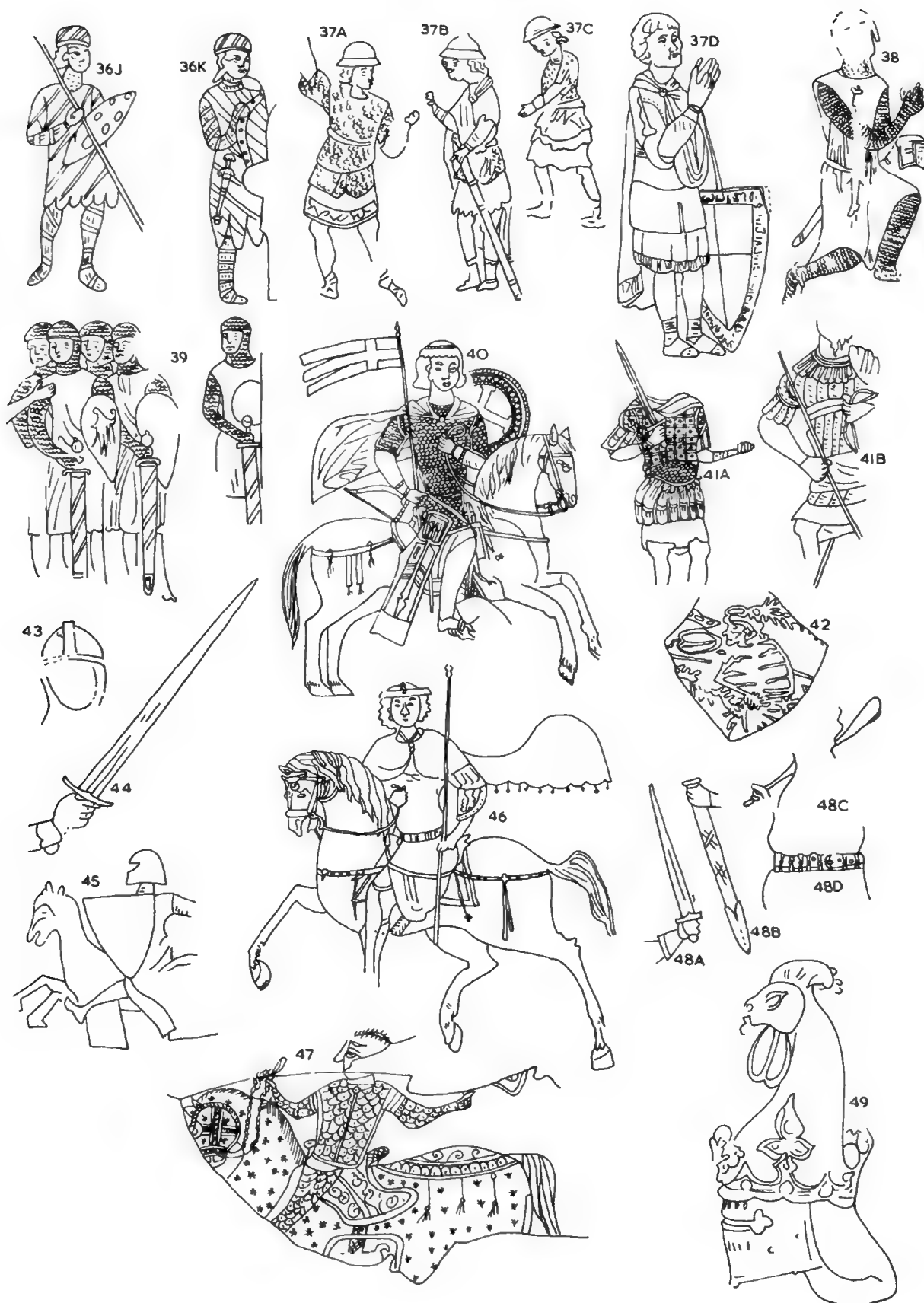
30 "Syriac Gospels," 1216-20 (MS. Add. 7170, British Library, London); "Syriac Gospels," early-mid 13 cent. (MS. Syr. 559, Vatican Library); "Syriac Gospel," 1226 (Derzafaren Monastery, Midyat, Turkey).

31 Lynn White, jr., "The Crusades and the Technological Thrust of the West," in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. Vernon J. Parry and Malcolm E. Yapp (London, 1975), pp. 97-112.



Crusader illustrations of arms and armor in the Latin East





- 1 Coin of Baldwin II, Count of Edessa, 1100-1118 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 2 Coin of Baldwin II, Count of Edessa, 1100-1118 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 3 Coin of Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch, 1136-1149 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 4 Coin of Baldwin I, Count of Edessa, 1098-1100 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 5 Coin of Richard, Lord of Marash, Principality of Antioch, early 12 cent. (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 6 Coin of Baldwin II, Count of Edessa, 1100-1118 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 7 Seal of Geoffrey of Bouillon, Jerusalem, 1099-1100 (after Prawer, *Histoire*).
- 8 Seal of a Count of Tripoli, 12 cent. (after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*).
- 9 Seal of a Viscount of Nablus, 12 cent. (after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*).
- 10 Seal of a Prince of Galilee, 12 cent. (after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*).
- 11 Seal of the Templars, 12 cent. (after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*).
- 12 Seal of a Lord of Marash, Principality of Antioch, 12 cent. (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 13 Carved relief, Palestine, 12 cent. (Museum of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Jerusalem).
- 14 "Weapons of Demons." Carved capitals from Nazareth, late 12 cent. (Church of the Annunciation Museum, Nazareth).
- 15 A—"Pride;" B—"Fortitude;" C—"Goliath." (Ivory book cover from *Queen Melisende's Psalter*, MS. Egerton 1139, British Museum, London).
- 16 A-H—f.7v: "Weapons at Betrayal;" I—f.10r: "Guards at Holy Sepulcher;" J—f.18v: "Sagittarius;" K—f.23v: Decorated initial. *Queen Melisende's Psalter*.
- 17 "Centurion at the Crucifixion." Icon from the Crusader States, 12 cent. (St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai).
- 18 Paintings of saints on columns, 12 cent. (*in situ* Basilica of the Nativity, Bethlehem).
- 19 A—f.63v: "Joshua;" B—f.199r: "Guard of Cyrus;" C—f.208v: "Army of Judas Maccabeus." Syriac Gospel, Principality of Antioch (?), late 12 cent. (University Library, Cambridge, MS. 01.02).
- 20 A—"Road to Calvary;" B—"Guards at the Holy Sepulcher." Carved marble tympanum from Larnaca, Cyprus, 1200-1250 (Victoria & Albert Museum, London, inv. A2-1982).
- 21 Coins of Bohemund IV, Prince of Antioch, 1201-1233 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 22 Coin of Raymond-Roupen, claimant to the Principality of Antioch, 1216-1219 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 23 Engraved monumental slabs of the Lusignan family, probably, from Aya Sofia Mosque (former Cathedral), Famagusta, late 13-early 14 cents. (soon to be in the Limasol Historical Museum, Cyprus).
- 24 Seal of Baldwin I, Latin Emperor of Constantinople, 1204-1205 (now lost, after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*).
- 25 Seal of Henry I, Latin Emperor of Constantinople, early 13 cent. (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 26 Seal of John II of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut, 1261 (Archivio di Stato, Venice).
- 27 A—f.166r: "Siege of Damascus;" B—129r: "Attack on Shayzar;" C-D—f.45r: "Muslim defenders, siege of Ma'arat;" E—f.45r: "Crusader attacking Ma'arat;" F—f.103r: "Siege of Tyre;" G—f.10v: "First Crusade;" H—f.18v: "Siege of Antioch;" I-K—f.36: "Capture of Antioch;" L—f.10v: "First Crusade;" M—f.27r: "Siege of Antioch;" N-O—f.36r: "Capture of Antioch." *History of Outremer*, Kingdom of Acre, c.1280 (M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, Leningrad, MS. fr. fol. v. IV.5).
- 28 A-C—"Weapons of Muslim warriors;" D—f.91v: "Oedipus;" E—f.133v: "Death of Hector;" F—f.205v: "Holofernes;" G-H—"Helmets of Crusaders;" I—f.207v: "Soldier of Holofernes;" J—f.235r: "Soldier of Alexander;" K—f.96r: "Polyneices fights Tydeus." *Histoire Universelle*, Kingdom of Acre, c.1287 (BN, MS. fr. 20125).
- 29 A—f.64: "Crusaders massacre people of Antioch;" B—f.307v: "Crusaders before Jerusalem;" C—f.182v: "Crusaders before Shayzar;" D—"Siege of Tyre;" E—"Muslim defenders, siege of Damietta;" F—"Siege of Antioch." *History of Outremer*, Kingdom of Acre, 1286 (BN, MS. fr. 9084).



- 30 A—f.61: "Crusaders massacre people of Antioch;" B—162v: "Crusader crossbowman;" C—f.42r: "Siege of Antioch;" D—f.63: "Crusaders attack Acre;" E—f.33: "Crusaders attack Nicea." *History of Outremer*, Kingdom of Acre, 1290-91 (Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, MS. Plu. LXI.10).
- 31 A—f.153v: "Weapons of defenders of Shayzar;" B—f.16r: "Standard bearer of Geoffrey of Bouillon;" C—f.48v: "Crusaders massacre people of Antioch." *History of Outremer*, Kingdom of Acre, 1287 (Bibliothèque municipale, Boulogne, MS. 142).
- 32 A—f.101b: "Scythians besiege their foes;" B-C—f.16r: "Soldiers of Nimrud;" D-E—f.1v: Border of frontispiece; F—f.123r: "Bow of Amazon;" G—f.71r: "Soldiers of Nimrud;" H—f.105v: Trojan or Greek warrior; I—f.48r: "Club of Joseph's brother;" J—f.104: "Mace of Goliath;" K—f.208r: "Warrior of Alexander;" L—f.136v: "Athenian in sea-fight." *Histoire Universelle*, Kingdom of Acre, c.1286 (BL, MS. Add. 15268).
- 33 A-D—"Muslim defenders of Antioch;" E-F—f.31v: "Crusader warriors;" G-H—f.49r: "Crusaders massacre people of Antioch;" I—f.188r; J-L—f.40r: "Crusaders besiege Antioch." *Histoire Universelle*, Principality of Antioch (?), 1250-1287 (Vatican Library, MS. Pal. Lat. 1963).
- 34 "Goliath," *Book of Psalms*, Crusader States, 1275-1291 (Biblioteca capitolare, Padua, c.12, f.27b).
- 35 A-C—"Pharaoh's Army;" D—f.81r: "Sacrifice of Jephtha's daughter;" E—"Army of Holofernes." *Arsenal Bible*, Kingdom of Acre, 1275-1291 (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS. 5211).
- 36 A—f.190: "Army of King Poros of India;" B-C—f.172v: "Army of King Poros of India;" D—f.86v: "Spear of Amazon;" E—f.86v: "Spear of Alexander;" F-G—f.70r: "Greeks;" H—f.51: "Spear of guard of Joseph in Egypt;" I—f.70r: "Greek;" J—f.51: "Soldier of Joseph in Egypt;" K—f.89v: "Greek or Trojan." *Histoire Universelle*, Kingdom of Acre, late 13 cent. (Bibliothèque municipale, Dijon, MS. 562).
- 37 A-C—"Soldiers in scenes of the Passion;" D—"St. George." *Icon of St. George*, Frankish (?) Greece, 13 cent. (Byzantine Museum, Athens, inv. 89).
- 38 "Donor figure," *Icon of the Virgin Mary*, Kingdom of Cyprus, c.1300. (Byzantine Museum, Archbishop Macarios III Foundation, Nicosia).
- 39 "Soldiers in story of Dominican or Carmelite Order." *Icon of St. Nicholas* from Church of St. Nicholas tis Steyis, Kingdom of Cyprus, late 13 cent. (Byzantine Museum, Archbishop Macarios III Foundation, Nicosia).
- 40 *Icon of St. Sergius*, Crusader States, late 13 cent. (Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai).
- 41 Icons, Crusader States (?), 13 cent. (Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai).
- 42 Fragment of Aldrevandini-style enamelled glass, Crusader States, Cyprus or Venice late 13-early 14 cents. (Museum of London, inv. 134-190-1982).
- 43 Incised stone slab from Kastiliotis, Kingdom of Cyprus, 14 cent. (Historical Museum, Nicosia).
- 44 "St. George," wall painting, Kingdom of Cyprus, 14 cent. (*in situ* Church of Panagia Phorbiotissa Asinou, Cyprus).
- 45 Seal of Guy de la Tour, titular king of Thessaloniki 1314 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 46 "St. George," wall painting, Principality of Achaia, 14 cent. (*in situ* Church of St. George, Geraki, Greece).
- 47 Fragment of a sgraffito-ware ceramic dish from Al Mina, Principality of Antioch (?), early 13 cent. (Hatay Museum, Antakya, Turkey).
- 48 A-B—"Sword of warrior Saint;" C—"Wooden club;" D—"Sword belt." Wall paintings, Venetian Crete, early 14 cent. (*in situ* Church of Panaghia Kera, Kritsa, Crete).
- 49 Funerary carving from Famagusta, Kingdom of Cyprus, mid-14 cent. (present whereabouts unknown, from a photograph in the possession of Mrs. T. Stylianou).

# The Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem— The First European Colonial Society?

## A SYMPOSIUM

In 1972 Joshua Prawer published his *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, the culmination of some twenty-five years of research. In this work he presented the crusades as a colonial movement and the crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem as the first European colonial society, a society characterized by an unbridgeable gulf between the conquering, exploiting newcomers from the West and the conquered, exploited natives. A conscious policy of non-integration, or more precisely, "apartheid," perpetuated this colonial situation throughout the two hundred years of the kingdom's existence. Although politically independent from beginning to end, the Crusading Kingdom nonetheless constitutes a particular case in colonial history which Prawer believed foreshadows all later European colonial experiments. The Italians who established their communes in the kingdom's harbors were presented by Prawer as "colonizing the colonists," that is, as superimposing colonies of their own on the basic colonial enterprise, and the privileges accorded them were deemed to have been of major importance for the future of European colonialism. Prawer might have added that at least one contemporary used the term "colony" with regard to the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem: This was Guibert de Nogent (d. 1121), who referred to the kingdom as to "Holy Christendom's new colony."<sup>1</sup>

Prawer's book, translated into Hebrew in 1975 and in 1982 into Italian, has provoked responses from historians interested in the crusades and colonialism. Thus when a conference on the Italian communes in the Crusading Kingdom was scheduled to take place at the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation in May 1984, it seemed appropriate to devote an evening's discussion to Prawer's view of the Italian communes as superimposed colonies and to his colonialism thesis in general.

B.Z.K.

1 "...Balduinum ex Edessa transferunt, et sanctae Christianitatis novae coloniae regnare constituunt." Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 7.25, RHC HOcc. 4:245.

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*Constable:* The subject of the symposium this evening—The Italian Communes: Colonies within a Colony?—poses a double question. First we have to deal with the question of what a colony is, and then we have to settle whether the crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem was a colony and the Italian communes—colonies within that colony.

Personally I hope that we shall spend less time on definitions and more on substance, but I am aware that some of you may want to speak on the abstract question of definition as well, and it is important that we make our terms as clear as possible because there has been a great deal of confusion about the term “colony.” I think we shall substantially advance the field, however, if we stick to what the actual circumstances were, rather than spending too much time on definitions.

Now I should spend a moment or two on the format of the symposium. The first speaker will be Dr. Smail; he will be followed by Professor Ashtor, who will be followed by Professor Kedar. Then at least three people have indicated an interest in speaking, Professor Riley-Smith, Professor Sivan, and Dr. Pryor. We want to have a discussion and, above all, we want to have time for the concluding remarks that will be made by Professor Joshua Prawer.

So without more ado I call on Dr. Smail to be our first speaker this evening.

*Smail:* I need hardly remind this audience how freely the authors of modern accounts of Outremer have used the word “colony” and its cognates. In the classic pioneering work of Baron Rey there were already *Les colonies franques*<sup>2</sup> and it is easy to give many other examples. Joshua Prawer gave his book on *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* the subtitle *European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*.<sup>3</sup> He had used the same vocabulary in an earlier and justly famous article

2 Emmanuel G. Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1883.

3 Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, London, 1972.

on "Colonization Activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem."<sup>4</sup> In the volume of essays written in honor of Dana Munro there appeared the well-known contribution by E.H. Byrne entitled "The Genoese Colonies in Syria."<sup>5</sup> The word has been a particular favorite among Italian historians when writing of the activities of their medieval ancestors in the Levant. Cessi, Lopez, and no doubt many others have all used it in titles or subtitles.<sup>6</sup>

Concern with this theme has gone beyond the immediate needs of vocabulary. In the decades which separated the two world wars of this century there were historians in France who regarded the crusader states of Outremer as providing the first chapter in the history of French colonial enterprise. The year 1918 saw the publication of Louis Madelin's *L'Expansion française: de la Syrie au Rhin*;<sup>7</sup> and in the 1930s it was a recurrent theme in all three volumes of René Grousset's great *Histoire des Croisades* that the Nouvelle France of Outremer did not survive because the *esprit colonial* embodied in the *Pullani* was constantly thwarted by the usually rash and unwise *esprit croisé* displayed by pilgrims from the West.<sup>8</sup>

Given the frequent use of the word and of the concept by scholars of renown, I expect to find myself in a minority in this symposium, perhaps even in a minority of one, when I say that I do not find the word particularly useful, and it is easy to say why.

The English word "colony" has no very precise meaning. It is a kind of umbrella word which covers settlements of many kinds between which there were wide differences. There is a familiar saying in English, which has almost attained the status of a proverb, that "the Greeks had a word for it;" by which we recognize that on many matters of importance, the vocabulary of the ancient Greeks was richer than our own and made possible more exact forms of definition and the expression of finer shades of meaning. This certainly applies in the matter of colonies. Among the Greeks the *apoikia* was a settlement founded by a group of citizens far from their mother-city. It was usually established either because of population pressure at home or to develop opportunities for trade. It was self-governing, and such ties as it had with the mother-city were less formal than those of political dependence. There were personal ties, of course, between members of the same family, some of whom had stayed at home while some were in the new settlement. It was natural that

4 Joshua Prawer, "Colonization Activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 29 (1951), 1063-1118; an updated version appears in his *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 102-142.

5 Eugene H. Byrne, "The Genoese Colonies in Syria," in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to D.C. Munro*, ed. L. Paetow, New York, 1928, pp. 139-182.

6 Roberto Cessi, *Le colonie medievali italiane in Oriente*, parte I: *La conquista*, Bologna, 1942; Roberto S. Lopez, *Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo*, Bologna, 1938.

7 Louis Madelin, *L'Expansion française: de la Syrie au Rhin*, Paris, 1918.

8 René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934-36), 1:287; 3:xv-xvi.

there should be common religious festivals, and if it were hard pressed, a colony might seek help from the city from which it had originated.

Such was the *apoikia*. There was also the *klerouchia*, by which citizens were given lands in conquered territory as a means of retaining and dominating it; and we hear also of the *emporion*, in which merchants of a Greek city carried on their trading as a privileged community in a foreign port.

I suppose that if we write about these settlements in English, we have to make the word "colony" do duty every time, even though the communities formed by the settlers were different in form and purpose. We also have to use the same word for the Roman *colonia*, although this was different yet again. Unlike the *apoikia*, this was politically dependent. Established for the purpose of defending or romanizing the district in which it was planted, it was integrated into the Roman system of government.

In modern times wide differences between colonial forms of settlement have been maintained. There have been colonies in which large indigenous populations have been administered, dominated and exploited by tiny cadres of civil servants, soldiers, businessmen and missionaries, who have represented the colonizing power. At the other end of the scale colonists have emigrated from their homeland in such very large numbers that they have thrust aside the original inhabitants of the land in which they have settled, have put them, be they Red Indians or aborigines, into reserves, and have taken over the land which they have colonized as their own. Faced by such differences (and I have mentioned only the extremes—there are plenty of intermediate forms) modern writers on colonization have been forced to gloss the plain word "colony" with explanatory terms. Thus Leroy-Beaulieu, in his classic account *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes* distinguishes between *colonies de peuplement*, *colonies d'exploitation*, *colonies de plantations*, and so on.<sup>9</sup>

So when I hear the phrase "les colonies franques," I do not find it useful, because it does not go far enough. I learn nothing from the word itself. It is necessary to know, what sort of colony? And perhaps there is a question which must be asked even before that. Were the *colonies franques* colonies at all?

I raise this question because it was put not very long ago by Professor Sir Moses Finley at a symposium organized by the Royal Historical Society.<sup>10</sup> He came to the conclusion that the crusader states were not colonies, and that the Italian establishments within those states were not colonies either. In presenting his arguments he was highly critical of those of Professor Prawer. I believe that Sir Moses was wrong and Joshua Prawer right; and I like to think that I shall be making a contribution to this symposium if I very briefly say why.

It is possible to regard the First Crusade as one of a series of conquests which marked the second half of the eleventh century. Especially there were Norman

9 Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, 2 vols., 6th ed., Paris, 1908.

10 Moses I. Finley, "Colonies—An Attempt at a Typology," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5.26 (1976), 167-188.

conquests. Normans originating from the duchy conquered England and Sicily. How was the duchy related to those conquests? There were plenty of links. Normans from the duchy went to reinforce those in the Mediterranean. The leading landed families in the duchy became the leading landed families in England. There was no question of a colonial relationship. England and Sicily were both independent kingdoms, although the king of England was sometimes duke of Normandy and sometimes not.

So was the principal conquest of the first crusaders, which became the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, simply another independent realm? In a sense it was, in that it had its own independent political existence. Yet clearly the matter cannot be left there. It had too many links with the European homeland from which it had originated, and depended too much on that homeland, and tried to depend on it still more, for us to be able to consider it as truly independent. I once discussed these forms of dependence in a paper which I called "The International Status of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem."<sup>11</sup> They are easily listed. The rulers of that kingdom constantly appealed to the West for help; many attempts were made in the West to respond to those appeals; there were occasions when the king of Jerusalem and the prince of Antioch offered to place themselves under the command of Louis VII of France, if only the Capetian would himself come to the East; King Baldwin IV was persuaded to make a will in which the responsibility for deciding succession to the throne of Jerusalem was assigned to a committee, of which the members were to be the pope, the western emperor, the king of France and the king of England; during the course of the Third Crusade, in July 1191, a few days after the surrender of Acre, the problem of the royal succession in the Latin Kingdom was in fact decided by King Philip Augustus of France and King Richard of England, sitting together in solemn judgment. After the departure of Philip the affairs of the kingdom were directed for more than a year by Richard, who was a visiting crusader, just as, from 1250 to 1254, they were directed by Saint Louis, another visiting monarch.

Was the Latin Kingdom just another independent realm? It is suggested that the elementary and well-known facts just recited leave it looking somewhat less than independent. It was linked in many ways with Western Christian Europe. But how is that connection to be expressed? Is it that of homeland and colony? Professor Finley will not have it so. His criteria for the existence of a true colony include (i) a significant emigration of people from their homeland who (ii) settle on the land into which they immigrate and themselves farm it and (iii) establish a community which remains a dependency of the homeland. For him, Outremer did not satisfy these criteria, and was therefore no colony.<sup>12</sup>

11 Raymond C. Smail, "The International Status of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. Peter M. Holt, Warminster, 1977, pp. 23-43.

12 Finley, "Colonies," pp. 176-177. Among the reasons he gives against regarding the Venetian and Genoese trading-stations as colonies is the fact that "there was never any significant Venetian emigration" and "nor were there many Genoese emigrants."



Is it possible to be so certain? Outremer was not a dependency of its Western European homeland in the sense apparently envisaged by Professor Finley, which is political dependence; but that it was dependent in other important ways seems impossible to deny. Equally, immigrants came from Western Europe to settle on the land in Syria and Palestine and to farm it. It is true that they were few in comparison with those who settled in the towns, and that there were never enough of them. Professor Prawer's paper on colonization activities, to which reference has been made,<sup>13</sup> dealt with some of the attempts which were made and the inducements offered to increase their number.

Professor Finley postulates significant immigration. But how significant is significant? Such a question can be answered only in terms of degree; and is not degree an important clue to the whole matter? The crusader states were to some degree dependent on the European homeland. There was a degree of immigration and settlement on the land. Professor Finley wants to be able to say that a given settlement either was a colony, or that it was not. Is it not safer to conclude that a settlement may have some of the characteristics of a colony, which in different instances may be more or less in number, and that it may have any of them to a greater or lesser degree? This will appear to him to be a lame and impotent conclusion, but for me it is nearer the truth of the matter than a simple yes or no.

I have left myself almost no time to discuss the groups of privileged Italian merchants who established bases for trading in Outremer. From the governments of the crusader states they negotiated concessions which were territorial, jurisdictional, and commercial, and which assisted the development of their trading activity and enabled them to live and worship as a community. Such establishments have been recurrent phenomena in history, and it has been customary to call them colonies. To some extent they satisfy the criteria which have been discussed. In the thirteenth century there were close links between them and their mother-cities, from which they were controlled through the medium of officials sent from Italy. There was some emigration from Italy to Outremer which, to judge from Dr. Favreau-Lilie's paper, may have been greater than is sometimes supposed; though the emigrants went as townes, and not as tillers of the soil.<sup>14</sup>

There is one other aspect of the Italian communes in the Crusading Kingdom which I have always found of interest. They ultimately became a constituent part of the government which was the original source of their privileges. Joshua Prawer has brilliantly demonstrated that, during the thirteenth century, the Crusader Kingdom exhibited that transition which Spangenberg called *vom Lehnstaat zum Ständestaat*.<sup>15</sup> The constituent groups which sent representatives

13 See note 4 above.

14 [At the Van Leer colloquium on the Italian communes in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem. Dr. Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie read a paper on "The Italian Privileges in the Crusader States in the Twelfth Century." Ed.]

15 Hans Spangenberg, *Vom Lehnstaat zum Ständestaat*, Munich, 1912. Joshua Prawer,

to the assembly at which top-level political decisions were taken, included not only ecclesiastical and baronial magnates, burgesses, military orders and confraternities, but also the Italian communes. I do not know if such a role is unique in the history of merchant communities which are called colonies. I put the question because this symposium is the most likely source of an answer.

To conclude: I do not find the simple word "colony" helpful in discussing the crusader states, simply because too much additional explanation has to be given in order to clarify its meaning. A single word is useful as a label when it is affixed to a simple phenomenon, about the character of which there is general agreement. The more complex the phenomenon, and the wider the differences of opinion about its nature, the less useful a one-word label.

So is this discussion a useful one on which to embark? Yes, it is. Charles II, that king of England "who never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one," is recorded by Samuel Pepys as having "mightily laughed" at the Royal Society "for spending time only in the weighing of ayre, and doing nothing else since they sat."<sup>16</sup> No doubt he would have laughed with equal might could he have known that learned members of a colloquium in Jerusalem are spending a whole Saturday evening deciding what to call the crusader settlements. But the scientists of the Royal Society, in weighing air, were on their way to understanding the mysteries of atmospheric pressure, from which "it was a short step to the pressure of steam" and an industrial revolution.<sup>17</sup> By the same token we, in trying to work out the meaning behind a word, are developing our understanding of the settlement of Europeans beyond the sea during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. King Charles, who had his own problems about colonies, and whose advisers, in an attempt to solve them, set up the Council for Trade and Plantations as part of the standing apparatus of government, might well have understood.

*Constable:* Thank you very much, Dr. Smail, for a penetrating paper that gets the discussion off to a good beginning. I am not going to call for discussion of each paper, for the entire evening in effect is an evening of discussion and of communications between us. So I shall go directly on and call on Professor Ashtor to deliver his communication in this symposium.

*Ashtor:* First of all, I would like to relate my very brief remarks to those of Dr. Smail. In examining the relationship between the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the European homeland, Dr. Smail has dwelt mainly on the political ties between the two. I for one shall attempt to examine this relationship in terms of their economic links.

"Estates, Communities and the Constitution of the Latin Kingdom," *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2 (1966), 1-42; an expanded version of the same paper appears in his *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 46-82

<sup>16</sup> Samuel Pepys, *Diary*, 1 February 1663/4.

<sup>17</sup> Sir George N. Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714* (Oxford, 1934), p. 42.

I believe that in order to evaluate the role of the Italian merchants in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and in the Frankish principalities of northern Syria, one must first clarify whether that kingdom was economically independent, or whether it constituted a European colony in the heart of the Middle East. In other words, were the politically independent kingdom and principalities an underdeveloped region vis-à-vis the countries of western and southern Europe, and were they economically linked to their developed homeland by indissoluble ties?

In attempting to answer this question we must first point out that:

(a) The economic resources of the territories conquered and ruled by the crusaders were exploited by two classes, the feudal (or rather the enfeoffed class, inasmuch as it included the clergy), and the Italian merchants established in the towns of the Latin Kingdom. Knights and clergy lived off the income of their rural possessions, whereas the merchants exploited the links between the territory dominated by the crusaders and the Muslim countries in order to develop their commercial activities. Both classes benefited from the agricultural and industrial products of the region, which they exported to the West;

(b) Crusader Outremer and its Muslim hinterland (which in several respects constituted an economic entity) were no less developed than the countries from which the Frankish knights and clergy and the Italian merchants had come. True, the structure of agriculture as well as of artisan and industrial production in Outremer and its Muslim hinterland was different from that of Western Europe, but at least at the time of the First Crusade and the period immediately following, several sectors of the Mideastern economy were still flourishing. Now, in his masterful book on the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Professor Prawer appears to express the opinion—or if you will, conveys the impression—that the Kingdom's rural population decreased in that period.<sup>18</sup> Even if we accept this opinion, which would tie in with conclusions about the demographic history of the neighboring countries in the same period,<sup>19</sup> we should not conclude that the demand for foodstuffs diminished there. The population of the towns of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and of the Frankish principalities of northern Syria was undoubtedly much larger than it had been before the arrival of the First Crusade. The expansion of the cotton and sugar plantations occurred in the Muslim territories close to the Frankish principalities. On the other hand, in the same book Professor Prawer emphasizes that the agricultural and industrial production of the Kingdom of Jerusalem was export-oriented.<sup>20</sup> His reference here is to certain dye-stuffs, textiles, and glass products which the Crusading Kingdom exported.

The commercial activities of the Italian merchants had an undoubtedly positive impact on the economy of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. As often

18 Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 380.

19 Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (London, 1976), pp. 217-222.

20 Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 393.

happened in the pre-industrial period, the predominance of foreign merchants in an agriculturally and industrially prosperous region led to the employment of better methods and the introduction of technological innovations.<sup>21</sup> The crusaders' introduction of the windmill into Syria at the end of the twelfth century is a typical manifestation of this trend.<sup>22</sup> It is likewise well known that the sugar industry was developed in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>23</sup>

The Italian merchants who were involved in trade in the towns of the Kingdom of Jerusalem also established close ties with the neighboring Muslim countries. Indeed, the commercial exchanges with the Muslim hinterland constituted the most prominent aspect of their activity. The economic level of the Muslim countries underwent noticeable changes in that period. In the second half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century, the famous textile industries of Lower Egypt, once among the most important in the Muslim world, began to decline. After the great plague and dearth of the early years of the thirteenth century, they decayed rapidly. Now, by contrast with the first half of the twelfth century when the contacts between the Italian merchants and Egypt probably had the character of typical exchanges between one developed region and another,<sup>24</sup> in the second half of the thirteenth century their impact on the Egyptian economy had become significantly different. The population decline in Muslim Syria and the diminishing demand for foodstuffs, and, on the other hand, the Italian merchants' demand for cotton, certainly induced the Syrian peasants to expand their cotton plantations. In the first half of the thirteenth century, the same factors brought about the enlargement of cotton plantations in Egypt. The activity of the Italian merchants based in the Kingdom of Jerusalem had a still greater impact on the development of Egyptian industries. When the technological stagnation and the rise in the cost of labor—the latter being another effect of the demographic decline—caused the decline of several industries, the importation of European products, specifically, of European textiles, certainly affected the economy of that region to a considerable extent. The European manufactures, of good quality and often put on the market at a favorable price, struck at the local competition so that their importation hastened the industrial and economic decline of the Levant.

To conclude: It is out of the question to consider the ties between the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the countries of western and southern Europe as links between an underdeveloped and a developed region. It would be equally incorrect to depict the Kingdom of Jerusalem as a colony, economically speaking, of the European homeland. Consequently, the mercantile colonies of the Italian maritime republics did not constitute a colony within a colony.

21 Eliyahu Ashtor, "Underdevelopment in the Pre-industrial Era: The Case of Declining Economies," *Journal of European Economic History* 7 (1978), p. 293.

22 Lynn White Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford, 1962), p. 87.

23 Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 364.

24 Ashtor, "Underdevelopment," p. 293.

Rather, these colonies belonged to the dominant class and represented an aspect of Frankish domination.

Secondly, while the impact of the commercial activities of the Italians on the Crusading Kingdom was positive, that is, stimulating, their contacts with the Muslim countries of the Levant were ultimately one of the causes of the decline which, at the end of the Middle Ages, transformed these countries into an underdeveloped region.

*Constable:* Thank you very much, Professor Ashtor, for your survey of the economic and technological aspects of production that are so important in the colonial picture. For our third presenter of the three somewhat longer papers this evening I shall turn now to Professor Benjamin Kedar and ask him to deliver his communication.

*Kedar:* Unlike Professors Smail and Ashtor, I do not intend to examine the term "colony" and its applicability to the Crusading Kingdom either from the political or the economic point of view. This is because I tend to believe that in the final analysis the value of a term or concept for the study of a phenomenon should be assessed in terms of the new possibilities of research which the term or concept opens up and the extent to which it gives rise to new questions, insights or perspectives. In short, I suppose that what Jesus said about the appraisal of prophets should apply also to the appraisal of concepts: "You will recognize them by their fruit."

Consequently I believe that Joshua Prawer's study of the Crusading Kingdom within the framework of colonial societies did yield some interesting results, such as the observation that the absence of direct political links to a specific mother-country in Europe made the Franks dependent not only on their own resources, but also on pan-European developments which were completely beyond their control.<sup>25</sup>

I propose now to go one step further and apply to the Crusading Kingdom a specific concept which has been evolved lately in the study of colonial and ex-colonial societies—namely, the concept of the fragment. This term, introduced by Louis Hartz, refers to a society which emigrants from Europe founded overseas, re-establishing there merely one part of the original European society from which they had come. (For instance, Puritan New England was not a reconstitution of seventeenth-century England, but only of some of its elements.) Such a fragment society is not affected by the stimuli for change which the original European entity provides for, and therefore, from a European point of view, it is marked by its conservatism and immobilism. At the same time, the fragment is capable of developing its own potential without being constrained or inhibited by the other elements of the European whole from which it had detached itself.<sup>26</sup>

25 Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 481.

26 Louis Hartz et. al., *The Founding of New Societies. Studies in the History of the United*

Louis Hartz and his associates used the concept of the fragment society in their studies of the United States, French and British Canada, Latin America, Dutch and British South Africa, and Australia. More recently, Richard Tomasson applied the concept to a medieval phenomenon when he presented Iceland as a fragment of Viking Norway.<sup>27</sup> Joshua Prawer, though unaware of Hartz's work, came somewhat close to his outlook when he wrote in his *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* that the Franks of Outremer "were reluctant followers or at best latecomers in moving with European developments. They appear to have cherished an anachronistic image of Europe, characteristic of that continent at the turn of the eleventh century."<sup>28</sup>

In applying the Hartzian perspective to Frankish Outremer, obviously the first question to be asked is: Was Outremer a fragment detached from the European whole, or was it rather its miniature, a Levantine microcosm consisting of the same elements which made up the European whole? I tend to believe that Outremer should be regarded as a fragment which lacked the prerequisites for the rise of some of the most dynamic components of the European whole of the time, namely the urban communes and guilds. (The presence of Italian colonies in some of the Kingdom's harbors was not an adequate compensation.) Moreover, the demographically preponderant element of the European whole, the serfs—*Catholic* serfs—was also missing. Of course, townspeople and serfs went on the crusades and some settled in the Frankish East, but they did so as individuals, without transplanting the institutional setup of which they had formed a part. These characteristics of the Frankish fragment account to a considerable extent for the different internal developments in Europe and in Outremer, differences which have been observed and explained in previous studies. But I believe that the Hartzian perspective also enables us to ask questions which, to my knowledge, have not yet been asked.

One such question pertains to the nature of the intellectual activity in Outremer. The relative insignificance of such activity has often been noted and commented upon. Now, I would suggest that this low-level activity stemmed from the fact that only a specific fragment of Europe's educated community chose to emigrate to Outremer. This fragment may be characterized by its preoccupation with, and attraction to, holy places, holy relics, and the traditions pertaining to them. The learned men interested in theological and philosophical speculation, in the application of dialectic to Roman and canon law, the translation and absorption of Greek and Arabic scientific tracts, in short, the men interested in the new departures of the age, stayed behind in Europe (Stephen of Antioch is a lonely exception). By contrast, Ansellus of Notre Dame of Paris, a man keenly interested in the vicissitudes of the True Cross, went East and became a cantor of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. In his

*States, Latin America, South Africa, and Australia* (New York, 1964). See especially Chapter 1.

27 Richard F. Tomasson, *Iceland: The First New Society*, Reykjavik, 1980.

28 Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 532.



letters from Jerusalem to Paris, there is nothing to indicate an interest in—or even an awareness of—the intellectual developments then taking place at Notre Dame. He is worlds apart from Peter Abaelard, a contemporary who had quite different ties with Notre Dame, but who is not known ever to have contemplated emigrating beyond the sea. In short, most of the educated Europeans who chose to settle in Frankish Outremer may be regarded as a conservative, single-minded fragment, which extricated itself from a variegated European whole, at that time rife with intellectual experimentation. This characteristic of the fragment may account to a considerable extent for the nature of the intellectual activity in Outremer.

Yet the notion of Outremer as a fragment society should not be taken too far. There certainly was an influx of men and ideas from Europe. We need only think of visitors like Otto of Freising or Joachim of Fiore; of the attempts of the papal legate Eudes of Châteauroux to eradicate local Frankish custom and replace it with the norms of the universal church; of the Mendicants; of the many Western clerics sent out to Outremer, especially in the thirteenth century, to serve as prelates. (Of course, it is also possible that the latter chose to go to Outremer precisely because they shared some of the attitudes of the original fragment.)

What was the impact of this influx from the European homeland on the Frankish fragment in Outremer? To what extent did all-European trends and fashions affect Frankish Outremer? These are questions which are not easily answered; the evidence is scanty and does not point in any one direction. Nevertheless, that impact may be studied. The spread of a fashion of some importance for the study of mentality can be assessed, even measured, quite accurately—namely, the spread of the fashion in name-giving. As is well known, in Europe the twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed a steady rise in the adoption of saints' names and a marked decline in the use of secular names. A comparison with the naming trends in the European regions from which most of the Franks had originated may roughly indicate the extent to which the fragment conformed to the whole in that respect. (I say "roughly" for I am well aware of the pitfalls of such a study.)

As for the Italian communes in Outremer, were they fragments of the mother-cities or their miniatures? The steady flow of people between the mother-city and the colony, the regular despatch of officials and clerics from the mother-city to the colony, the application of the laws of the mother-city in the colony—all these suggest a basic similarity between the two. On the other hand, one might suppose that the social composition of the colony differed from that of the mother-city, with the mercantile element heavily over-represented in the colony, especially in the early days of its existence. Yet this mercantile element played the main role in the mother-city as well. Therefore I am inclined to conclude that regardless of whether the Italian communes were colonies within a colony, they were not fragments within a fragment.

*Constable:* Thank you very much, Professor Kedar. I think we've heard three

excellent introductions, all marked by a certain degree of scholarly caution, each saying: "From one point of view it could perhaps be considered a colony; from another point of view perhaps it couldn't." We've had three rather different approaches, covering different aspects of this important question, and I thoroughly agree with Dr. Smail that we shouldn't retreat from it just because we don't find an easy or immediate answer. We're clearly dealing with a basic question, about the nature not only of the Latin Kingdom and of the Italian communes within it, but also of Western medieval society.

I think that we should proceed at once to the various people who have indicated an interest in speaking, and I shall then ask for others to make their comments. But first a personal plea. Having been here in Jerusalem for about ten days myself, I've been greatly impressed by the contribution that archeology and art history have made within the last fifteen or twenty years to our understanding of the nature of the Latin Kingdom. I'm hopeful therefore that people in this room who study the nature of crusader villages or crusader architecture (we've already had the intellectual life touched upon) will throw light upon the important and interesting question we've been dealing with.

The first name that I have of the individuals who expressed an interest in making a comment is that of Professor Jonathan Riley-Smith.

*Riley-Smith:* I listened to the three introductory speakers with great interest. Can I assure Dr. Smail at once that there is at least one person in this room who agrees with his opening remarks?

I think the problem with this term is one that has only just arisen. As long as we were all prepared to use it loosely it was extremely useful and fulfilled a good purpose. For that reason I have absolutely no criticism of Professor Prawer's use of it in his book. However it does seem to me that as soon as a term, which is so arguable and so doubtful, is used to create paradigms, we should start to be careful, and I think that Professor Kedar's paper demonstrates my point extremely well.

The problem with its application to the Kingdom of Jerusalem is not only that it is vague, but also that it has come in the last twenty or thirty years to have very special meanings. It is extremely dangerous, it seems to me, to apply terms which are useful in the study of modern states—and I do not deny their usefulness in that context—to a state that existed eight hundred years ago. At once you run into difficulties. I will give two examples of this. Professor Kedar mentioned that the population of the kingdom was a "fragment," manifesting a kind of anachronistic attitude towards European institutions almost from the moment of settlement. But the works of Professors Werner and Duby and others in France mean that we can no longer paint a clear picture of European society and institutions in the late eleventh century. Further research may enable us to generalize again, but until then it is dangerous for us to construct "structures," which involve the application of modern terminology to generalizations that are no longer acceptable. Secondly, if we are to make comparisons, they should be

more useful and realistic, such as, for instance, a comparison between the situation in the Latin Kingdom and that in the European marches rather than that in Central France.

So, I repeat that in the past the term "colony" was acceptable because it was something that we all vaguely understood and because there can be no doubt that the kingdom did demonstrate certain colonial tendencies. It was especially useful in books which were addressed to a wider public. But the moment people begin to draw more precise conclusions and use it to construct a paradigm, I think it becomes counterproductive and we should drop it.

*Constable:* Thank you, Professor Riley-Smith, Professor Sivan is now indicating...

*Sivan:* Let me present my basic approach right at the start. I'm rather of the opinion of Professor Kedar that we're dealing here with a heuristic device and that the question is simply one of usefulness. The question of tags, especially if they are emotionally charged, is of course dangerous and may not help us. (I don't think that anybody considers these questions in terms of paradigms.) Let me, as a defrocked medievalist, suggest here basically the approach of colonial studies in the modern era, contrary to what Professor Riley-Smith asserted, because I think that when René Grousset wrote about the Franks in Outremer, he was thinking of Algeria, defending the *Pullani*—that is, the *pieds-noirs*—against whatever metropolitan Frenchmen were coming. (But he was reacting, perhaps viscerally, to some similarities, fragmentary if you wish.) Now if we consider the crusades within the gamut of cases in which there is an ongoing process of state-building, then we have before us an instance of a state being built which is a branch of some outlying state, whatever the relationship between the two; and I would agree that there was a degree of dependency, nothing more. And if you compare it to the development of European colonization from the sixteenth century onward, you see that in a number of cases very useful questions may indeed be asked.

Some questions have already been raised here about the relationship between the outlying state and its branch, and perhaps also about the nature of the branch's institutions. But I should think that no less interesting are those questions related to the branch's failure—after all, we're dealing here with a failed colonial experience.

One of the elements involved is the question of control of local populations, given the fact that some of those populations had a lot in common with neighboring countries and that there was a balance of forces which deteriorated from the standpoint of the crusaders and turned in favor of those neighboring countries. So let me just suggest a few of the questions raised by historians of colonial empires which may be useful in this respect.

Question One, are we dealing here with colonialism in good conscience, "colonialisme de bonne conscience" in Raoul Girardet's phrase? Definitely.

Colonialism of bad conscience is something which came into existence only in the wake of the Wilsonian 14 Points at the end of World War I and, most important, from the 1930s onward. That is to say, in our case there is an ideology or a type of motivation—hegemonic in the colonizers' countries of origin—which completely justifies annexation and/or control of local populations: a mixture of missionary zeal, notions of superiority, etc.

Now this is important when we move to Question Two, in which Question One usually serves as an obstacle, if the answer to it is negative. What do you do with the local population? Are you giving a monopoly of power to the conquerors? Are you, at the other extreme, giving them equality, God forbid (that is of course something which couldn't arise unless you had a colonialism of bad conscience), or are you opting for some intermediate solution; for example are you opting—and I assume that this was very much on René Grousset's mind—for an *association des élites*?

The only element with regard to which the answer to the last question could have been a qualified "yes,"—i.e., equality as a result of "bad conscience"—is the local Christian population of the Latin Kingdom. After all, there is a basic ideological contradiction: here you come to the East, supposedly to liberate those populations and the shrines you hold sacred in common with them, and what do you do about them? Do you promote them? Was the question ever raised in these terms? I'm not aware of it, but it might have been. If not, why wasn't it? This is perhaps one of the most intriguing questions about what we call today "alternative pasts" in the framework of counterfactual history. If the Franks had associated the Oriental Christians to their power, or had created opportunities for elevating them, at least a part of the local Christian population, mostly in the cities, would have been the obvious (perhaps zealous) candidates for joining the Frankish conquerors. In that case, would there have been greater backing for the control of the Latin Orient by foreigners, or is it that—given the fact that the local Christians were a minority anyhow—it wouldn't have changed much?

Alternatively, why not opt—and this has been done, think for example of the Spanish and Portuguese empires of the early modern era—why not opt for providing some possibility of mobility for *Muslim* elites by offering them Christianization (as was offered to other minorities, Jews included, in nineteenth-century Europe)? Could it have changed the final outcome if there had been some such local elites, sometimes amalgamated with the conquerors, sometimes associated with them, who would have had the same kind of motivation, the same kind of interest in the survival of the crusader state?

And now I come to the last point to which the question raised by Dr. Smal about the dependence on the European homeland is, I think, pertinent. There was a degree of dependence. But Europe, or the pope, upon whom the Franks were vaguely dependent, did not deliver the goods. That is to say, the resources which the Franks lacked—manpower, financial, and other aid—were not forthcoming from the homeland. Was there ever any possibility of obtaining

them by formalizing the relationship with Europe or with the Pope? I doubt it.

Was there a possibility on the spot, in the Orient, which the Franks had missed? It's not a question of our assigning blame to them but only of trying to understand why they couldn't have taken advantage of it. Let me give you an example. I would assume that Muslims in the countryside, locked into the feudal structure, and even those Christians who served as go-betweens, could not have been extricated thereof. But if the Franks' best interest would have been served by associating Muslims who were outside the feudal structure, that is, Muslims living in the cities, why didn't the Franks do it? If we think that they had good reasons for not doing so, all is well and good. But if they had no such reasons, what were the intellectual blinkers or, if you wish, obstacles to their own enlightened interest, which were operating here?

From this point of view, if you read René Grousset's book today as a chapter in *pieds-noirs* history of the 1930s, it makes fascinating reading, because Grousset is asking himself: Didn't we miss the boat by not associating the Berbers to us in the nineteenth century and by putting the Berbers and the Arabs in the same boat, thus Arabizing the former? Or was there the possibility of *divide et impera* like the one the French exploited quite successfully in Lebanon and Syria (with the unhappy results we see today, though they were quite happy for the French as long as the Empire lasted)?

To return to the Franks—if the answer to all the above questions is that they had no possibilities for action, not even by associating parts of the elites, then they would have been doomed. It would have been a type of state-formation overseas, in which the conqueror is operating in an environment which is technologically and culturally equivalent to his own—the Muslims were no New World Indians—and where there is a neighboring population which has much in common with the population under foreign control and for a number of reasons comes to care for it. In this case the failure would be, so to speak, historically justified.

*Constable:* Thank you very much, Professor Sivan, for raising a number of points which have not yet arisen and for putting the whole problem in a broader context. The next speaker will be Dr. Pryor.

*Pryor:* I merely want to ask a very simple question from the point of view of a teacher of medieval history and of the history of the crusades. The question is this: Why do we need this word "colony" at all? When we use concepts or words in historical writing, they necessarily involve us in semantics. We cannot use words in isolation from a whole ragbag range of associations which come with them. It's no good saying that we're using them in a general sense, or indeed in any particular sense, or denying anyone who reads our work the right to interpret them according to the way in which they wish to. In my opinion at least, "colony" and "colonialism" are two of the most dangerous concepts in historical writing. "Colony" is one of the most emotive words in the English

language certainly, and I think also in most modern European languages. It's a word which cannot be divorced from the history of the concept, from the writings of Adam Smith and Marx all the way to the present time. The concept has a long history and is also essentially comparative, as Dr. Smail and others have already pointed out. It's founded in the comparative analysis of historical phenomena of migration and settlement. In the modern world it's one which is essentially based on the experience of Europeans in the Third World, primarily in the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Now, because it's a concept with a history and because it's founded in comparative analysis, none of us are ever going to agree about what we mean by the word. If we look at the writings of Western historians, Americans particularly, and compare them to those of Russian or communist historians, we find that they are simply not on the same wavelength when they use a word like "colony." In other words, not only is the word not neutral but it also serves to cloud and distort communication between scholars.

When we transpose a concept like this from a modern experience to the Middle Ages, we implicitly and unavoidably drag with it a ragbag of associations. We make claims for the Middle Ages, we evoke images in our audiences' minds before we even start, and it's no good saying that we don't mean to do so. But the worst of it is that those images are never going to be the same for two people. I agree wholeheartedly with Professor Kedar that if we are going to use terms like this, then the only point in doing so is if they help us in some way to understand a particular historical phenomenon. Let me take a comparable example: the use of the word "feudalism." At a conference on comparative feudalism some time ago I heard about "feudalism" everywhere from fifth-century B.C. Sri Lanka to sixteenth-century China. I asked myself then: "Why must scholars of non-European societies use this word to describe non-European historical experiences? What do they get out of it?" I have heard many responses to these questions but must I say that I am simply not satisfied by any of them. I think that such scholars would do much better to describe their own historical experiences in their own terms and leave the word "feudalism," if it must be used at all, to the medieval West.

I am interested in the phenomena of migration and settlement in medieval Europe and I think, as both Dr. Smail and Professor Riley-Smith have said implicitly, that we have a whole range of experiences between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries which we might characterize, if we wish, by the term "colonialism" or in which we might talk about "colonies." We might talk about the area of Germany east of the Elbe, Norman England, the *reconquista* in Spain, and more particularly in our own context we might consider the Italian "colonies" founded after the Fourth Crusade in the Aegean and in the Black Sea. Does it really help us to understand the nature of these last-mentioned societies, and in particular their relationships with Genoa and Venice, if we use exactly the same term for what was established in the crusader states? In my opinion, the historical phenomena, and the experiences which occurred in those



different areas, were different and need to be examined in their own right. We would all do better if we would not use the words "colonialism" and "colony" at all. Why do we need them in any case?

*Constable:* Thank you, Dr. Pryor. I'm glad that Dr. Pryor raised the case of feudalism, because this was also going through my mind. Any of you who have written for the eminent journal *Traditio* in recent years, will know that the word "feudal," even in the Western context, has been more or less struck from its pages and...

*Prawer:* Do you think that it won't survive?

*Constable:* I think it will. I hope we're not going to reach the point where we feel that we can't use any terms at all, because we seem to be more unhappy about the terms than about the facts. I agree that historical thought is impossible aside from terminology, and the terminology carries with it a great baggage that we cannot escape even with the best wishes in the world. Monsieur Balard?

*Balard:* I would like to deal here only with the definition of the Italian communities in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, not with the definition of the kingdom itself.

Dr. Smail has rightly mentioned the well-known discussion of colonization by Leroy-Beaulieu. Now if I remember correctly, Leroy-Beaulieu has defined a colony as a form of territorial or political domination, as a phenomenon of migration from a homeland to an overseas territory, and as form of economic exploitation involving a certain transfer of property and wealth from the indigenous population to the colonizers. Examining the Italian communities in the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem in light of this definition, I must say that I do not recognize in them any of these characteristics.

We do not have here a case of territorial or political domination, for even if the Genoese or the Venetians obtained a third of one city or another—and we must first establish whether they really did obtain it—I do not believe that one can regard this as a form of political domination. As for immigration, I still believe that, despite certain shifts, it was extremely limited, and that the Italian communities basically consisted of representatives of the great merchant families of the metropolis, whose number swelled twice a year upon the arrival of the ships. In the economic sphere, I do not think that our Italian merchants exercised any veritable economic domination involving a transfer of wealth. Rather, they represented the economic lungs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish principalities of Syria.

Now, bearing all this in mind, would you permit the one representative of the country of Descartes in this symposium to propose another concept which appears to be more neutral as well as more useful? This is the concept of *comptoir*. The merchant communities we are talking about were based on

economic activities, on exchanges; that was the reason for their existence here, that was essentially their role in the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem and in the other crusader principalities.

In conclusion I would say that I am quite sure that these Genoese, Venetian, and other communities represented genuine *comptoirs*, but I am not certain that these were *comptoirs* in the sense of genuine colonies.

*Constable:* Thank you, M. Balard. Before turning to Professor Prawer for his concluding remarks, I would like to ask each of the original speakers whether they wish to add anything to their comments in the light of the remarks that have been made in between. Dr. Smail, do you wish to add anything?

*Smail:* No.

*Constable:* Professor Ashtor?

*Ashtor:* Well, I listened attentively to the remarks made by Professor Riley-Smith and Dr. Pryor, and I nevertheless feel that, being historians, we must have recourse to some categories. The question as to whether situations repeat themselves or not is clearly a major historiographical problem. Mostly it is assumed that situations do not repeat themselves, yet we need categories nonetheless.

Now, in speaking about colonies in this context, we clearly do not have the Roman *colonia* in mind nor the modern colony established by the French in North Africa. We have in mind a certain dependence. This dependence can be political; it can be economic; and it can also be spiritual. I still believe that these categories can be applied in order to clarify the relationship between the Crusading Kingdom and the homeland in western and southern Europe.

*Constable:* Thank you, Professor Ashtor. Professor Kedar, do you wish to add anything?

*Kedar:* Well, I think that two issues have come to the fore: (a) Should a term be applied? (b) Is the term useful? As for myself, I'm more interested in the question of usefulness and I believe that if a term's introduction gives rise to new questions, it was worthwhile introducing it. (I certainly did not present conclusions; I only tried to present a number of interrelated questions.)

As for the term "fragment," it has been applied—successfully, I believe—to a medieval society, Iceland; and ninth-century Iceland is even more remote from modern states than the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem. I do believe that the application of the term "fragment" to Frankish society has raised some new questions. Now, I suppose that had I asked, "Did the educated class in the Kingdom of Jerusalem constitute a cross-section of the European educated class of the time?"—that is, had I phrased my question in a conventional way—there

would have been no objections to it. But when a question is presented as having been derived from a systematic study of non-medieval societies, some of us become upset. I expected this to happen. Yet I believe that we should squarely state whence we have derived our questions.

Finally, in speaking about anachronistic attitudes, I made it clear that I was quoting from Professor Prawer's book...

*Prawer:* I shall defend it, don't worry!

*Kedar:* In that case, each one should defend his own term, and I shall stand by the term "fragment."

*Constable:* Well, I think that you have very properly prepared the scene for our final speaker. We shall turn to Professor Prawer.

*Prawer:* Let me begin by thanking colleagues and friends who took part in our discussion. Obviously I am flattered by their choice of subject. So many stimulating ideas were expressed and so many views were presented, and all that around one noun I used in the title of my book, "colonialism." I shudder to think what would have happened if they read the whole book...

On the use or misuse of the term of "colonialism" a recent publication of Sir Moses Finley is relevant: "Colonies—An Attempt at a Typology."<sup>29</sup> As the paper was published four years after my book, I had no suitable opportunity to express views on what Dr. Smail called a highly critical view of my use of the term "colonialism." Finley's dissatisfaction with all existing usage of the term colonization—which he considered to be misused and misunderstood—resulted in a short, very learned, very aggressive and interesting study. Half of the paper took to account literally everybody who ever wrote on the subject. The hapless subjects of this wrath-filled analysis—historians, economists and sociologists—lay strewn upon the ground, their chopped-off heads attesting to their century-long failure to see the light. Among other victims was my revered teacher, Professor R. Koebner, whose by now classical opening of the first volume of the *Cambridge Economic History*, "The Settlement and Colonization of Europe," was taken to task. His great fault, among others, was that he writes on every page "colonization" and "colonists" but not "colony." "There can be no colonization without colonies," writes Finley.<sup>30</sup> Well, yes, R. Koebner (who wrote a generation before Finley) had an excellent sense of language and history and narrowly escaped the pitfall and did not accommodate Finley's nomenclature and would not have done so today.

Next on the list I find my own name. I shall not discuss all of my heresies, only the salient ones. It begins with the statement of being Koebner's pupil, a title I

<sup>29</sup> See note 10 above.

<sup>30</sup> Finley, "Colonies," p. 173.

proudly accept and a point which I easily concede. Did I follow in his footsteps? Probably. Anyway, in the frame of the far-flung territories discussed or mentioned by Finley—Mexico, North America, and Africa—it is rather surprising that he never mentioned the contemporary Zionist movement. In the non-Hebrew vocabulary, the Jewish settlements were called in German, the almost official language of the early period of the movement, *Kolonien*; the same was true in Yiddish, Polish, Russian, French, and any other language I am familiar with. But there was one exception, namely... Hebrew, where the obnoxious name (although sometimes mentioned) was rendered by *moshavah*, which means literally “settlement.” I wonder whether this would have appeased Finley’s demands.

But let us go back to the crusades. In Finley’s vocabulary they were “migratory conquests resulting in new, independent states,” and should be put in the same category as Hellenistic monarchies or the Normans in England.<sup>31</sup> But then my good friend Ch. Verlinden and myself by “a quarter-century of persistent publication... separated them off from Antiquity and converted them into the first modern colonization movement.”<sup>32</sup> A little more attentive and less aggressive reading would have made clear that both of us could not find any direct filiation between the similar movements in Antiquity, but that there was one, we believe, from the crusader and the Italian experience in the Levant and Mediterranean to the expansion in the early modern period. We did not look for nor attempt to create or describe sociological models with a universal connotation. Somehow this did not occur to Finley bent on creating all-embracing categories.

I am slightly redeemed by “two points, which seem... decisive, both of which Prawer concedes and then pays no attention to. The first is that ‘there was no actual colonizing centre or homeland with political or economic claims to future conquests’ or I believe more tellingly, no homeland with claims of any kind.”<sup>33</sup> I do not see why I had to “concede,” as I did not lose any argument and what is “more telling” escapes my sense of nuance.

We could go on analyzing this daring piece of scholarship, but will just refer to two instances. “Feudalism and colonialism,” writes Finley, “are essentially incompatible. Feudal relations of dominance and subordination are personal, not state relations, and it does not matter whether they fall within or outside what we should call a ‘nationality’.”<sup>34</sup> To the best of my knowledge I never said it, but if it means that a state government (not relations between states) cannot be organized using a feudal infrastructure—this seems a rather strange verdict. After Petit Dutaillis’ *Feudal Monarchy in France and England* and H. Spangenberg, not to mention H. Hintze or H. Mitteis—this seems a rather out of hand condemnation if I understand correctly Finley’s statement.

31 Ibid., p. 175.

32 Loc. cit.

33 Ibid., pp. 175-176.

34 Ibid., p. 176.

I would like to conclude with an even more astonishing statement. The *comptoirs* of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice were "on no account... political entities subject to the mother-city."<sup>35</sup> This is a rather baffling statement. It seems that Marsiglio Zorzi and his Genoese counterpart simply did not know their place...!

But in some instances Finley comes near, if I understand correctly, to what everybody says: "land is the element round which to construct a typology of colonies;" "colonization implies expropriation and settlement of land;" and finally: "conquest, colonization, expropriation require justification."<sup>36</sup> Four hundred years before Thomas More, whom Finley quotes, there is a fictitious dialogue of the leader, of the invading crusaders, justifying their conquest of the city of Caesarea (1101) and the same argument held for the whole conquered land. The crusaders had their own problem of justification which we cannot more than indicate, namely the change from a spiritual connection with the Holy Land and the moment when *Verus Israel* makes a claim to the material domination of the land.

Not a word by Finley about colonial mentality, not one about the type of a colonial culture, not one (beyond "expropriation") about relations with the "expropriated." This, obviously, makes the task easier—I only have grave doubts if it contributes to our historical knowledge. To my feeling it is an intellectual exercise, which denudes the definition to very elementary components, where hardly motivation, actual type of existence and their like find their place. They are simply by-passed because they may not fit into an all-embracing vocabulary. If this quest of an *Idealtypus* will be accepted by sociologists, I don't know; their use for historians seems to me doubtful. How do you create an *Idealtypus*? This is a major question. You might say that no *Idealtypus* has ever existed. But on the basis of a given number of observations, an empirical collection of sources, and historical experiences, you come to imagine that something like it did exist. This is true of feudalism, the *Ständestaat*, or any other general concept which ends with an "ism." Richard Koebner taught the importance of the introduction of the "isms" into ideological and historical categories. Obviously we have to be careful in the use of concepts, but we shall never come to a comparative study of any kind as long as we do not take some concepts as basics, either axiomatically or on the grounds of empirical experience.

Let me deal first of all with feudalism. A very good friend of ours, Elizabeth Brown, wrote an excellent paper, "Feudalism: The Tyranny of a Concept," on the cover of the issue of the *American Historical Review* in which it was published, you can see the vassals raising a cup of wine to the life of themselves. Her question was: Who introduced feudalism into England? And the answer was: Sixteenth-century lawyers. Which is correct: the concept did not exist

35 Ibid., p. 177.

36 Ibid., pp. 178-179.

before. But because it didn't exist as a concept, it does not mean it didn't exist. And I can ask: What does the concept "medieval feudalism" mean? Where? Carolingian? Norman? Provençal? Italian? German or Slavonic? And we won't be able to answer, unless we pick four or five features and say, "Wherever we have these features, more or less together, even in different degrees, we have feudalism." In short, we are creating an *Idealtypus*.

Let's take another concept, Democracy. There's an Inspired Democracy, a People's Democracy, a Muslim Democracy, and just a democracy. So what are you going to do? To say it doesn't exist? It is too useful. You can change the concept, you might describe it, obviously you have to define it—but I do not accept the impossibility of using a concept. The question is: How far is it useful? What does it deny?

It is not by chance that I used the term "colony" very sparingly. I used two other concepts, "colonialism" and "colonial situation." This was so because I was very much aware, like everybody else, that "colony" is a loaded word. It is loaded not only with regard to the sixteenth to nineteenth century, but also with regard to the classical world—in short, there was an earlier mortgage on this concept. Yet I want to say that I'm not afraid to use the concept; let's see how useful it is.

I would like very much to accept the notion of the fragment, introduced into our discussion by Kedar, because I came to very similar conclusions. The only trouble is that I don't know how to use it. The fragment in Syria? A European fragment? I need a noun. You've only said what a fragment is, you gave an excellent definition of its substance, and I agree with you; but this cannot be used as a noun. What name do you suggest?

*Kedar:* The kingdom as a fragment society.

*Prawer:* Yes, but I have to speak about the crusaders. What shall I say, "The Crusader Kingdom as a Fragmentary Society?"

*Kedar:* Why not? What's in a name?

*Prawer:* As I said, I have nothing against the word "fragment," I came close to it without reading the studies you mentioned, But I simply cannot use it. "European fragment society" can be in Spain; "European fragment society" can be in Syria and Palestine. And this should be the Crusader Kingdom. Well, I don't see any editor who will publish a book with this title!

Let's turn now to the issue of dependence. Yes, there is no mother-country. But there is something else, and Sivan pointed it out: the pope! I might remind Sivan that not only was there a dependence on the pope, but the Crusader Kingdom paid St. Peter's pence. They missed the opportunity to formalize the dependence.

There was something else—and because it is not in our categories of thinking,



it does not mean it isn't valid—there was a tremendous dependence on European Christendom. If somebody is being taxed one-hundred-fifty years, paying every year for the Holy Land, this is a kind of a link. One cannot just get away from it because there's not a political dependence.

I shall not go into economics, because the dependence of an underdeveloped country on a developed one has nothing to do with the situation we are discussing. It's a problem of modern economic imperialism.

I would like to point out now, with your permission, what I meant when I used the words "colonization" and "colonial situation." There are three points: (a) dependence on the papacy; (b) dependence on Christendom; and mainly, (c) a migration movement which, with ups and downs, continued for some two hundred years. There was no possibility to augment the Frankish population by internal growth; the Franks depended entirely on immigration from the outside.

Now the Franks maintained from the beginning a fixed attitude toward the conquered population. It's pity nobody asked me about this attitude, which I called "apartheid." Again you might say that this is too modern a term; but there was apartheid! If in 1120 at Nablus it is said that a Muslim wearing a Frankish dress will be at the king's mercy, it does not mean that the Franks wanted to bring the Muslim closer to themselves. When Henry of Champagne says to Saladin, "I cannot wear your turban and your tunic, because my people will not allow it," it does not mean that they wanted to be together. It is only Madelin and some do-gooders who tried to find the people coming together, but they didn't succeed; for if you find one or two Muslims talking with the Franks, it is not a proof of Orientalization or *rapprochement*. In all the chronicles of the crusader period, we find only forty Arabic words—forty words during two hundred years! So it is perfectly correct to describe this system as apartheid.

What do the Franks do to the Oriental Christians? The patriarch of Antioch is kicked out, the patriarch of Jerusalem is kicked out or disappears, the Oriental clergy have a right to pray in the churches, but the churches themselves are confiscated, the villages belonging to their churches on Mt. Tabor and in Jerusalem are confiscated, their bishops do not exist. And what happens to the Muslims is obviously even worse. (The only ones to gain, by the way, were the Jews, who found themselves on the same level with the Oriental Christians.) This answers quite precisely Sivan's questions, Where is the Muslim elite? Where is the Oriental Christian elite? They simply didn't exist.

The second point is, attitude to culture. And this is a "colonial attitude" again. You do not accept anything local. You take the natives' houses, you take their spices, their way of cooking—but you build your churches in the Romanesque style, you wear European fashions, your clergyman comes from Europe, you think that the Muslims are a bunch of ignorants, you don't learn one thing about geography in this Holy Land where you're surrounded by treasures of Muslim knowledge. Not a single crusader goes to learn from the Muslims; people who do, like Adelard of Bath, come from Europe. Why? Because the attitude is one of refraction. They do not accept the local culture,

their attitude toward it is completely negative. For two hundred years they lived among Muslims and Greeks, who had something to teach Europe—but the Crusader Kingdom has never become a bridge, neither of Greek nor of Arab culture, to Europe. The bridges are in Sicily, in Spain—never in the Holy Land.

The third point is the crusaders' attitude toward themselves. When I said that the crusaders "appear to have cherished an anachronistic image of Europe," I wanted to say that they were looking back to Europe for everything that was done. The fact is that they had an administration which was more primitive than that of any country in contemporary Europe. They had just four offices. (Let's wait and see what Hans Mayer's study of the chancery will bring up.) Their fiscal arrangements were stupid. And this is more or less what European administration amounted to in the eleventh century, some of it going back to Carolingian times.

Let me give another example of "colonial mentality." There is a famous scene in Christian art, "The Presentation in the Temple." The Temple has been identified with the Dome of the Rock. Now here is a painter sitting in crusader Jerusalem, and he copies a southern French manuscript to depict the Temple, while the Temple stands before him! Because he'll never depict the Dome of the Rock. The crusader artists tried to imitate Byzantine models in a very clumsy way; they imitated European models; they never tried to imitate something Muslim. Because the Muslim simply was not in the perspective. And this I called a colonial society, or a colonial situation.

I think Kedar is right about the type of people who came here; perhaps he takes a too narrow view when he says that only clerics who looked for relics had gone East. But those who came, and battled, certainly did not belong to Europe's great intellectuals. In my study I tried to point out that this was one of the few European countries which didn't have a university in the thirteenth century. Now, a university is a depository of knowledge which can be transmitted. If you don't have the institution, it is difficult to do so.

Let me now go back, or forth, to the *comptoir*. When I wrote that the Italians were "colonizing the colonists," I meant that once the crusader conquered this country, the Italians created states in it. May I remind you of the phrase in *Pactum Warmundi* which states that the Venetians hold their part of Tyre *sicut rex*, exactly like the king. And one of them—I forgot who, I think it was in Tyre again—dared to say to a ruler that although he calls himself *Dominus Tyri*, this should be understood with the limitation: Not in our quarter. Yes: the Italian commune was a state, and it did have land. The Italians exploited the crusaders for security: we never see a contingent of Italian fighters except on sea. Now these Italian communes did not survive the Crusader Kingdom. The Italians continued to have establishments in Egypt, in Constantinople, later on along the shores of the Black Sea. But they did not set up again communes like those which had existed in the Crusader Kingdom.

But I would like to say one thing, and here I join my friend Verlinden, who long ago pointed out that the experience gained here by the Genoese might have

been transmitted to the Azores, and to the Americas. I do not know if there is a complete filiation which can be proved, but this I would say: here was made the first step of teaching Europe how to colonize. Not by the system of *comptoir*, but as the first maritime experience, which adjoins the experience made in Antiquity.

So to conclude, I shall try to be very careful in using the expression, but I will use it with regard to the Italian communes in the Crusader Kingdom. As far as the Crusader Kingdom itself is concerned, I've been using the expression: "colonial situation." There was no fraternization with the local population, there was a refraction with regard to local culture, apartheid with regard to the local population, dependence on Europe in several respects. If somebody wants to call it by another name, I have nothing against it. I don't know what to call it. European communities? Settlements? Fragments? I think that "colony" is still a very useful word; it seems to me the shortest one.

*Constable:* Thank you very much, Professor Prawer. And thanks to all the speakers and discussants. We have not solved every problem associated with the issue of colonialism and the Latin Kingdom, but we've had an interesting and wide-ranging discussion in which we've dealt both with the term and the reality, and one cannot ask more from a single evening.

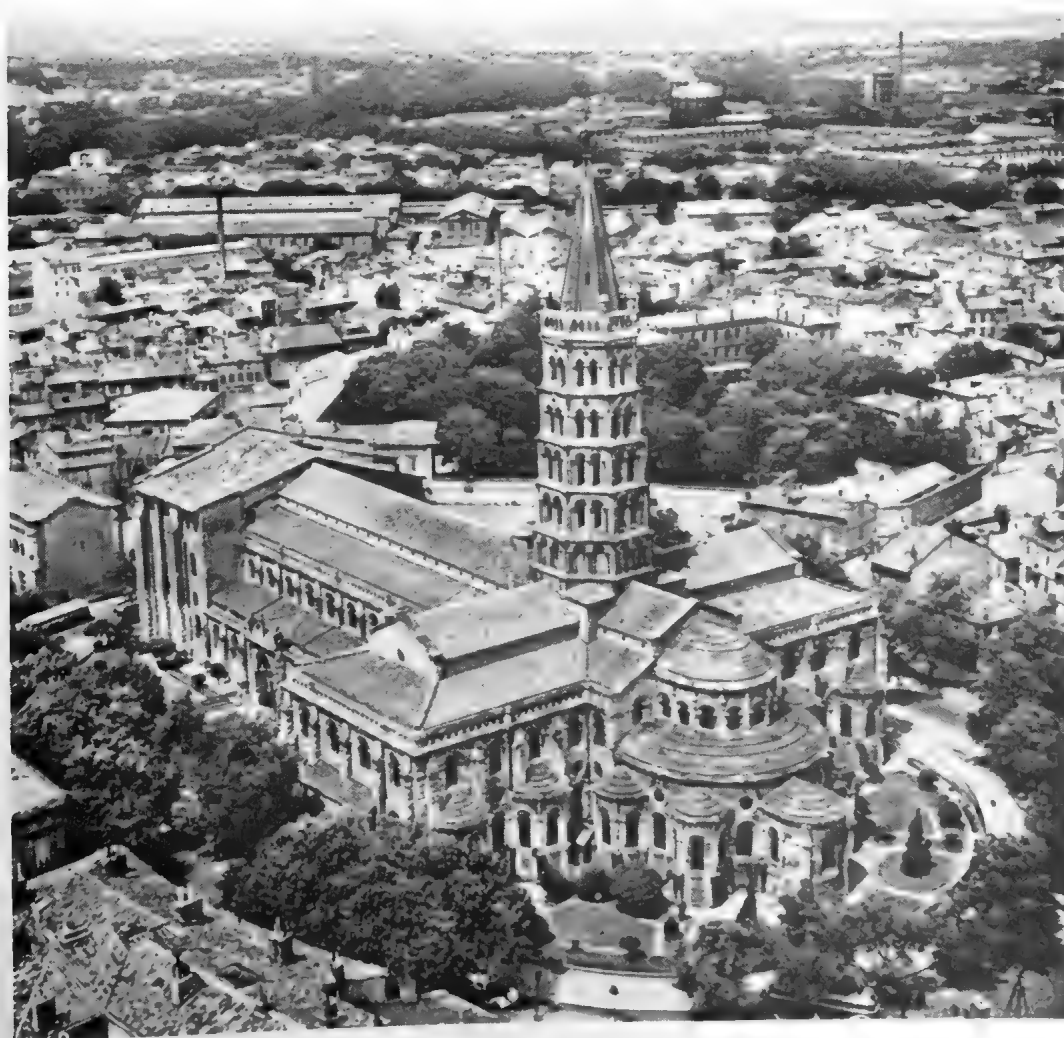
# List of Abbreviations

<i>AOL</i>	<i>Archives de l'Orient latin</i>
<i>Cont. WT</i>	<i>La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyre (1184-1197)</i> , ed. M.R. Morgan. Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 14. Paris, 1982.
<i>Crusades</i> , ed. Setton	<i>A History of the Crusades</i> , gen. ed. K.M. Setton. 2nd edition. Madison, 1969-1989, 6 vols.
<i>CS</i>	<i>Crusade and Settlement: Papers read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R.C. Smail</i> , ed. P.W. Edbury. Cardiff, 1985.
<i>Delaville, Cartulaire</i>	J. Delaville Le Roulx, ed., <i>Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100-1310</i> . 4 vols. Paris, 1894-1906.
<i>Enlart, Monuments</i>	C. Enlart, <i>Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile</i> , 2 vols. and 2 albums. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 7-8. Paris, 1925-28.
<i>Eracles</i>	<i>Le Estoire de Eracles Empereur</i> , RHC HOcc. 2.
<i>Ernoul</i>	<i>Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier</i> , ed. L. de Mas-Latrie. Paris, 1871.
<i>Mayer, Bistümer</i>	H.E. Mayer, <i>Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem</i> . Schriften der MGH 26. Stuttgart, 1977.
<i>MGH SS</i>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum
<i>Outremer</i>	<i>Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer</i> , ed. B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer and R.C. Smail. Jerusalem, 1982.
<i>PL</i>	Patrologia Latina
<i>PPTS</i>	Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society
<i>Prawer, Crusader Institutions</i>	J. Prawer, <i>Crusader Institutions</i> . Oxford, 1980.

Prawer, <i>Histoire</i>	J. Prawer, <i>Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem</i> . 2 vols. Paris, 1969-70.
Prawer, <i>Latin Kingdom</i>	J. Prawer, <i>The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages</i> . London, 1972.
RHC	Recueil des Historiens des Croisades
HOcc.	Historiens occidentaux
HOr.	Historiens orientaux
DArm.	Documents arméniens
RHGF	Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France
Richard, <i>Royaume</i>	J. Richard, <i>Le royaume latin de Jérusalem</i> . Paris, 1953.
RIS	Rerum Italicarum Scriptores
ROL	<i>Revue de l'Orient latin</i>
RRH	R. Röhrich, <i>Regesta regni hierosolymitani</i> and <i>Additamentum</i> . Innsbruck, 1893-1904.
RS	Rolls Series
Runciman, <i>Crusades</i>	S. Runciman, <i>A History of the Crusades</i> . 3 vols. Cambridge 1951-54.
Theodericus, ed. Bulst	Theodericus, <i>Libellus de locis sanctis</i> , ed. M.L. and W. Bulst. Heidelberg, 1976.
WT	Guillaume de Tyr, <i>Chronique</i> , ed. R.B.C. Huygens. Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio mediaevalis 63. Turnhout, 1986.
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>



A. View of the Holy Sepulcher (courtesy of B.Z. Kedar)



B. St. Saturninus (Saint-Sernin) in Toulouse (courtesy of J. Dieuzaide)



PLATE 2

A. View into south transept arm  
(photo by author)



B. View of south facade,  
Holy Sepulcher (photo by author)





PLATE 3

A. View of the Porte des Comtes, Saint-Sernin (photo by author)



B. Jerusalem. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, south portal. Historiated lintel, now in the Rockefeller Museum. Photograph circa 1914. (This and other photos of the historiated lintel [Plates 3,B—6] courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority)



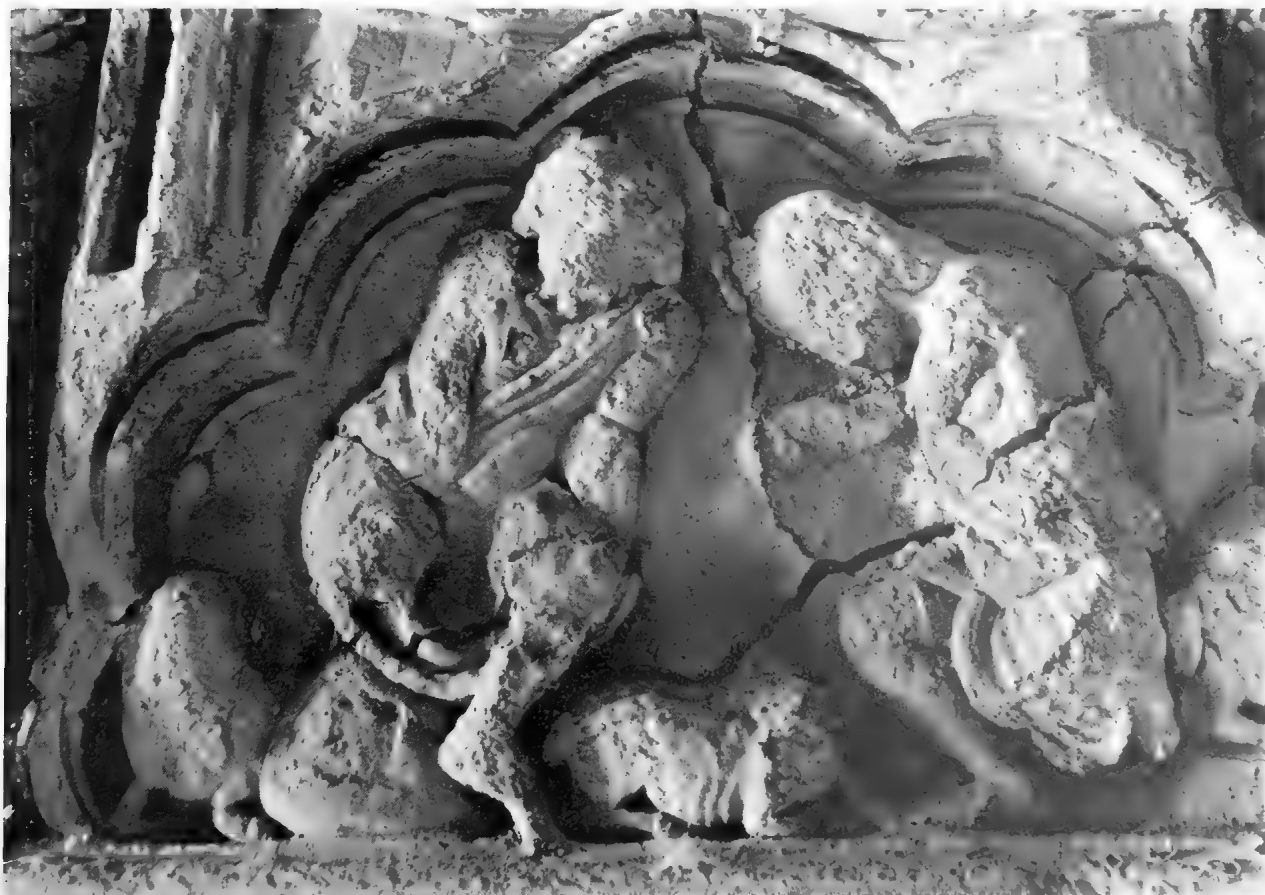
A. Scene 1: The Raising of Lazarus; scene 2: The Meeting of Jesus with Mary and Martha on the Road to Bethany (Photograph of lintel *in situ*, 1929)



B. Scene 3 (top): The Mission to Find the She-Ass and the Colt; scene 3 (bottom): The Preparation of the Paschal Lambs; scene 4: The Fetching of the She-Ass and the Colt (Photograph of lintel *in situ*, 1929, showing damage to scene 4)



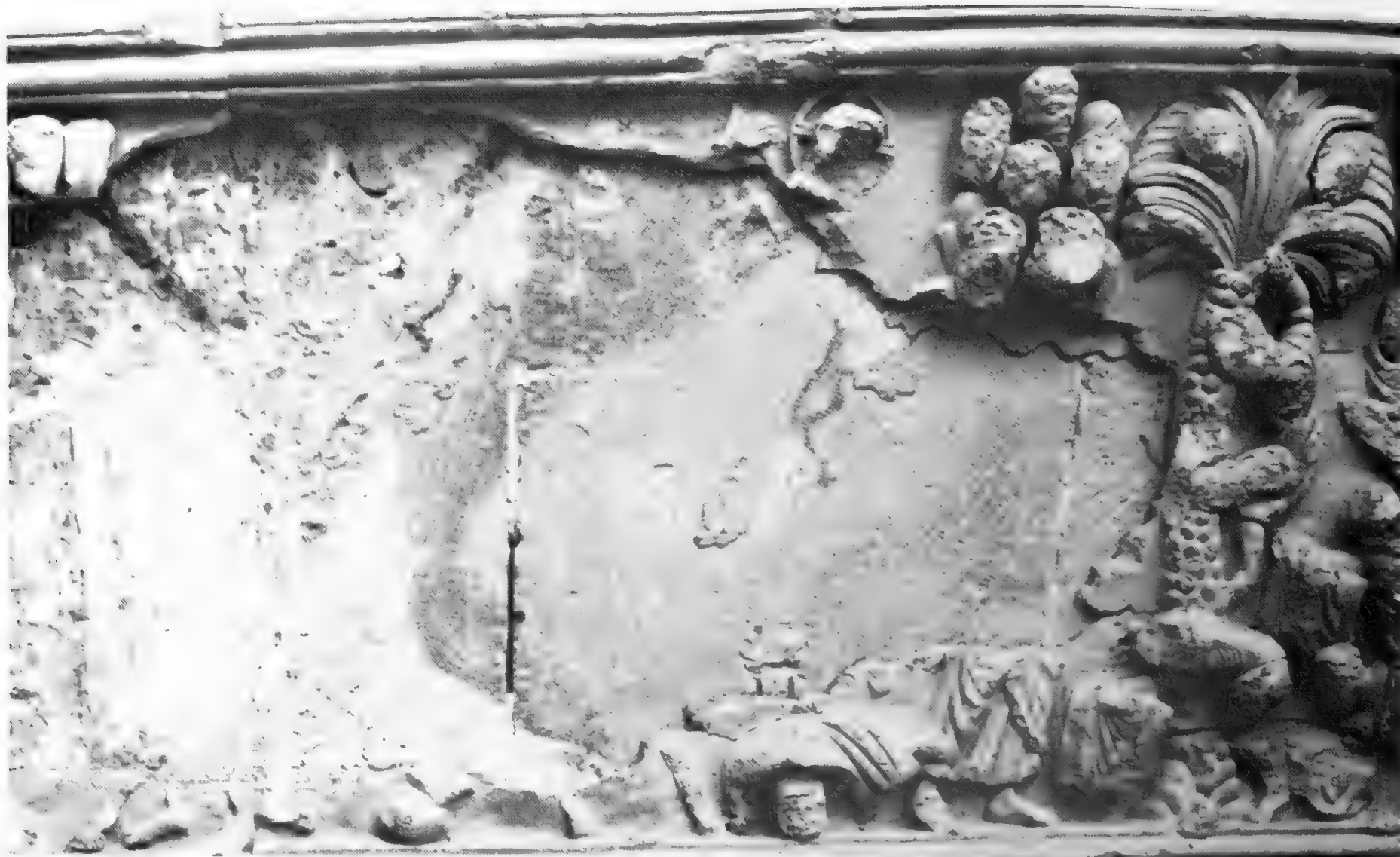
A. Scenes 3 and 4 (Photograph of lintel, circa 1930, after restoration of the missing pieces in scene 4)



B. Scene 3 (bottom): The Preparation of the Paschal Lambs (Photograph after removal of the lintel from the south portal, circa 1930)



PLATE 6



A. Scene 4: The Fetching of the She-Ass and the Colt; Scene 5: The Entry into Jerusalem (Photograph of lintel *in situ*, 1929)



B. Scene 5: The Entry into Jerusalem; scene 6: The Last Supper (Photograph of lintel *in situ*, 1929)



A. Sebaste, circa 1890. The cathedral from the west, showing supports of southern wall (courtesy of Fondation Max Van Berchem, Geneva, No. AB 428)



B. Sebaste, circa 1890. Bay 4, looking toward no-longer extant vaults of southern aisle (courtesy of Fondation Max Van Berchem, Geneva, No. AB 429)



PLATE 8



A. Sebaste. Pilaster capital on inner western wall (Photos by Moshe Milner)



B. Twin capitals on southern wall, Bay 1



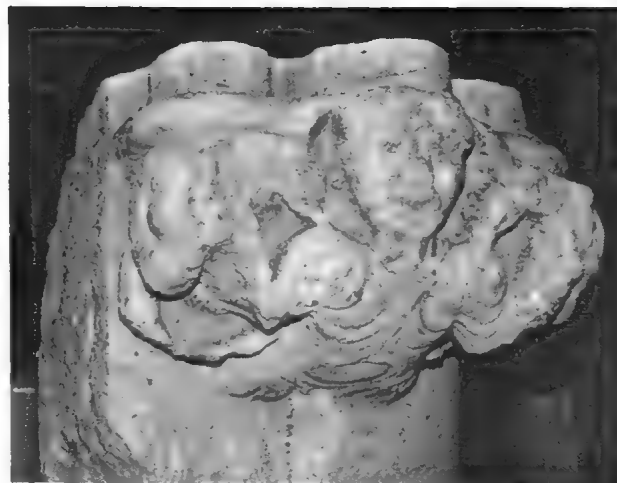
C. Twin capitals on southern wall, Bay 2



D. Twin capitals on southern wall, Bay 3



A. Sebaste. Snake-holder (photo by Moshe Milner)



B. Sebaste. Initiation of colonnettes above the snake-holder (photo by B.Z. Kedar)



C. Sebaste. Man tearing his beard (photo by Moshe Milner)



D. Sebaste. Bull's head (photo by Moshe Milner)

PLATE 10

A. Sebaste. Head of bald man (photos by Moshe Milner)



B. Sebaste. Male head with unfinished hair-dress



C. Sebaste. Male head with stylized beard



PLATE 11



A. Bird's-eye view of the excavation taken from the roof of the Plaza Hotel (courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority, no. 106845)

B. Area B, facade of W 6: detail of crusader masonry (courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority, no. 110271)







A. Substructure of the al-Bahrī mosque, seen from the lake, ca. 1930 (courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, no. 252801)



B. Partial view of the seafront, ca. 1930 (courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority)







